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A
HISTORY
OF THE
SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS
HIGHLAND CLANS
AND
HIGHLAND REGIMENTS

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF
THE GAELIC LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND MUSIC
By THE REV. THOMAS MACLAUCHLAN, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.

AND AN ESSAY ON HIGHLAND SCENERY
By THE LATE PROFESSOR JOHN WILSON

EDITED BY
JOHN S. KELTIE, F.S.A. Scot.

Illustrated
WITH A SERIES OF PORTRAITS, VIEWS, MAPS, ETC., ENGRAVED ON STEEL,
CLAN TARTANS, AND UPWARDS OF TWO HUNDRED WOODCUTS,
INCLUDING ARMORIAL BEARINGS

VOL. II¹

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PART FIRST—Continued.

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDS.

CHAPTER XLII.

Social condition of the Highlands—Black Mail—Watch Money—The Law—Power of the Chiefs—Land Distribution—Tacksmen—Tenants—Rents—Thirlage—Wretched State of Agriculture—Agricultural Implements—The *Caschroim*—The *Reestle*—Methods of Transportation—Drawbacks to Cultivation—Management of Crops—Farm Work—Live Stock—*Garrons*—Sheep—Black Cattle—Arable Land—Pasturage—Farm Servants—The *Baille Geamhre*—Davoch-lands—Milk—Cattle Drovers—Harvest Work—The *Quern*—Fuel—Food—*Social Life in Former Days*—Education—Dwellings—Habits—*Gartmore Papers*—Wages—Roads—Present State of Highlands.

As we have already (see ch. xviii.) given a somewhat minute description of the clan-system, it is unnecessary to enter again in detail upon that subject here. We have, perhaps, in the chapter referred to, given the most brilliant side of the picture, still the reader may gather, from what is said there, some notion of what had to be done, what immense barriers had to be overcome, ere the Highlander could be modernised. Any further details on this point will be learned from the Introduction to the History of the Clans.

As might have been expected, for some time after the allaying of the rebellion, and the passing of the various measures already referred to, the Highlands, especially those parts which bordered on the Lowlands, were to a certain extent infested by what were known as cattle-lifters—*Anglicé*, cattle-stealers. Those who took part in such expeditions were generally “broken” men, or men who belonged to no particular clan, owned no chief, and who were regarded generally as outlaws. In a paper said to have been written in 1747, a very gloomy and lamentable picture of the state of

the country in this respect is given, although we suspect it refers rather to the period preceding the rebellion than to that succeeding it. However, we shall quote what the writer says on the matter in question, in order to give the reader an idea of the nature and extent of this system of pillage or “requisition :”—

“Although the poverty of the people principally produces these practices so ruinous to society, yet the nature of the country, which is thinnely inhabitate, by reason of the extensive moors and mountains, and which is so well fitted for concealments by the many glens, dens, and cavities in it, does not a little contribute. In such a country cattle are privately transported from one place to another, and securely hid, and in such a country it is not easy to get informations, nor to apprehend the criminalls. People lye so open to their resentment, either for giving intelligence, or prosecuting them, that they decline either, rather than risk their cattle being stoln, or their houses burnt. And then, in the pursuit of a rogue, though he was almost in hands, the grounds are so hilly and unequal, and so much covered with wood or brush, and so full of dens and hollows, that the sight of him is almost as soon lost as he is discovered.

“It is not easy to determine the number of persons employed in this way ; but it may be safely affirmed that the horses, cows, sheep, and goats yearly stoln in that country are in value equall to £5,000 ; that the expences lost in the fruitless endeavours to recover them will not be less than £2,000 ; that the extraordinary expences of keeping herds and servants to look more narrowly after cattle on account of

stealling, otherways not necessary, is £10,000. There is paid in *blackmail* or *watch-money*, openly and privately, £5,000; and there is a yearly loss by understocking the grounds, by reason of thefts, of at least £15,000; which is, altogether, a loss to landlords and farmers in the Highlands of £37,000 sterling a year. But, besides, if we consider that at least one-half of these stollen effects quite perish, by reason that a part of them is buried under ground, the rest is rather devoured than eat, and so what would serve ten men in the ordinary way of living, swallowed up by two or three to put it soon out of the way, and that some part of it is destroyed in concealed parts when a discovery is suspected, we must allow that there is £2,500 as the value of the half of the stollen cattle, and £15,000 for the article of understock quite lost of the stock of the kingdom.

"These last mischiefs occasions another, which is still worse, although intended as a remedy for them—that is, the engaging companys of men, and keeping them in pay to prevent these thefts and depredations. As the government neglect the country, and don't protect the subjects in the possession of their property, they have been forced into this method for their own security, though at a charge little less than the land-tax. The person chosen to command this *watch*, as it is called, is commonly one deeply concerned in the thefts himself, or at least that hath been in correspondence with the thieves, and frequently who hath occasioned thefts, in order to make this watch, by which he gains considerably, necessary. The people employed travell through the country armed, night and day, under pretence of enquiring after stollen cattle, and by this means know the situation and circumstances of the whole country. And as the people thus employed are the very rogues that do these mischiefs, so one-half of them are continued in their former bussiness of stealling that the busieness of the other half may be necessary in recovering."¹

This is probably a somewhat exaggerated account of the extent to which this species of robbery was carried on, especially after the suppression of the rebellion; if written by one

of the Gartmore family, it can scarcely be regarded as a disinterested account, seeing that the Gartmore estate lies just on the southern skirt of the Highland parish of Aberfoyle, formerly notorious as a haunt of the Macgregors, affording every facility for lifters getting rapidly out of reach with their "ill-gotten gear." Still, no doubt, curbed and dispirited as the Highlanders were after the treatment they got from Cumberland, from old habit, and the assumed necessity of living, they would attempt to resume their ancient practices in this and other respects. But if they were carried on to any extent immediately after the rebellion, when the Gartmore paper is said to have been written, it could not have been for long; the law had at last reached the Highlands, and this practice ere long became rarer than highway robbery in England, gradually dwindling down until it was carried on here and there by one or two "desperate outlawed" men. Long before the end of the century it seems to have been entirely given up. "There is not an instance of any country having made so sudden a change in its morals as that of the Highlands; security and civilization now possess every part; yet 30 years have not elapsed since the whole was a den of thieves of the most extraordinary kind."²

As we have said above, after the suppression of the rebellion of 1745-6, there are no stirring narratives of outward strife or inward broil to be narrated in connection with the Highlands. Indeed, the history of the Highlands from this time onwards belongs strictly to the history of Scotland, or rather of Britain. Still, before concluding this division of the work, it may be well to give a brief sketch of the progress of the Highlands from the time of the suppression of the jurisdictions down to the present day. Not that after their disarmament the Highlanders ceased to take part in the world's strife; but the important part they have taken during the last century or more in settling the destinies of nations, falls to be narrated in another section of this work. What we shall concern ourselves with at present is the consequences of the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions (and with them the importance and power of the chiefs), on the

¹ Gartmore MS. in Appendix to Burt's *Letters*.

² Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*.

internal state of the Highlands; we shall endeavour to show the alteration which took place in the social condition of the people, their mode of life, their relation to the chiefs (now only landlords), their mode of farming, their religion, education, and other points.

From the nature of clanship—of the relation-ship between chief and people, as well as from the state of the law and the state of the Highlands generally—it will be perceived that, previous to the measure which followed Culloden, it was the interest of every chief to surround himself with as many followers as he could muster; his importance and power of injury and defence were reckoned by government and his neighbours not according to his yearly income, but according to the number of men he could bring into the field to fight his own or his country's battles. It is told of a chief that, when asked as to the rent of his estate, he replied that he could raise 500 men. Previous to '45, money was of so little use in the Highlands, the chiefs were so jealous of each other and so ready to take advantage of each other's weakness, the law was so utterly powerless to repress crime and redress wrong, and life and property were so insecure, that almost the only security which a chief could have was the possession of a small army of followers, who would protect himself and his property; and the chief safety and means of livelihood that lay in the power of the ordinary clansman was to place himself under the protection and among the followers of some powerful chief. "Before that period [1745] the authority of law was too feeble to afford protection."³ The obstructions to the execution

of any legal warrant were such that it was only for objects of great public concern that an extraordinary effort was sometimes made to overcome them. In any ordinary case of private injury, an individual could have little expectation of redress unless he could avenge his own cause; and the only hope of safety from any attack was in meeting force by force. In this state of things, every person above the common rank depended for his safety and his consequence on the number and attachment of his servants and dependants; without people ready to defend him, he could not expect to sleep in safety, to preserve his house from pillage or his family from murder; he must have submitted to the insolence of every neighbouring robber, unless he had maintained a numerous train of followers to go with him into the field, and to fight his battles. To this essential object every inferior consideration was sacrificed; and the principal advantage of landed property consisted in the means it afforded to the proprietor of multiplying his dependants."⁴

Of course, the chief had to maintain his followers in some way, had to find some means by which he would be able to attach them to himself, keep them near him, and command their services when he required them. There can be no doubt, however chimerical it may appear at the present day, that the attachment and reverence of the Highlander to his chief were quite independent of any benefits the latter might be able to confer. The evidence is indubitable that the clan regarded the chief as the father of his people, and themselves as his children; he, they believed, was bound to protect and maintain them, while they were bound to regard his will as law, and to lay down their lives at his command. Of these statements there can be

³ As a specimen of the manner in which justice was administered in old times in the Highlands, we give the following: In the second volume of the Spalding Club Miscellany, p. 128, we read of a certain "John MacAlister, in Dell of Rothemurkus," cited on 19th July 1594 "before the Court of Regality of Spynie." He was "decerned by the judge—ryplie aduysit with the action of spuilzie persewit contrane him be the Baron of Kincardine, . . . to have wrongouslie intromittit with and detenet the broune horse lybellit, and thairfor to content and pay to the said Complainer the soume of threttene schillings and four pennis money." The reader will notice the delicate manner in which what looks very like a breach of the eighth commandment is spoken of in a legal document of that period. John the son of Alister "confessed" the intromission with the brown horse, but pled in defence that he "took him away ordowrlie and nocht spulyed, but be vertue of the Act of Athell,

boynd for ane better horse spuilzeat be the said persewar from the said Defender." Whether this was the truth, or whether, though it were true, John the son of Alister was justified in seizing upon the Baron's broune horse in lieu of the one taken by the Baron from him, or whether it was that the Baron was the more powerful of the two, the judge, it will have been noticed, decerned against the said John M'Alister, not, however, ordaining him to return the horse, but to pay the Baron "thairfor" the sum of thirteen shillings.—*Memorials of Clan Shaw*, by Rev. W. G. Shaw, p. 24.

⁴ *Observations on the Present State of Highlands*, by the Earl of Selkirk, p. 13.

no doubt. "This power of the chiefs is not supported by interest, as they are landlords, but as lineally descended from the old patriarchs or fathers of the families, for they hold the same authority when they have lost their estates, as may appear from several, and particularly one who commands in his clan, though, at the same time, they maintain him, having nothing left of his own."⁵ Still it was assuredly the interest, and was universally regarded as the duty of the chief, to strengthen that attachment and his own authority and influence, by bestowing upon his followers what material benefits he could command, and thus show himself to be, not a thankless tyrant, but a kind and grateful leader, and an affectionate father of his people. Theoretically, in the eye of the law, the tenure and distribution of land in the Highlands was on the same footing as in the rest of the kingdom; the chiefs, like the lowland barons, were supposed to hold their lands from the monarch, the nominal proprietor of all landed property, and these again in the same way distributed portions of this territory among their followers, who thus bore the same relation to the chief as the latter did to his superior, the king. In the eye of the law, we say, this was the case, and so those of the chiefs who were engaged in the rebellion of 1715-45 were subjected to forfeiture in the same way as any lowland rebel. But, practically, the great body of the Highlanders knew nothing of such a tenure, and even if it had been possible to make them understand it, they would probably have repudiated it with contempt. The great principle which seems to have ruled all the relations that subsisted between the chief and his clan, including the mode of distributing and holding land, was, previous to 1746, that of the family. The land was regarded not so much as belonging absolutely to the chief, but as the property of the clan of which the chief was head and representative. Not only was the clan bound to render obedience and reverence to their head, to whom each member supposed himself related, and whose name was the common name of all his people; he also was regarded as bound to maintain and protect

his people, and distribute among them a fair share of the lands which he held as their representative. "The chief, even against the laws, is bound to protect his followers, as they are sometimes called, be they never so criminal. He is their leader in clan quarrels, must free the necessitous from their arrears of rent, and maintain such who, by accidents, are fallen into decay. If, by increase of the tribe, any small farms are wanting, for the support of such addition he splits others into lesser portions, because *all must be somehow provided for*; and as the meanest among them pretend to be his relatives by consanguinity, they insist upon the privilege of taking him by the hand wherever they meet him."⁶ Thus it was considered the duty, as it was in those turbulent times undoubtedly the interest, of the chief to see to it that every one of those who looked upon him as their chief was provided for; while, on the other hand, it was the interest of the people, as they no doubt felt it to be their duty, to do all in their power to gain the favour of their chiefs, whose will was law, who could make or unmake them, on whom their very existence was dependent. Latterly, at least, this utter dependence of the people on their chiefs, their being compelled for very life's sake to do his bidding, appears to have been regarded by the former as a great hardship; for, as we have already said, it is well known that in both of the rebellions of last century, many of the poor clansmen pled in justification of their conduct, that they were compelled, sorely against their inclination, to join the rebel army. This only proves how strong must have been the power of the chiefs, and how completely at their mercy the people felt themselves to be.

To understand adequately the social life of the Highlanders previous to 1746, the distribution of the land among, the nature of their tenures, their mode of farming, and similar matters, the facts above stated must be borne in mind. Indeed, not only did the above influences affect these matters previous to the suppression of the last rebellion, but also for long after, if, indeed, they are not in active operation in some remote corners of the High-

⁵ Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 5.

⁶ Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 5.

lands even at the present day ; moreover, they afford a key to much of the confusion, misunderstanding, and misery that followed upon the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions.

Next in importance and dignity to the chief or laird were the cadets of his family, the gentlemen of the clan, who in reference to the mode in which they held the land allotted to them, were denominated tacksmen. To these tacksmen were let farms, of a larger or smaller size according to their importance, and often at a rent merely nominal ; indeed, they in general seem to have considered that they had as much right to the land as the chief himself, and when, after 1746, many of them were deprived of their farms, they, and the Highlanders generally, regarded it as a piece of gross and unfeeling injustice. As sons were born to the chief, they also had to be provided for, which seems to have been done either by cutting down the possessions of those tacksmen further removed from the family of the laird, appropriating those which became vacant by the death of the tenant or otherwise, and by the chief himself cutting off a portion of the land immediately in his possession. In this way the descendants of tacksmen might ultimately become part of the commonalty of the clan. Next to the tacksmen were tenants, who held their farms either directly from the laird, or as was more generally the case, from the tacksmen. The tenants again frequently let out part of their holdings to sub-tenants or cottars, who paid their rent by devoting most of their time to the cultivation of the tenant's farm, and the tending of his cattle. The following extract from the Gartmore paper written in 1747, and published in the appendix to Burt's *Letters*, gives a good idea of the manner generally followed in distributing the land among the various branches of the clan :—

“The property of these Highlands belongs to a great many different persons, who are more or less considerable in proportion to the extent of their estates, and to the command of men that live upon them, or follow them on account of their clanship, out of the estates of others. These lands are set by the landlord during pleasure, or a short tack, to people whom they call good-men, and who are of a

superior station to the commonalty. These are generally the sons, brothers, cousins, or nearest relations of the landlord. The younger sons of families are not bred to any business or employments, but are sent to the French or Spanish armies, or marry as soon as they are of age. Those are left to their own good fortune and conduct abroad, and these are preferred to some advantageous farm at home. This, by the means of a small portion, and the liberality of their relations, they are able to stock, and which they, their children, and grandchildren, possess at an easy rent, till a nearer descendant be again preferred to it. As the propinquity removes, they become less considered, till at last they degenerate to be of the common people ; unless some accidental acquisition of wealth supports them above their station. As this hath been an ancient custom, most of the farmers and cottars are of the name and clan of the proprietor ; and, if they are not really so, the proprietor either obliges them to assume it, or they are glad to do so, to procure his protection and favour.

“Some of these tacksmen or good-men possess these farms themselves ; but in that case they keep in them a great number of cottars, to each of whom they give a house, grass for a cow or two, and as much ground as will sow about a boll of oats, in places which their own plough cannot labour, by reason of brush or rock, and which they are obliged in many places to delve with spades. This is the only visible subject which these poor people possess for supporting themselves and their families, and the only wages of their whole labour and service.

“Others of them lett out parts of their farms to many of these cottars or subtennants ; and as they are generally poor, and not allways in a capacity to stock these small tenements, the tacksmen frequently enter them on the ground laboured and sown, and sometimes too stocks it with cattle ; all which he is obliged to redeliver in the same condition at his removal, which is at the goodman's pleasure, as he is usually himself tennent at pleasure, and for which during his possession he pays an extravagantly high rent to the tacksmen.

“By this practice, farms, which one family and four horses are sufficient to labour, will

have from four to sixteen families living upon them."⁷

"In the case of very great families, or when the domains of a chief became very extensive, it was usual for the head of the clan occasionally to grant large territories to the younger branches of his family in return for a trifling quit-rent. These persons were called chieftains, to whom the lower classes looked up as their immediate leader. These chieftains were in later times called tacksmen; but at all periods they were considered nearly in the same light as proprietors, and acted on the same principles. They were the officers who, under the chief, commanded in the military expeditions of the clans. This was their employment; and neither their own dispositions, nor the situation of the country, inclined them to engage in the drudgery of agriculture any farther than to supply the necessaries of life for their own families. A part of their land was usually sufficient for this purpose, and the remainder was let off in small portions to cottagers, who differed but little from the small occupiers who held their lands immediately from the chief; excepting that, in lieu of rent, they were bound to a certain amount of labour for the advantage of their immediate superior. The more of these people any gentleman could collect around his habitation, with the greater facility could he carry on the work of his own farm; the greater, too, was his personal safety. Besides this, the tacksmen, holding their lands from the chief at a mere quit-rent, were naturally solicitous to merit his favour by the number of their immediate dependants whom they could bring to join his standard."⁸

Thus it will be seen that in those times every one was, to a more or less extent, a cultivator or renter of land. As to rent, there was very little of actual money paid either by the tacksmen or by those beneath them in position and importance. The return expected by the laird or chief from the tacksmen for the farms he allowed them to hold, was that they should be ready when required to produce as many fighting men as possible, and give him a certain share of the produce of the land

they held from him. It was thus the interest of the tacksmen to parcel out their land into as small lots as possible, for the more it was subdivided, the greater would be the number of men he could have at his command. This liability on the part of the subtenants to be called upon at any time to do service for the laird, no doubt counted for part of the rent of the pendicles allotted to them. These pendicles were often very small, and evidently of themselves totally insufficient to afford the means of subsistence even to the smallest family. Besides this liability to do service for the chief, a very small sum of money was taken as part of the rent, the remainder being paid in kind, and in assisting the tacksmen to farm whatever land he may have retained in his own hands. In the same way the cottars, who were subtenants to the tacksmen's tenants, had to devote most of their time to the service of those from whom they immediately held their lands. Thus it will be seen that, although nominally the various tenants held their land from their immediate superiors at a merely nominal rent, in reality what was actually given in return for the use of the land would, in the end, probably turn out to be far more than its value. From the laird to the cottar there was an incessant series of exactions and services, grievous to be borne, and fatal to every kind of improvement.

Besides the rent and services due by each class to its immediate superiors, there were numerous other exactions and services, to which all had to submit for the benefit of their chief. The most grievous perhaps of these was thirlage or multure, a due exacted from each tenant for the use of the mill of the district to convert their grain into meal. All the tenants of each district or parish were thirled or bound to take their grain to a particular mill to be ground, the miller being allowed to appropriate a certain proportion as payment for the use of the mill, and as a tax payable to the laird or chief. In this way a tenant was often deprived of a considerable quantity of his grain, varying from one-sixteenth to one-eighth, and even more. In the same way many parishes were thirled to a particular smith. By these and similar exactions and contributions did the proprietors

⁷ Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 341-3.

⁸ *Beauties of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 184, 5.

and chief men of the clan manage to support themselves off the produce of their land, keep a numerous band of retainers around them, have plenty for their own use, and for all who had any claim to their hospitality. This seems especially to have been the case when the Highlanders were in their palmiest days of independence, when they were but little molested from without, and when their chief occupations were clan-feuds and cattle raids. But latterly, and long before the abolition of heritable jurisdictions, this state of matters had for the most part departed, and although the chiefs still valued themselves by the number of men they could produce, they kept themselves much more to themselves, and showed less consideration for the inferior members of the clan, whose condition, even at its best, must appear to have been very wretched. "Of old, the chieftain was not so much considered the master as the father of his numerous clan. Every degree of these followers loved him with an enthusiasm, which made them cheerfully undergo any fatigue or danger. Upon the other hand, it was his interest, his pride, and his chief glory, to requite such animated friendship to the utmost of his power. The rent paid him was chiefly consumed in feasts given at the habitations of his tenants. What he was to spend, and the time of his residence at each village, was known and provided for accordingly. The men who provided these entertainments partook of them; they all lived friends together; and the departure of the chief and his retinue never fails to occasion regret. In more polished times, the cattle and corn consumed at these feasts of hospitality, were ordered up to the landlord's habitation. What was friendship at the first became very oppressive in modern times. Till very lately in this neighbourhood, Campbell of Auchinbreck had a right to carry off the best cow he could find upon several properties

at each Martinmas by way of mart. The Island of Islay paid 500 such cows yearly, and so did Kintyre to the Macdonalds."⁹ Still, there can be no doubt, that previous to 1746 it was the interest of the laird and chief tacksmen to keep the body of the people as contented as possible, and do all in their power to attach them to their interest. Money was of but little use in the Highlands then; there was scarcely anything in which it could be spent; and so long as his tenants furnished him with the means of maintaining a substantial and extensive hospitality, the laird was not likely in general to complain. "The poverty of the tenants rendered it customary for the chief, or laird, to free some of them every year, from all arrears of rent; this was supposed, upon an average, to be about one year in five of the whole estate."¹

In the same letter from which the last sentence is quoted, Captain Burt gives an extract from a Highland rent-roll, of date probably about 1730; we shall reproduce it here, as it will give the reader a better notion as to how those matters were managed in these old times, than any description can. "You will, it is likely," the letter begins, "think it strange that many of the Highland tenants are to maintain a family upon a farm of twelve merks Scots per annum, which is thirteen shillings and fourpence sterling, with perhaps a cow or two, or a very few sheep or goats; but often the rent is less, and the cattle are wanting.

"In some rentals you may see seven or eight columns of various species of rent, or more, viz., money, barley, oatmeal, sheep, lambs, butter, cheese, capons, &c.; but every tenant does not pay all these kinds, though many of them the greatest part. What follows is a specimen taken out of a Highland rent-roll, and I do assure you it is genuine, and not the least by many:—

	Scots Money.	English.	Butter. Stones. Lb. Oz.	Oatmeal. Bolls. B. P. Lip.	Muttons.
Donald mac Oil vic ille Challum ...	£3 10 4	£0 5 10½	0 3 2	0 2 1 3	½ and ⅙
Murdoch mac ille Christ.....	5 17 6	0 9 9½	0 6 4	0 3 3 3	¼ and ⅙
Duncan mac ille Phadrick.....	7 0 6	0 12 3½	0 7 8	1 0 3 0½	¼ and ⅙

I shall here give you a computation of the first article, besides which there are seven more

of the same farm and rent, as you may perceive by the fraction of a sheep in the last column:—

⁹ Old Statistical Account of North Knapdale.

¹ Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 57.

The money.....	£0	5	10½	Sterling.
The butter, three pounds two ounces, at 4d. per lb.	0	1	1½	
Oatmeal, 2 bushels, 1 peck, 3 lippys and ¼, at 6d. per peck...	0	4	9¼ and ½	
Sheep, one-eighth and one-sixteenth, at 2s.....	0	0	4½	

The yearly rent of the farm is.....£0 12 1½ and 1½."

It is plain that in the majority of cases the farms must have been of very small extent, almost equal to those of Goldsmith's Golden Age, "when every rood maintained its man." "In the head of the parish of Buchanan in Stirlingshire, as well as in several other places, there are to be found 150 families living upon grounds which do not pay above £90 sterling of yearly rent, that is, each family at a medium rents lands at twelve shillings of yearly rent."² This certainly seems to indicate a very wretched state of matters, and would almost lead one to expect to hear that a famine occurred every year. But it must be remembered that for the reasons above given, along with others, farms were let at a very small rent, far below the real value, and generally merely nominal; that besides money, rent at that time was all but universally paid in kind, and in services to the laird or other superior; and that many of the people, especially on the border lands, had other means of existence, as for example, cattle-lifting. Nevertheless, making all these allowances, the condition of the great mass of the Highlanders must have been extremely wretched, although they themselves might not have felt it to be so, they had been so long accustomed to it.

In such a state of matters, with the land so much subdivided, with no leases, and with tenures so uncertain, with so many oppressive exactions, with no incitements to industry or improvement, but with every encouragement to idleness and inglorious self-contentment, it is not to be supposed that agriculture or any other industry would make any great progress. For centuries previous to 1745, and indeed for long after it, agriculture appears to have remained at a stand-still. The implements in use were rude and inefficient, the time devoted to the necessary farming operations, generally a few weeks in spring and autumn, was totally insufficient to produce results of any impor-

tance, and consequently the crops raised, seldom anything else but oats and barley, were scanty, wretched in quality, and seldom sufficient to support the cultivator's family for the half of the year. In general, in the Highlands, as the reader will already have seen, each farm was let to a number of tenants, who, as a rule, cultivated the arable ground on the system of run-rig, *i.e.*, the ground was divided into ridges which were so distributed among the tenants that no one tenant possessed two contiguous ridges. Moreover, no tenant could have the same ridge for two years running, the ridges having a new cultivator every year. Such a system of allocating arable land, it is very evident, must have been attended with the worst results so far as good farming is concerned. The only recommendation that it is possible to urge in its favour is that, there being no inclosures, it would be the interest of the tenants to join together in protecting the land they thus held in common against the ravages of the cattle which were allowed to roam about the hills, and the depredations of hostile clans. As we have just said, there were no inclosures in the Highlands previous to 1745, nor were there for very many years after that. While the crops were standing in the ground, and liable to be destroyed by the cattle, the latter were kept, for a few weeks in summer and autumn, upon the hills; but after the crops were gathered in, they were allowed to roam unheeded through the whole of a district or parish, thus affording facilities for the cattle-raids that formed so important an item in the means of obtaining a livelihood among the ancient Highlanders.

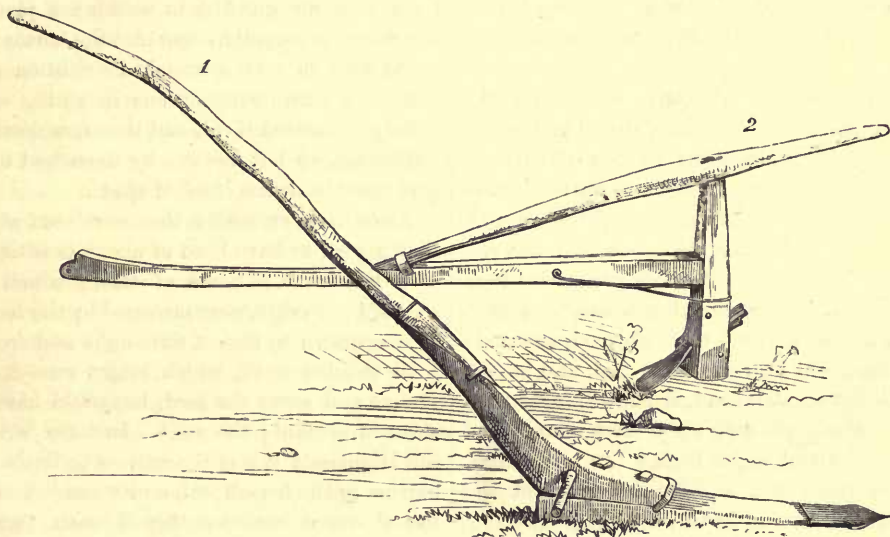
As a rule, the only crops attempted to be raised were oats and barley, and sometimes a little flax; green crops were almost totally unknown or despised, till many years after 1745; even potatoes do not seem to have been at all common till after 1750, although latterly they became the staple food of the

² Gartmore MS.

Highlanders. Rotation of crops, or indeed any approach to scientific agriculture, was totally unknown. The ground was divided into infield and outfield. The infield was constantly cropped, either with oats or bear; one ridge being oats, the other bear alternately. There was no other crop except a ridge of flax where the ground was thought proper for it. The outfield was ploughed three years for oats, and then pastured for six years with horses, black cattle, and sheep. In order to dung it, folds of sod were made for the cattle, and what were called flakes or rails of wood, removable at pleasure, for folding the sheep. A farmer who rented 60, 80,

or 100 acres, was sometimes under the necessity of buying meal for his family in the summer season.³

Their agricultural implements, it may easily be surmised, were as rude as their system of farming. The chief of these were the old Scotch plough and the *caschroim* or crooked spade, which latter, though primitive enough, seems to have been not badly suited to the turning over of the land in many parts of the Highlands. The length of the Highland plough was about four feet and a half, and had only one stilt or handle, by which the ploughman directed it. A slight mould-board was fastened to it with two leather straps, and



1. Old Scotch plough. 2. *Caschroim*, or crooked spade.

the sock and coulter were bound together at the point with a ring of iron. To this plough there were yoked abreast four, six, and even more horses or cattle, or both mixed, in traces made of thongs of leather. To manage this unwieldy machine it required three or four men. The ploughman walked by the side of the plough, holding the stilt with one hand; the driver walked backwards in front of the horses or cattle, having the reins fixed on a cross stick, which he appears to have held in his hands.⁴ Behind the ploughman came one

and sometimes two men, whose business it was to lay down with a spade the turf that

he was a gentleman; and yet, in quality of a proprietor and conductor, might, without dishonour, employ himself in such a work. My first question was, whether that method was common to the Highlands, or peculiar to that part of the country? and, by way of answer, he asked me, if they ploughed otherwise anywhere else? Upon my further inquiry why the man went backwards? he stopped, and very civilly informed me that there were several small rocks, which I did not see, that had a little part of them just peeping on the surface, and therefore it was necessary his servant should see and avoid them, by guiding the horses accordingly, or otherwise his plough might be spoiled by the shock. The answer was satisfactory and convincing, and I must here take notice that many other of their methods are too well suited to their own circumstances, and those of the country, to be easily amended by such as undertake to deride them."—Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 42, 43.

³ Old Statistical Account, vol. ix. p. 494.

⁴ "When I first saw this awkward method as I then thought it, I rode up to the person who guided the machine, to ask him some questions concerning it: he spoke pretty good English, which made me conclude

was torn off. In the Hebrides and some other places of the Highlands, a curious instrument called a *Reestle* or *Restle*, was used in conjunction with this plough. Its coulter was shaped somewhat like a sickle, the instrument itself being otherwise like the plough just described. It was drawn by one horse, which was led by a man, another man holding and directing it by the stilt. It was drawn before the plough in order to remove obstructions, such as roots, tough grass, &c., which would have been apt to obstruct the progress of a weak plough like the above. In this way, it will be seen, five or six men, and an equal number if not more horses or cattle, were occupied in this single agricultural operation, performed now much more effectively by one man and two horses.⁵

The *Caschroim*, i.e., the crooked foot or spade, was an instrument peculiarly suited to the cultivation of certain parts of the Highlands, totally inaccessible to a plough, on account of the broken and rocky nature of the ground. Moreover, the land turned over with the *caschroim* was considerably more productive than that to which the above plough had been used. It consists of a strong piece of wood, about six feet long, bent near the lower end, and having a thick flat wooden head, shod at the extremity with a sharp piece of iron. A piece of wood projected about eight inches from the right side of the blade, and on this the foot was placed to force the instrument diagonally into the ground. "With this instrument a Highlander will open up more ground in a day, and render it fit for the sowing of grain, than could be done by two or three men with any other spades that are commonly used. He will dig as much ground in a day as will sow more than a peck of oats. If he works assiduously from about Christmas to near the end of April, he will prepare land sufficient to sow five bolls. After this he will dig as much land in a day as will sow two pecks of bere; and in the course of the season will cultivate as much land with his spade as is sufficient to supply a family of seven or eight persons, the year round, with meal and potatoes. . . . It appears, in general, that a field laboured with the *caschroim* affords usually one-third more crop than if laboured

with the plough. Poor land will afford near one-half more. But then it must be noticed that this tillage with the plough is very imperfect, and the soil scarcely half laboured."⁶ No doubt this mode of cultivation was suitable enough in a country overstocked with population, as the Highlands were in the early part of last century, and where time and labour were of very little value. There were plenty of men to spare for such work, and there was little else to do but provide themselves with food. Still it is calculated that this spade labour was three times more expensive than that of the above clumsy plough. The *caschroim* was frequently used where there would have been no difficulty in working a plough, the reason apparently being that the horses and cattle were in such a wretched condition that the early farming operations in spring completely exhausted them, and therefore much of the ploughing left undone by them had to be performed with the crooked spade.

As to harrows, where they were used at all, they appear to have been of about as little use as a hand-rake. Some of them, which resembled hay-rakes, were managed by the hand; others, drawn by horses, were light and feeble, with wooden teeth, which might scratch the surface and cover the seed, but could have no effect in breaking the soil.⁷ In some parts of the Highlands it was the custom to fasten the harrow to the horse's tail, and when it became too short, it was lengthened with twisted sticks.

To quote further from Dr Walker's work, which describes matters as they existed about 1760, and the statements in which will apply with still greater force to the earlier half of the century:—"The want of proper carriages in the Highlands is one of the great obstacles to the progress of agriculture, and of every improvement. Having no carts, their corn, straw, manures, fuel, stone, timber, seaweed, and kelp, the articles necessary in the fisheries, and every other bulky commodity, must be transported from one place to another on horseback or on sledges. This must triple or quadruple the expense of their carriage. It must prevent particularly the use of the natural manures with which the country abounds, as, with-

⁵ Walker's *Hebrides*, vol. i. p. 122.

⁶ Walker's *Hebrides*, vol. i. p. 127. ⁷ *Idem*, 131.

out cheap carriage, they cannot be rendered profitable. The roads in most places are so bad as to render the use of wheel-carriages impossible; but they are not brought into use even where the natural roads would admit them."⁸

As we have said already, farming operations in the Highlands lasted only for a few weeks in spring and autumn. Ploughing in general did not commence till March, and was concluded in May; there was no autumn or winter ploughing; the ground was left untouched and unoccupied but by some cattle from harvest to spring-time. It was only after the introduction of potatoes that the Highlanders felt themselves compelled to begin operations about January. As to the *modus operandi* of the Highland farmer in the olden time, we quote the following from the old Statistical Account of the parish of Dunkeld and Dowally, which may be taken as a very fair representative of all the other Highland parishes; indeed, as being on the border of the lowlands, it may be regarded as having been, with regard to agriculture and other matters, in a more advanced state than the generality of the more remote parishes:—"The farmer, whatever the state of the weather was, obstinately adhered to the immemorial practice of beginning to plough on Old Candlemas Day, and to sow on the 20th of March. Summer fallow, turnip crops, and sown grass were unknown; so were compost dunghills and the purchasing of lime. Clumps of brushwood and heaps of stones everywhere interrupted and deformed the fields. The customary rotation of their general crops was—1. Barley; 2. Oats; 3. Oats; 4. Barley; and each year they had a part of the farm employed in raising flax. The operations respecting these took place in the following succession. They began on the day already mentioned to *rib* the ground, on which they intended to sow barley, that is, to draw a wide furrow, so as merely to make the land, as they termed it, red. In that state this ground remained till the fields assigned to oats were ploughed and sown. This was in general accomplished by the end of April. The farmer next proceeded to prepare for his flax crop, and to sow it, which occupied him till the middle of May,

when he began to harrow, and dung, and sow the ribbed barley land. This last was sometimes not finished till the month of June."⁹ As to draining, fallowing, methodical manuring and nourishing the soil, or any of the modern operations for making the best of the arable land of the country, of these the Highlander never even dreamed; and long after¹ they had become common in the low country, it was with the utmost difficulty that his rooted aversion to innovations could be overcome. They literally seem to have taken no thought for the morrow, and the tradition and usage of ages had given them an almost insuperable aversion to manual labour of any kind. This prejudice against work was not the result of inherent laziness, for the Highlander, both in ancient and modern times, has clearly shown that his capacity for work and willingness to exert himself are as strong and active as those of the most industrious lowlander or Englishman. The humblest Highlander believed himself a gentleman, having blood as rich and old as his chief, and he shared in the belief, far from being obsolete even at the present day, that for a gentleman to soil his hands with labour is as degrading as slavery.² This belief was undoubtedly one

⁹ *Old Statistical Account*, vol. xx. p. 74.

¹ "Nothing is more common than to hear the Highlanders boast how much their country might be improved, and that it would produce double what it does at present if better husbandry were introduced among them. For my own part, it was always the only amusement I had in the hills, to observe every minute thing in my way; and I do assure you, I do not remember to have seen the least spot that would bear corn uncultivated, not even upon the sides of the hills, where it could be no otherwise broke up than with a spade. And as for manure to supply the salts and enrich the ground they have hardly any. In summer their cattle are dispersed about the *sheelings*, and almost all the rest of the year in other parts of the hills; and, therefore, all the dung they can have must be from the trifling quantity made by the cattle while they are in the house. I never knew or heard of any limestone, chalk, or marl, they have in the country; and, if some of their rocks might serve for limestone, in that case their kilns, carriage, and fuel would render it so expensive, it would be the same thing to them as if there were none. Their great dependence is upon the nitre of the snow, and they lament the disappointment if it does not fall early in the season."—*Burt's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 48-9.

² "An English lady, who found herself something decaying in her health, and was advised to go among the hills, and drink goat's milk or whey, told me lately, that seeing a Highlander basking at the foot of a hill in his full dress, while his wife and her mother were hard at work in reaping the oats, she asked the old woman how she could be contented to see her daughter labour in that manner, while her husband

⁸ Walker's *Hebrides*, vol. i. p. 133.

of the strongest principles of action which guided the ancient Highlanders, and accounts, we think, to a great extent for his apparent laziness, and for the slovenly and laggard way in which farming operations were conducted.

There were, however, no doubt other reasons for the wretched state of agriculture in the Highlands previous to, and for long after, 1745. The Highlanders had much to struggle against, and much calculated to dishearten them, in the nature of the soil and climate, on which, to a great extent, the success of agricultural operations is dependent. In many parts of the Highlands, especially in the west, rain falls for the greater part of the year, thus frequently preventing the completion of the necessary processes, as well as destroying the crops when put into the ground. As to the soil, no unprejudiced man who is competent to judge will for one moment deny that a great part of it is totally unsuited to agriculture, but fitted only for the pasturage of sheep, cattle, and deer. In the Old Statistical Account of Scotland, this assertion is being constantly repeated by the various Highland ministers who report upon the state of their parishes. In the case of many Highland districts, one could conceive of nothing more hopeless and discouraging than the attempt to force from them a crop of grain. That there are spots in the Highlands as susceptible of high culture as some of the best in the lowlands cannot be denied; but these bear but a small proportion to the great quantity of ground that is fitted only to yield a sustenance to cattle and sheep. Now all reports seem to justify the conclusion that, previous to, and for long after 1745, the Highlands were enormously overstocked with inhabitants, considering the utter want of manufactures and the few other

outlets there were for labour. Thus, we think, the Highlander would be apt to feel that any extraordinary exertion was absolutely useless, as there was not the smallest chance of his ever being able to improve his position, or to make himself, by means of agriculture, better than his neighbour. All he seems to have sought for was to raise as much grain as would keep himself and family in bread during the miserable winter months, and meet the demands of the laird.

The small amount of arable land was no doubt also the reason of the incessant cropping which prevails, and which ultimately left the land in a state of complete exhaustion. "To this sort of management, bad as it is, the inhabitants are in some degree constrained, from the small proportion of arable land upon their farms. From necessity they are forced to raise what little grain they can, though at a great expense of labour, the produce being so inconsiderable. A crop of oats on outfield ground, without manure, they find more beneficial than the pasture. But if they must manure for a crop of oats, they reckon the crop of natural grass rather more profitable. But the scarcity of bread corn—or rather, indeed, the want of bread—obliges them to pursue the less profitable practice. Oats and bear being necessary for their subsistence, they must prefer them to every other produce. The land at present in tillage, and fit to produce them, is very limited, and inadequate to the consumption of the inhabitants. They are, therefore, obliged to make it yield as much of these grains as possible, by scourging crops."³

Another great discouragement to good farming was the multitude and grievous nature of the *services* demanded from the tenant by the landlord as part payment of rent. So multifarious were these, and so much of the farmer's time did they occupy, that frequently his own farming affairs got little or none of his personal attention, but had to be entrusted to his wife and family, or to the cottars whom he housed on his farm, and who, for an acre or so of ground and liberty to pasture an ox or two and a few sheep, performed to the farmer services similar to those rendered by the latter to his laird. Often a farmer had only one day in

was only an idle spectator? And to this the woman answered, that her son-in-law was a *gentleman*, and it would be a disparagement to him to do any such work; and that both she and her daughter too were sufficiently honoured by the alliance. This instance, I own, has something particular in it, as such; but the thing is very common, *à la Palatine*, among the middling sort of people."—*Burt's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 45.

The Highlander at home is indolent. It is with impatience that he allows himself to be diverted from his favourite occupation of traversing the mountains and moors in looking after his flocks, a few days in spring and autumn, for the purposes of his narrow scheme of agriculture. It is remarked, however, that the Highlander, when removed beyond his native bounds, is found capable of abundant exertion and industry.—*Graham's Perthshire*, 235.

³ Walker's *Hebrides*, &c., vol. i. p. 197.

the week to himself, so undefined and so unlimited in extent were these services. Even in some parishes, so late as 1790, the tenant for his laird (or *master*, as he was often called) had to plough, harrow, and manure his land in spring; cut corn, cut, winnow, lead, and stack his hay in summer, as well as thatch office-houses with his own (the tenant's) turf and straw; in harvest assist to cut down the master's crop whenever called upon, to the latter's neglect of his own, and help to store it in the cornyard; in winter frequently a tenant had to thrash his master's crop, winter his cattle, and find ropes for the ploughs and for binding the cattle. Moreover, a tenant had to take his master's grain from him, see that it was properly put through all the processes necessary to convert it into meal, and return it ready for use; place his time and his horses at the laird's disposal, to buy in fuel for the latter, run a message whenever summoned to do so; in short, the condition of a tenant in the Highlands during the early part of last century, and even down to the end of it in some places, was little better than a slave.⁴

Not that, previous to 1745, this state of matters was universally felt to be a grievance by tenants and farmers in the Highlands, although it had to a large extent been abolished both in England and the lowlands of Scotland. On the contrary, the people themselves appear to have accepted this as the natural and inevitable state of things, the only system consistent with the spirit of clanship with the supremacy of the chiefs. That this was not, however, universally the case, may be seen from the fact that, so early as 1729, Brigadier Macintosh of Borlum (famous in the affair of 1715) published a book, or rather essay, on *Ways and Means for Enclosing, Fallowing, Planting, &c., Scotland*, which he prefaced by a strongly-worded exhortation to the gentlemen of Scotland to abolish this degrading and suicidal system, which was as much against their own interests as it was oppressive to the tenants. Still, after 1745, there seems to be no doubt that, as a rule, the ordinary Highlander acquiesced contentedly in the established state of things, and generally, so far as his immediate wants were concerned, suffered little or nothing from the system. It was only

after the abolition of the jurisdictions that the grievous oppressive hardship, injustice, and obstructiveness of the system became evident. Previous to that, it was, of course, the laird's or chief's interest to keep his tenants attached to him and contented, and to see that they did not want; not only so, but previous to that epoch, what was deficient in the supply of food produced by any parish or district, was generally amply compensated for by the levies of cattle and other gear made by the clans upon each other when hostile, or upon their lawful prey, the Lowlanders. But even with all this, it would seem that, not unfrequently, the Highlanders, either universally or in certain districts, were reduced to sore straits, and even sometimes devastated by famine. Their crops and other supplies were so exactly squared to their wants, that, whenever the least failure took place in the expected quantity, scarcity or cruel famine was the result. According to Dr Walker, the inhabitants of some of the Western Isles look for a failure once in every four years. Maston, in his *Description of the Western Islands*, complained that many died from famine arising from years of scarcity, and about 1742, many over all the Highlands appear to have shared the same fate from the same cause.⁵ So that, even under the old system, when the clansmen were faithful and obedient, and the chief was kind and liberal, and many cattle and other productions were imported free of all cost, the majority of the people lived from hand to mouth, and frequently suffered from scarcity and want. Infinitely more so was this the case when it ceased to be the interest of the laird to keep around him numerous tenants.

All these things being taken into consideration, it is not to be wondered at that agriculture in the Highlands was for so long in such a wretched condition.

They set much store, however, by their small black cattle and diminutive sheep, and appear in many districts to have put more dependence upon them for furnishing the means of existence, than upon what the soil could yield.

The live-stock of a Highland farm consisted mainly of horses, sheep, and cattle, all of them

⁴ *Old Statistical Account*, vol. x. p. 17.

⁵ See accounts of various Highland parishes in the *Old Statistical Account*.

of a peculiarly small breed, and capable of yielding but little profit. The number of horses generally kept by a farmer was out of all proportion to the size of his farm and the number of other cattle belonging to him. The proportion of horses to cattle often ranged from one in eight to one in four. For example, Dr Webster mentions a farm in Kintail, upon which there were forty milk cows, which with the young stock made one hundred and twenty head of cattle, about two hundred and fifty goats and ewes, young and old, and ten horses. The reason that so great a proportion of horses was kept, was evidently the great number that were necessary for the operation of ploughing, and the fact that in the greater part of the Highlands carts were unknown, and fuel, grain, manure, and many other things generally carried in machines, had to be conveyed on the backs of the horses, which were of a very small breed, although of wonderful strength considering their rough treatment and scanty fare. They were frequently plump, active, and endurable, though they had neither size nor strength for laborious cultivation. They were generally from nine to twelve hands high, short-necked, chubby-headed, and thick and flat at the withers.⁶ "They are so small that a middle-sized man must keep his legs almost in lines parallel to their sides when carried over the stony ways; and it is almost incredible to those who have not seen it how nimbly they skip with a heavy rider among the rocks and large moor-stones, turning zig-zag to such places as are passable."⁷ Walker believes that scarcely any horses could go through so much labour and fatigue upon so little sustenance.⁸ They were generally called

garrons, and seem in many respects to have resembled the modern Shetland pony. These horses for the greater part of the year were allowed to run wild among the hills, each having a mark indicating its owner; during the severest part of winter they were sometimes brought down and fed as well as their owners could afford. They seem frequently to have been bred for exportation.

Sheep, latterly so intimately associated with the Highlands, bore but a very small proportion to the number of black cattle. Indeed, before sheep-farming began to take place upon so large a scale, and to receive encouragement from the proprietors, the latter were generally in the habit of restricting their tenants to a limited number of sheep, seldom more than one sheep for one cow. This restriction appears to have arisen from the real or supposed interest of the landlord, who looked for the money part of his rent solely from the produce of sale of the tenants' cattle. Sheep were thus considered not as an article of profit, but merely as part of the means by which the farmer's family was clothed and fed, and therefore the landlord was anxious that the number should not be more than was absolutely necessary. In a very few years after 1745, a complete revolution took place in this respect.

The old native sheep of the Highlands, now rare, though common in some parts of Shetland, is thus described by Dr Walker. "It is the smallest animal of its kind. It is of a thin lank shape, and has short straight horns. The face and legs are white, the tail extremely short, and the wool of various colours; for, beside black and white, it is sometimes of a bluish grey colour, at other times brown, and sometimes of a deep russet, and frequently an individual is blotched with two or three of these different colours. In some of the low islands, where the pasture answers, the wool of this small sheep is of the finest kind, and the same with that of Shetland. In the mountainous islands, the animal is found of the smallest size, with coarser wool, and with this

the stock. None of them perform the work of a horse; even where such numbers are kept, and purely for labour, each of them, in many places, do not plough two acres of land annually. They get no food the whole year round, but what they can pick up upon the hills, and their sustenance is therefore unluckily accounted as nothing."

⁶ Walker's *Hebrides*, &c., vol. ii. p. 159.

⁷ Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 38.

⁸ Still they would seem to have been of comparatively little use for farming operations; for Dr Walker, writing about 1760, when the breed was at least no worse than it was previous to 1745, speaks thus:—"The number of horses is by far too great upon every Highland farm. They are so numerous, because they are inefficient; and they are inefficient, because they have neither stature nor food to render them sufficiently useful. Their number has never been restrained by the authority of the landlords, like that of the sheep. For in many places, they are bred and sold off the farm to advantage, being sent in droves to the south. In this case, their numbers upon a farm may be proper. But in general, there are six, eight, or ten horses upon the smaller farms, and sixteen, twenty, or more upon the larger; without any being bred for sale, and even few for supporting

very remarkable character, that it has often four, and sometimes even six horns.

“Such is the original breed of sheep over all the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. It varies much indeed in its properties, according to the climate and pasture of different districts; but, in general, it is so diminutive in size, and of so bad a form, that it is requisite it should be given up, wherever sheep-farming is to be followed to any considerable extent. From this there is only one exception: in some places the wool is of such a superior quality, and so valuable, that the breed perhaps may, on that account, be with advantage retained.”

The small, shaggy black cattle, so well known even at the present day in connection with the Highlands, was the principal live-stock cultivated previous to the alterations which followed 1745. This breed appears to have been excellent in its kind, and the best adapted for the country, and was quite capable of being brought to admirable perfection by proper care, feeding, and management. But little care, however, was bestowed on the rearing of these animals, and in general they were allowed to forage for themselves as best they could. As we have said already, the Highland farmer of those days regarded his cattle as the only money-producing article with which his farm was stocked, all the other products being necessary for the subsistence of himself and his family. It was mainly the cattle that paid the rent. It was therefore very natural that the farmer should endeavour to have as large a stock of this commodity as possible, the result being that, blind to his own real interests, he generally to a large extent overstocked his farm. According to Dr Walker,⁹ over all the farms in the north, there was kept above one-third more of cattle than what under the then prevailing system of management could be properly supported. The consequence of course was, that the cattle were generally in a half-fed and lean condition, and, during winter especially, they died in great numbers.

As a rule, the arable land in the Highlands bore, and still bears, but a very small proportion to that devoted to pasture. The arable land is as a rule by the sea-shore, on the side of a river or lake, or in a valley; while the

rest of the farm, devoted to pasturage, stretches often for many miles away among the hills. The old mode of valuing or dividing lands in Scotland was into shilling, sixpenny, and threepenny lands of Scotch money. Latterly the English denomination of money was used, and these divisions were termed penny,¹ half-penny, and farthing lands. A tacksman generally rented a large number of these penny lands, and either farmed them himself, or, as was very often done, sublet them to a number of tenants, none of whom as a rule held more than a penny land, and many, having less than a farthing land, paying from a few shillings to a few pounds of rent. Where a number of tenants thus rented land from a tacksman or proprietor, they generally laboured the arable land in common, and each received a portion of the produce proportioned to his share in the general holding. The pasturage, which formed by far the largest part of the farm, they had in common for the use of their cattle, each tenant being allowed to pasture a certain number of cattle and sheep, *soumed* or proportioned² to the quantity of land he held. “The tenant of a penny land often keeps four or five cows, with what are called their followers, six or eight horses, and some sheep. The followers are the calf, a one-year-old, a two-year-old, and a three-year-old, making in all with the cow five head of black cattle. By frequent deaths among them, the number is seldom complete, yet this penny land has or may have upon it about twenty or twenty-five head of black cattle, besides horses and sheep.” The halfpenny and farthing lands seem to have been allowed a larger proportion of live stock than the penny lands, considering their size.³ It was seldom, however, that a tenant confined himself strictly to the number for which he was *soumed*, the desire to have as much as possible of the most profitable commodity frequently inducing to overstock, and thus defeat his main purpose.

During summer and autumn, the cattle and other live stock were confined to the hills to prevent them doing injury to the crops, for

¹ A penny land apparently contained about the tenth part of a *davoch*, *i.e.*, about forty acres.

² The rule in *souming* seems to have been that one cow was equal to eight, in some places ten, sheep, and two cows equal to one horse.

³ Walker's *Hebrides*, &c., vol. i. p. 56.

⁹ *Hebrides*, &c., vol. ii. p. 50.

the lands were totally unprotected by enclosures. After the ground was cleared of the crops, the animals were allowed to roam promiscuously over the whole farm, if not over the farms of a whole district, having little or nothing to eat in the winter and spring but what they could pick up in the fields. It seems to have been a common but very absurd notion in the Highlands that the housing of cattle tended to enfeeble them; thus many cattle died of cold and starvation every winter, those who survived were mere skeletons, and, moreover, the farmer lost all their dung which could have been turned to good use as manure. Many of the cows, from poverty and disease, brought a calf only once in two years, and it was often a month or six weeks before the cow could give sufficient milk to nourish her offspring. Thus many of the Highland cattle were starved to death in their calf's skin.

A custom prevailed among the Highlanders of old, common to them with other mountainous pastoral countries, *e.g.*, Switzerland. During winter the tenants of a farm with their families, cottars, and servants, lived in the *Bailte Geamhre*, or winter town, in the midst of the arable land; but in summer, after all the sowing was done, about the middle of June, a general migration was made to the hills along with the cattle, the arable ground with all its appurtenances being allowed to take care of itself. The following passage, quoted from the old Statistical Account of Boleskine and Abergariff, Inverness-shire, will give a notion of the working of this practice:—

“The whole country, with two exceptions, consists of a variety of half davoch-lands, each of which was let or disposed by the Lovat family or their chamberlain to a wadsetter or principal tacksman, and had no concern with the sub-tenantry; each sub-tenant had again a variety of cottars, equally unconnected with the principal tacksman; and each of these had a number of cattle of all denominations, proportional to their respective holdings, with the produce whereof he fed and clad himself and whole family. As there were extensive sheallings or grasings attached to this country, in the neighbourhood of the lordship of Badenoch, the inhabitants in the beginning of summer removed to these sheallings with their whole

cattle, man, woman, and child; and it was no uncommon thing to observe an infant in one creel, and a stone on the other side of the horse, to keep up an equilibrium; and when the grass became scarce in the sheallings, they returned again to their principal farms, where they remained while they had sufficiency of pasture, and then, in the same manner, went back to their sheallings, and observed this ambulatory course during the seasons of vegetation; and the only operations attended to during the summer season was their peats or fuel, and repairing their rustic habitations. When their small crops were fit for it, all hands descended from the hills, and continued on the farms till the same was cut and secured in barns, the walls of which were generally made of dry stone, or wreathed with branches or boughs of trees; and it was no singular custom, after harvest, for the whole inhabitants to return to their sheallings, and to abide there till driven from thence by the snow. During the winter and spring, the whole pasturage of the country was a common, and a poind-fold was a thing totally unknown. The cultivation of the country was all performed in spring, the inhabitants having no taste for following green crops or other modern improvements.”

The milk produced by the small Highland cows was, and indeed is, small in quantity, but in quality it resembles what in the Lowlands is known as cream. Of course, the butter and cheese made from such milk is unusually rich.

About the end of August or beginning of September, the cattle had generally been got into good condition by their summer feeding, the beef then, according to Captain Burt, being “extremely sweet and succulent.” It was at this time that the drovers collected their herds, and drove them to the fairs and markets on the borders of the lowlands, and sometimes so far south as the north of England. As from the want of good roads and any means of rapid conveyance, the drovers took a considerable time to reach their destination, and had in the meantime to be fed, a certain sum per head had to be paid to the owners of the territories through which they passed, for the liberty of being allowed grazing for the cattle. Burt gives the following graphic account of a scene

he himself witnessed on the march south of one of these herds of cattle. "I have several times seen them driving great numbers of cattle along the sides of the mountains at a great distance, but never, except once, was near them. This was in a time of rain, by a wide river, where there was a boat to ferry over the drovers. The cows were about fifty in number, and took the water like spaniels; and when they were in, their drivers made a hideous cry to urge them forwards: this, they told me, they did to keep the foremost of them from turning about; for, in that case, the rest would do the like, and then they would be in danger, especially the weakest of them, to be driven away and drowned by the torrent. I thought it a very odd sight to see so many noses and eyes just above water, and nothing of them more to be seen, for they had no horns, and upon the land they appeared like so many large Lincolnshire calves." These drovers do not seem as a rule to have been the owners of cattle, but a class of men whose business it was to collect into one herd or drove the saleable cattle of a number of farmers, take them south to the markets and bring back the money, receiving a small commission for their trouble. As a rule they seem to have been men who, when their integrity was relied on, made it a point of honour to be able to render a satisfactory account of every animal and every farthing; although probably no one would be more ready to join in a *creach* or cattle-lifting expedition, which in those days was considered as honourable as warfare. The drovers "conducted the cattle by easy stages across the country in trackways, which, whilst they were less circuitous than public roads, were softer for the feet of the animals, and he often rested at night in the open fields with his herds."⁴ A good idea of the character of this class of Highlanders may be obtained from Sir Walter Scott's *Chronicles of the Canongate*.⁵

⁴ Logan's *Scottish Gael*, vol. ii. p. 65.

⁵ The following remarks, taken from the Gartmore MS. at the end of Burt's *Letters*, gives one by no means a favourable idea of these drovers, but it must be borne in mind that the writer lived on the border of the most notorious and ill-behaved part of the Highlands, Rob Roy's country, and that he himself was properly a Lowlander. The extract will serve to show how business transactions were conducted in the Highlands. "It is alledged, that much of the Highlands lye at a great distance from publick fairs, mereates, and places of commerce, and that the access to these places is both

All the other operations connected with or arising out of agriculture were conducted in as rude and ineffective a manner as those above mentioned. The harvest was always an anxious season with the Highlander, as from the wetness of the climate and the early period at which rain set in, their crops might never come to useful perfection, or might be swept away by floods or heavy rains before they could be gathered in.⁶ Dr Walker declares that in the Hebrides and Western Highlands the people made up their minds to lose one harvest in four on account of the wetness of the climate. If the crops, however, escaped destruction from the elements, the farmers were glad to get them reaped as quickly as possible. As a rule, the common sickle seems to have been used for cutting down the grain, although it appears to have been not uncommon to tear it from the

difficult and dangerous; by reason of all which, trading people decline to go into the country in order to traffick and deal with the people. It is on this account that the farmers, having no way to turn the produce of their farms, which is mostly cattle, into money, are obliged to pay their rents in cattle, which the landlord takes at his own price, in regard that he must either graze them himself, send them to distant markets, or credit some person with them, to be againe at a certain profite disposed of by him. This introduced the busieness of that sort of people commonly known by the name of Drovers. These men have little or no substance, they must know the language, the different places, and consequently be of that country. The farmers, then, do either sell their cattle to these drovers upon credite, at the drovers price (for ready money they seldom have), or to the landlord at his price, for payment of his rent. If this last is the case, the landlord does again dispose of them to the drover upon credite, and these drovers make what profit they can by selling them to grasiers, or at markets. These drovers make payments, and keep credite for a few years, and then they either in reality become bankrupts, or pretend to be so. The last is most frequently the case, and then the subject of which they have cheated is privately transferred to a confident person in whose name, upon that reall stock, a trade is sometimes carried on, for their behoof, till this trustee gett into credite, and prepaire *his* affairs for a bankruptcy. Thus the farmers are still kept poor; they first sell at an under rate, and then they often lose altogether. The landlords, too, must either turn traders, and take their cattle to markets, or give these people credite, and by the same means suffer."—Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 364, 365.

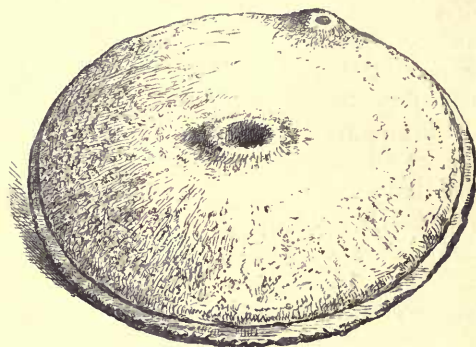
⁶ "The latter part of the season is often very wet; and the corn, particularly oats, suffer very much. June and August are the months which have least rain. September and October are frequently very wet: during these months, not only a greater quantity of rain falls, but it is more constant, accompanied by a cold and cloudy atmosphere, which is very unfavourable either to the ripening of grain, or drying it after it is cut. In July and August a good deal of rain falls; but it is in heavy showers, and the intervals are fine, the sun shining clear and bright often for several days together."—*Garnett's Tour*, vol. i. p. 24.

earth by the roots.⁷ The harvest work seems to have been generally performed by women, as is indeed the case still in some parts of Scotland. This, Burt thinks, tended much to retard the harvest, as it sometimes took a woman and a girl a fortnight to do what with the aid of a man might have been done in a couple of days.⁸ So short-lived was the supply of grain, and so ill-off were the people sometimes, that it was not uncommon for them to pluck the ears as they ripened, like fruit, and even scorch the grain when green and squeeze it into an unwholesome pulp.⁹

The flail appears to have been the only article used to separate the grain from its husk, and the only winnowing it got was from the draught that passed through the rude barn, which had two doors opposite each other for the purpose.

The quern or hand-mill is the oldest machine used for grinding grain. It consisted of two stones, one above the other, the former turned round by a handle and having an opening in

the top to admit the grain. This primitive kind of mill, even for long after 1745, was used all over the Highlands to convert the scanty supply of grain into meal. The quern was generally driven by two women sitting opposite each



Quern, from the collection of the late Sir James Y. Simpson, Bart.

other, but it was also adapted to a rude water-wheel, the axle of which was fixed in the upper stone. This rude water-mill is still used in Shetland, and is of the very simplest construction.

A common method of preparing the grain for the quern was called *graddaning*, which consisted in taking a handful of corn in the stalk, setting fire to it, and when it had burnt long enough, knocking the grain from the head by means of a stick; thus both thrashing and drying it at the same time. This of course was a wretched and most extravagant mode of procedure, blackening and otherwise spoiling the grain, and wasting the straw. This process was common in the Western Islands, where also there was a kind of very rude kiln, on the bare ribs of which were put the heads of the grain, which, when dried, were pulled down on the floor and immediately thrashed and winnowed, and stored up hot in plates, ready for the quern. Thus could a man have cut the sheaves, dry and thrash the barley, clean it for the quern, and make his breakfast thereof after it was ground.¹ Another method common in Badenoch and the central Highlands was to switch the corn out of the ear with a stick, separate it from the chaff, and put it in a pot on the fire, while a person kept stirring it

⁷ Buchanan's *Travels in the Hebrides*, p. 154.

⁸ "In larger farms belonging to gentlemen of the clan, where there are any number of women employed in harvest-work, they all keep time together by several barbarous tones of the voice, and stoop and rise together as regularly as a rank of soldiers when they ground their arms. Sometimes they are incited to their work by the sound of a bagpipe, and by either of these they proceed with great alacrity, it being disgraceful for any one to be out of time with the sickle." This custom of using music to enable a number of common workers to keep time, seems to have been in vogue in many operations in the Highlands. We quote the following graphic account of the process of fulling given by Burt in the same letter that contains the above quotation, (vol. ii. p. 48.) "They use the same tone, or a piper, when they thicken the newly-woven plaiding, instead of a fulling-mill. This is done by six or eight women sitting upon the ground, near some river or rivulet, in two opposite ranks, with the wet cloth between them; their coats are tucked up, and with their naked feet they strike one against another's, keeping exact time as above mentioned. And among numbers of men, employed in any work that requires strength and joint labour (as the launching a large boat, or the like), they must have the piper to regulate their time, as well as usky to keep up their spirits in the performance; for pay they often have little, or none at all." — Burt's *Letters*.

⁹ Burton's *Scotland* (1689-1748), vol. ii. p. 395. — "The poverty of the field labourers hereabouts is deplorable. I was one day riding out for air and exercise, and in my way I saw a woman cutting green barley in a little plot before her hut: this induced me to turn aside and ask her what use she intended it for, and she told me it was to make bread for her family. The grain was so green and soft that I easily pressed some of it between my fingers; so that when she had prepared it, certainly it must have been more like a poultice than what she called it, bread." — Burt's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 224.

¹ Buchanan's *Hebrides*, p. 156.

with a wooden spatula. "I have seen," says a gentleman from Laggan, "the corn cut, dried, ground, baked, and eaten in less than two hours."²

There must, however, have been a mill on a somewhat larger scale than either the hand or water-quern, situated in a great many of the Highland districts, as it is well known that in the Highlands as well as the Lowlands, multure and thirlage were common exactions by which the tenants were oppressed. The tenants would be no doubt glad in many cases to escape the heavy mill-dues by grinding their grain for themselves, as well as their rude contrivances would allow them. But the convenience of a well-constructed mill in a district is evident, and of course it is but fair that those who take advantage of the mill should pay for it. Moreover, in early times, when large mills were first introduced into a district by the laird or proprietor, it was natural enough that he should endeavour, either by bargain or force, to get his tenants to take their grain to the district-mill to be ground, as only by this means could the expense of building and keeping up of the mill be defrayed and a miller induced to rent it. As money was scarce in those days, and as rent and other dues were paid in kind, it was natural and fair enough that the landlord should exact a small portion of the grain taken to his mill as due to him for keeping the mill up, and also for the miller to take payment for his trouble and time by keeping to himself a certain proportion of the meal into which he had converted the grain. But like every other custom, this was liable to abuse, and did in the end turn out to be a most grievous exaction and a great hindrance to agricultural improvement. Every farmer was thirled to a particular mill, thirlage being a due payable to the landlord; and the miller, besides having a croft or small farm attached to the mill, was allowed to exact multure, or a proportion of meal, to pay himself for his trouble. Besides these there appears to have been other exactions which could be made by the miller on various pretexts, and the amount of which depended pretty much upon his own caprice. Altogether they not unfrequently amounted to an eighth or a tenth of the meal produced by the grain. Yet for long after 1745, even into the present century, did

these exactions continue to be in force in many parts of the country; and an almost universal complaint by the writers of the articles on the Highland parishes in the Old Statistical Account, is the grievous nature of these and other exactions.

Almost the only fuel used by the Highlanders, not only in the early part but during the whole of last century, was peat, still used in many Highland districts, and the only fuel used in a great part of Orkney and Shetland. The cutting and preparing of the fuel, composed mainly of decayed roots of various plants, consumed a serious part of the Highlander's time, as it was often to be found only at a great distance from his habitation; and he had to cut not only for himself but for his laird, the process itself being long and troublesome, extending from the time the sods were first cut till they were formed in a stack at the side of the farmer's or cottar's door, over five or six months; and after all, they frequently turned out but a wretched substitute for either wood or coal; often they were little else than a mass of red earth. It generally took five people to cut peats out of one spot. One cut the peats, which were placed by another on the edge of the trench from which they were cut; a third spread them on the field, while a fourth trimmed them, a fifth resting in the meantime ready to relieve the man that was cutting.

As would naturally be expected, the houses and other buildings of the Highlanders were quite in keeping with their agricultural implements and general mode of life. Even the tacksmen or gentlemen of the clan, the relations of the chief, lived in huts or hovels, that the poorest farmer in most parts of Scotland at the present day, would shudder to house his cattle in. In most cases they appear to have been pretty much the same as those of the small farmers or cottars, only perhaps a little larger. Burt mentions such a house belonging to a gentleman of the clan, which he visited in one of his peregrinations round Inverness. He says³ it consisted of one long apartment without any partition, "where the family was at one end, and some cattle at the other." The owner of this rude habitation must have been somewhat shrewd and sensible, as he

² Logan's *Gael*, vol. ii p. 97.

³ *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 7.

could not only perceive the disadvantages of this mode of life to which he was doomed, but had insight and candour enough to be able to account for his submission to them. "The truth is," Captain Burt reports him to have said, "we are insensibly inured to it by degrees; for, when very young, we know no better; being grown up, we are inclined, or persuaded by our near relations, to marry—thence come children, and fondness for them: but above all," says he, "is the *love of our chief*, so strongly is it inculcated to us in our infancy; and if it were not for that, I think the Highlands would be much thinner of people than they now are." How much truth there is in that last statement is clearly evidenced by the history of the country after the abolition of the hereditary jurisdictions, which was the means of breaking up the old intimate relation between, and mutual dependence of, chief and people. Burt says elsewhere, that near to Inverness; there were a few gentlemen's houses built of stone and lime, but that in the inner part of the mountains there were no stone-buildings except the barracks, and that one might have gone a hundred miles without seeing any other dwellings but huts of turf. By the beginning of last century the houses of most of the chiefs, though comparatively small, seem to have been substantially built of stone and lime, although their food and manner of life would seem to have been pretty much the same as those of the tacksmen. The children of chiefs and gentlemen seem to have been allowed to run about in much the same apparently uncared for condition as those of the tenants, it having been a common saying, according to Burt, "that a gentleman's bairns are to be distinguished by their speaking English." To illustrate this he tells us that once when dining with a laird not very far from Inverness—possibly Lord Lovat—he met an English soldier at the house who was catching birds for the laird to exercise his hawks on. This soldier told Burt that for three or four days after his first coming, he had observed in the kitchen ("an out-house hovel") a parcel of dirty children half naked, whom he took to belong to some poor tenant, but at last discovered they were part of the family. "But," says the fastidious English Captain, "although these were so little regarded, the young laird, about the age of fourteen, was

going to the university; and the eldest daughter, about sixteen, sat with us at table, clean and genteelly dressed."⁴

There is no reason to doubt Burt's statement when he speaks of what he saw or heard, but it must be remembered he was an Englishman, with all an Englishman's prejudices in favour of the manners and customs, the good living, and general fastidiousness which characterise his own half of the kingdom, and many of an Englishman's prejudices against the Scotch generally and the turbulent Highlanders in particular. His letters are, however, of the utmost value in giving us a clear and interesting glimpse into the mode of life of the Highlanders shortly before 1745, and most Scotchmen at least will be able to sift what is fact from what is exaggeration and English colouring. Much, no doubt, of what Burt tells of the Highlanders when he was there is true, but it is true also of people then living in the same station in other parts of Scotland, where however among the better classes, and even among the farmers, even then, there was generally a rough abundance combined with a sort of affectation of rudeness of manner. It is not so very long ago since the son of the laird, and he might have been a duke, and the son of the hind were educated at the same parish school; and even at the present day it is no uncommon sight to see the sons of the highest Scottish nobility sitting side by side on the same college-benches with the sons of day-labourers, ploughmen, mechanics, farmers, and small shop-keepers. Such a sight is rare in the English universities; where there are low-born intruders, it will in most cases be found that they belong to Scotland. We do not make these remarks to prejudice the reader in any way against the statements of Burt or to depreciate the value of his letters; all we wish the reader to understand is that he was an Englishman, rather fond of gossip, and perhaps of adding point to a story at the expense of truth, with all the prejudices and want of enlightenment and cosmopolitanism of even educated Englishmen of 150 years ago. He states facts correctly, but from a peculiar and very un-Scottish point of view. His evidence, even when stripped of its slight colouring, is invaluable, and, even to the

⁴ Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 96.

modern Highlander, must prove that his ancestors lived in a very miserable way, although they themselves might not have realised its discomfort and wretchedness, but on the contrary, may have been as contented as the most well-to-do English squire or prosperous English farmer.

Even among the higher members of the clans, the tacksmen and most extensive farmers, the fare does not seem to have been by any means abundant, and generally was of the commonest kind. For a few months in the end of the year, when the cattle and sheep were in condition to be killed, animal food appears to have been plentiful enough, as it must also have been after any successful cattle-foray. But for the rest of the year, the food of even the gentlemen in many places must have been such as any modern farmer would have turned up his nose at. In other districts again, where the chief was well-off and liberal, he appears to have been willing enough to share what he had with his relations the higher tenants, who again would do their best to keep from want the under tenants and cottars. Still it will be seen, the living of all was very precarious. "It is impossible for me," says Burt,⁵ "from my own knowledge, to give you an account of the ordinary way of living of these gentlemen; because, when any of us (the English) are invited to their houses there is always an appearance of plenty to excess; and it has been often said they will ransack all their tenants rather than we should think meanly of their housekeeping: but I have heard it from many whom they have employed, and perhaps had little regard to their observations as inferior people, that, although they have been attended at dinner by five or six servants, yet, with all that state, they have often dined upon oat meal varied several ways, pickled herrings, or other such cheap and indifferent diet." Burt complains much of their want of hospitality; but at this he need not have been surprised. He and every other soldier stationed in the Highlands would be regarded with suspicion and even dislike by the natives, who were by no means likely to give them any encouragement to frequent their houses, and pry into their secrets and mode of life. The Highlanders were well-known for their hospitality, and are so in many

places even at the present day, resembling in this respect most people living in a wild and not much frequented country. As to the everyday fare above mentioned, those who partook of it would consider it no hardship, if indeed Burt had not been mistaken or been deceived as to details. Oatmeal, in the form of porridge and brose, is common even at the present day among the lower classes in the country, and even among substantial farmers. As for the other part of it, there must have been plenty of salmon and trout about the rivers and lochs of Inverness-shire, and abundance of grain of various kinds on the hills, so that the gentlemen to whom the inquisitive Captain refers, must have taken to porridge and pickled herring from choice: and it is well known, that in Scotland at least, when a guest is expected, the host endeavours to provide something better than common for his entertainment. Burt also declares that he has often seen a laird's lady coming to church with a maid behind her carrying her shoes and stockings, which she put on at a little distance from the church. Indeed, from what he says, it would seem to have been quite common for those in the position of ladies and gentlemen to go about in this free and easy fashion. Their motives for doing so were no doubt those of economy and comfort—not because they had neither shoes nor stockings to put on. The practice is quite common at the present day in Scotland, for both respectable men and women when travelling on a dusty road on a broiling summer-day, to do so on their bare feet, as being so much more comfortable and less tiresome than travelling in heavy boots and thick worsted stockings. No one thinks the worse of them for it, nor infers that they must be wretchedly ill off. The practice has evidently at one time been much more common even among the higher classes, but, like many other customs, lingers now only among the common people.

From all we can learn, however, the chiefs and their more immediate dependants and relations appear by no means to have been ill-off, so far as the necessities of life went, previous to the rebellion of 1745. They certainly had not a superfluity of money, but many of the chiefs were profuse in their hospitality, and had always abundance if not variety to eat and drink.

⁵ *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 97.

Indeed it is well known, that about 200 years before the rebellion, an enactment had to be made by parliament limiting the amount of wine and brandy to be used by the various chiefs. Claret, in Captain Burt's time, was as common in and around Inverness as it was in Edinburgh; the English soldiers are said to have found it selling at sixpence a quart, and left it at three or four times that price. In their habits and mode of life, their houses and other surroundings, these Highland gentlemen were no doubt rough and rude and devoid of luxuries, and not over particular as to cleanliness either of body or utensils, but still always dignified and courteous, respectful to their superiors and affable to their inferiors. Highland pride is still proverbial, and while often very amusing and even pitiable, has often been of considerable service to those who possess it, stimulating them to keep up their self-respect and to do their best in whatever situation they may be placed. It was this pride that made the poorest and most tattered of the tacksmen tenants with whom Burt came in contact, conduct himself as if he had been lord of all he surveyed, and look with suspicion and perhaps with contempt upon the unknown English red-coat.

As a kind of set-off to Burt's disparaging account of the condition of Highland gentlemen, and yet to some extent corroborating it, we quote the following from the Old Statistical Account of the parish of Boleskine and Abergartney in Inverness-shire. The district to which this account refers was at least no worse than most other Highland parishes, and in some respects must have been better than those that were further out of the reach of civilisation.⁶ "Till the beginning of this century, the whole heritors and wadsetters in this parish lived in houses composed of cupple trees, and the walls and thatch made up of sod and divot; but in every wadsetter's house there was

⁶ The following quotations from Mr Dunbar's *Social Life in Former Days*, giving details of household furniture and expenses, may be taken as "a correct index of the comforts and conveniences" of the best off of the old Highland lairds; for as they refer to Morayshire, just on the borders of the Highlands, they cannot be held as referring to the Highlands generally, the interior and western districts of which were considerably behind the border lands in many respects:—

a spacious hall, containing a large table, where he and his family and dependants eat their two

"SIR ROBERT GORDON'S ALLOWANCE FOR HIS LADY AND FAMILY, FROM DECEMBER 14TH 1740 TO DECEMBER 14TH 1741.

	Sterling. £ s. d.
Imprimis, to 36 bolls malt, at 8 shillings and 4 pence per boll,	15 0 0
Item, to 36 bolls meal, at same price,	15 0 0
Item, to 10 bolls wheat, at 13 shillings and 4 pence per boll,	6 13 4
Item, to 12 beeves at £1 per piece,	12 0 0
Item, to meal to servants without doors,	9 7 6
Item, to servants' wages within and without doors,	41 5 0
Item, to cash instantly delivered,	50 6 2
Item, to be paid monthly, £4, 4s.,	50 8 0
	£200 0 0

"Servants' Wages 1741.

Imprimis to gentlewomen,	10 0 0
Item, to five maids,	5 6 8
Item, to two cooks,	5 0 0
Item, to two porters,	3 0 0
Item, to Robin's servant,	1 0 0
Item, to the groom,	5 5 0
Item, to the neighbour,	3 6 8
Item, to three out-servants,	7 0 0
Item, to two herds,	1 6 8
	£41 5 0

"INVENTAR OF PLENISHING IN TRUNDERTON'S LODGING IN DUFFUS, MAY 25, 1708.

"Stript Room.

"Camlet hangings and curtains, feather bed and bolster, two pillows, five pair blankets, and an English blanket, a green and white cover, a blew and white chamber-pot, a blew and white bason, a black jopand table and two looking-glasses, a jopand tee-table with a tee-pat and plate, and nine cups and nine dyshes, and a tee silver spoon, two glass scones, two little bowles, with a leam stoap and a pewter head, eight black ken chairs, with eight silk cushions conform, an easie chair with a big cushion, a jopand cabinet with a walnut tree stand, a grate, shuffle, tonges, and brush; in the closet, three piece of paper hangings, a chamber box, with a pewter pan therein, and a brush for cloaths.

"Closet next the Stript Room.

"Four dishes, two assits, six broth plates, and twelve flesh plates, a quart flagon, and a pynt flagon, a pewter porengr, and a pewter flasket, a white iron jaculate pot, and a skellet pann, twenty-one timber plates, a winter for warming plates at the fire, two Highland plaidis, and a sewed blanket, a bolster, and four pillows, a chamber-box, a sack with wool, and a white iron dripping pann.

"In the farrest Closet.

"Seventeen drinking glasses, with a glass tumbler and two decanters, a oil cruet, and a vinegar cruet, a urinal glass, a large blew and white posset pot, a white leam posset pat, a blew and white bowl, a dozen of blew and white leam plates, three milk dishes, a blew and white leam porengr, and a white leam porengr, four jelly pots, and a little butter dish, a crying chair, and a silk cradle.

"In the Moyhair Room.

"A sute of stamped cloath hangings, and a moyhair bed with feather bed, bolster, and two pillows, six pair blankets, and an English blanket and a twilt, a leam chamber-pat, five moyhair chairs, two looking-glasses, a cabinet, a table, two stands, a table cloak, and window hangings, a chamber-box with a pewter pann, a leam bason, with a grate and tonges and a brush; in the closet, two carpets, a piece of Arres, three pieces lynd strypt hangings, three wawed strypt curtains, two piece gilded leather, three trunks and a cradle, a chamber-box, and a pewter pann, thirty-three pound of heekled lint, a ston of vax, and a firkin of sop, and a brush for cloaths, two pair blankets, and a single blanket.

"In the Dyning-Room.

"A sute of gilded hangings, two folding tables, eighteen low-backed ken chairs, a grate, a fender, a brass tonga, shuffle, brush, and timber brush, and a poring iron, and a glass kea.

"In my Lady's Room.

"Gilded hangings, standing bed, and box bed, stamped dregged hangings, feather bed, bolster, and two pillows, a pallise, five pair of blankets, and a single one, and a twilt, and two pewter chamber-pots, six chairs, table, and looking-glass, a little folding table, and a chist of drawers, tonges, shuffle, parrin-iron, and a brush, two window curtains of linen; in the Laird's closet, two trunks, two chists, and a citrena cabinet, a

meals a-day with this single distinction, that he and his family sat at the one end of the table, and his dependants at the other; and it was reckoned no disparagement for the gentlemen to sit with commoners in the inns, such as the country then afforded, where one *cap*, and afterwards a single glass, went round the whole company. As the inhabitants experienced no want, and generally lived on the produce of their farms, they were hospitable to strangers, providing they did not attempt a settlement among them. But it was thought then disgraceful for any of the younger sons of these wadsetters to follow any other profession than that of arms and agriculture; and it is in the remembrance of many now living, when the meanest tenant would think it disparaging to sit at the same table with a manufacturer."

The following quotation from the Statistical Account of Rannoch, in Perthshire, will give an idea of another phase of the life of Highland gentlemen in those days, as well as enable the reader to see how it was, considering the general poverty of the country, the low rent,

table, and a looking-glass, the dow holes, two carpet chairs, and a chamber-box with a pewter pan, and a little bell, and a brush for cloath.

"My Lady's Closet.

"A cabinet, three presses, three kists, and a spicerie box, a dozen leam white plates, a blew and white leam plate, a little blew butter plate, a white leam porenge, and three gelly pots, two leam dishes, and two big timber capes, four tin congs, a new pewter basson, a pynt chopen, and mutchken stoups, two copper tankers, two pewter salts, a pewter mustard box, a white iron peper and suggar box, two white iron graters, a pot for starch, and a pewter spoon, thirteen candlesticks, five pair snuffers and snuf dishes conform, a brass mortar and pistol, a lantern, a timber box, a dozen knives and a dozen forks, and a carpet chair, two milk congs, a milk clrn, and kirm staff, a symilk, and creamen dish and a cheswel, a neprie basket, and two new pewter chamber pots.

"A Note of Plate.

"Three silver salvers, four salts, a large tanker, a big spoon, and thirteen littler spoons, two jugs, a sugar box, a mustaid box, a peper box, and two little spoons.

"An Account of Bottles in the Salt Cellar.

"June the first 1708.

Of Sack, five dozen and one,	5	1
Of Brandie, three dozen and three,	3	3
Of Vinegar and Aquavitie, seven,	0	7
Of Strong Ale, four dozen and four,	4	4
Of other Ale, nine dozen,	9	0
In the ale cellar, fifteen dozen and ten,	15	10
In the hamper, five dozen empty,	5	0
In the wine cellar, nine with English Ale,	0	9
White Wine, ten,	0	10
Of Brandy, three,	0	3
With Brandy and Surop, two,	0	2
With Claret, fifteen,	1	3
With Mum, fifteen,	1	3
Throw the house, nineteen,	1	7
There is in all, forty-nine dozen and two,	49	2
And of mutchkin bottles twenty-five,	2	1

"Received ten dozen and one of chopen bottles full of claret. More received—eleven dozen and one of pynt bottles, whereof there was six broke in the home-coming. 1708, June the 4th, received from Elgin forty-three chopen bottles of claret."

the unproductiveness of the soil, and the low price of cattle, they were still able to keep open table and maintain more retainers than the land could support. "Before the year 1745 Rannoch was in an uncivilized barbarous state, under no check, or restraint of laws. As an evidence of this, one of the principal proprietors never could be compelled to pay his debts. Two messengers were sent from Perth, to give him a charge of horning. He ordered a dozen of his retainers to bind them across two hand-barrows, and carry them, in this state, to the bridge of Cainachan, at nine miles distance. His property in particular was a nest of thieves. They laid the whole country, from Stirling to Coupar of Angus, under contribution, obliging the inhabitants to pay them Black Meal, as it is called, to save their property from being plundered. This was the centre of this kind of traffic. In the months of September and October they gathered to the number of about 300, built temporary huts, drank whisky all the time, settled accounts for stolen cattle, and received balances. Every man then bore arms. It would have required a regiment to have brought a thief from that country."

As to the education of the Highland gentry, in this respect they seem not to have been so far behind the rest of the country, although latterly they appear to have degenerated in this as in other respects; for, as will be seen in the Chapter on Gaelic Literature, there must have been at one time many learned men in the Highlands, and a taste for literature seems not to have been uncommon. Indeed, from various authorities quoted in the Introduction to Stuart's *Costume of the Clans*, it was no uncommon accomplishment in the 16th and 17th centuries for a Highland gentleman to be able to use both Gaelic and Latin, even when he could scarcely manage English. "If, in some instances," says Mrs Grant,⁷ "a chief had some taste for literature, the Latin poets engaged his attention more forcibly than the English, which he possibly spoke and wrote, but inwardly despised, and in fact did not understand well enough to relish its delicacies, or taste its poetry." "Till of late years," says the same writer on

⁷ *Essays*, vol. i. p. 30.

the same page, "letters were unknown in the Highlands except among the highest rank of gentry and the clergy. The first were but partially enlightened at best. Their minds had been early imbued with the stores of knowledge peculiar to their country, and having no view beyond that of passing their lives among their tenants and dependants, they were not much anxious for any other. . . . In some instances, the younger brothers of patrician families were sent early out to lowland seminaries, and immediately engaged in some active pursuit for the advancement of their fortune." In short, so far as education went, the majority of the Highland lairds and tacksmen appear to have been pretty much on the same footing with those in a similar station in other parts of the kingdom.

From what has been said then as to the condition of the chiefs or lairds and their more immediate dependants the tacksmen, previous to 1745, it may be inferred that they were by no means ill-off so far as the necessities and even a few of the luxuries of life went. Their houses were certainly not such as a gentleman or even a well-to-do farmer would care to inhabit now-a-days, neither in build nor in furnishing; but the chief and principal tenants as a rule had always plenty to eat and drink, lived in a rough way, were hospitable to their friends, and, as far as they were able, kind and lenient to their tenants.

It was the sub-tenants and cottars, the common people or peasantry of the Highlands, whose condition called for the utmost commiseration. It was they who suffered most from the poverty of the land, the leanness of the cattle, the want of trades and manufactures, the want, in short, of any reliable and systematic means of subsistence. If the crops failed, or disease or a severe winter killed the half of the cattle, it was they who suffered, it was they who were the victims of famine, a thing of not rare occurrence in the Highlands.⁸ It seems indeed impossible that any one now living could imagine anything more seemingly wretched and miserable than the state of the Highland sub-tenants and cottars as described in various con-

temporary accounts. The dingiest hovel in the dirtiest narrowest "close" of Edinburgh may be taken as a fair representative of the house inhabited formerly in the Highlands by the great mass of the farmers and cottars. And yet they do not by any means appear to have regarded themselves as the most miserable of beings, but on the contrary to have been light-hearted and well content if they could manage to get the year over without absolute starvation. No doubt this was because they knew no better state of things, and because love for the chief would make them endure any thing with patience. Generally the houses of the sub-tenants and cottars who occupied a farm were built in one spot, "all irregularly placed, some one way, some another, and at any distance, look like so many heaps of dirt." They were generally built in some small valley or strath by the side of a stream or loch, and the collection of houses on one farm was known as the "toon" or town, a term still used in Shetland in the very same sense, and in many parts of Scotland applied to the building occupied by even a single farmer. The cottages were generally built of round stones without any cement, thatched with sods, and sometimes heath; sometimes they were divided into two apartments by a slender partition, but frequently no such division was made. In the larger half resided the family, this serving for kitchen, eating, and sleeping-room to all. In the middle of this room, on the floor, was the peat fire, above which was a gaping hole to allow the escape of the smoke, very little however of this finding its way out, the surplus, after every corner of the room was filled, escaping by the door. The other half of the cottage was devoted to the use of the live-stock when "they did not choose to mess and lodge with the family."⁹ Sometimes these cottages were built of turf or mud, and sometimes of wattle-work like baskets, a common system of fencing even yet in many parts of the Highlands where young wood is abundant. As a rule these huts had to be thatched and otherwise repaired every year to keep them habitable; indeed, in many places it was quite customary every spring to remove the thatch and use it as man-

⁸ There appears to have been a dreadful one just three years before '45. See Stat. Account of various Highland parishes.

⁹ Garnett's *Tour*, vol. i. p. 121.

ure. Buchanan, even in the latter half of the 18th century, thus speaks of the dwellings of tenants in the Western Isles; and, in this respect at least, it is not likely they were in worse plight than those who lived in the early part of the century. "The huts of the op-



A Cottage in Islay. From Pennant's *Voyage to the Hebrides*, 1774.

pressed tenants are remarkably naked and open ; quite destitute of furniture, except logs of timbers collected from the wrecks of the sea, to sit on about the fire, which is placed in the middle of the house, or upon seats made of straw, like foot hassacks, stuffed with straw or stubble. Many of them must rest satisfied with large stones placed around the fire in order. As all persons must have their own blankets to sleep in, they make their beds in whatever corner suits their fancy, and in the mornings they fold them up into a small compass, with all their gowns, cloaks, coats, and petticoats, that are not in use. The cows, goats, and sheep, with the ducks, hens, and dogs, must have the common benefit of the fire, and particularly the young and tenderest are admitted next to it. This filthy sty is never cleaned but once a-year, when they place the dung on the fields as manure for barley crops. Thus, from the necessity of laying litter below these cattle to keep them dry, the dung naturally increases in height almost mid-wall high, so that the men sit low

about the fire, while the cattle look down from above upon the company." We learn from the same authority that in the Hebrides every tenant must have had his own beams and side timbers, the walls generally belonging to the tacksman or laird, and these were six feet thick with a hollow wall of rough stones, packed with moss or earth in the centre. A tenant in removing carried his timbers with him to his new location, and speedily mounted them on the top of four rude walls. But indeed the condition of many of the Western Isles both before and after 1745 and even at the present day, was frequently much more wretched than the Highlands in the mainland generally. Especially was this the case after 1745, although even before that their condition can by no means be taken as typical of the Highlands generally. The following, however, from the Statistical Account of the island of Tiree, might have applied at the time (about 1745), to almost any part of the Highlands. "About 40 years ago, a great part of the lands in this parish lay in their natu-

ral uncultivated state, and such of them as were in culture produced poor starved crops. The tenants were in poor circumstances, the rents low, the farm houses contemptible. The communication from place to place was along paths which were to be known by the footsteps of beasts that passed through them. No turnips, potatoes, or cabbages, unless a few of the latter in some gardens; and a great degree of poverty, indolence, and meanness of spirit, among the great body of the people. The appearance of the people, and their mode of thinking and acting, were but mean and indelicate; their peats were brought home in creels; the few things the farmer had to sell were carried to market upon the backs of horses; and their dunghills were hard by their doors." We have reliable testimony, however, to prove, that even the common Highland tenants on the mainland were but little better off than those in the islands; their houses were almost equally rude and dirty, and their furniture nearly as scanty. The Statistical Account of the parish of Fortingal, in Perthshire, already quoted, gives a miserable account of the country and inhabitants previous to 1745, as does also the letters of Captain Burt in reference to the district which came under his observation; and neither of these districts was likely to be in worse condition than other parts of the Highlands, further removed from intercourse with the Lowlands. "At the above period [1745], the bulk of the tenants in Rannoch had no such thing as beds. They lay on the ground, with a little heather, or fern, under them. One single blanket was all their bed-cloaths, excepting their body-cloaths. Now they have standing-up beds, and abundance of blankets. At that time the houses in Rannoch were huts of, what they called, 'Stake and Rife.' One could not enter but on all fours; and after entering, it was impossible to stand upright. Now there are comfortable houses built of stone. Then the people were miserably dirty, and foul-skinned. Now they are as cleanly, and are clothed as well as their circumstances will admit of. The rents of the parish, at that period, were not much above £1500, and the people were starving. Now they pay £4660 *per annum*, and upwards, and the

people have fulness of bread. It is hardly possible to believe, on how little the Highlanders formerly lived. They bled their cows several times in the year, boiled the blood, eat a little of it like bread, and a most lasting meal it was. The present incumbent has known a poor man, who had a small farm hard by him, by this means, with a boll of meal for every mouth in his family, pass the whole year." This bleeding of the cattle to eke out the small supply of oatmeal is testified to by many other witnesses. Captain Burt refers to it;¹ and Knox, in his *View of the British Empire*,² thus speaks of it:—"In winter, when the grounds are covered with snow, and when the naked wilds afford them neither shelter nor subsistence, the few cows, small, lean, and ready to drop down through want of pasture, are brought into the hut where the family resides, and frequently share with them their little stock of meal, which had been purchased or raised for the family only, while the cattle thus sustained are bled occasionally to afford nourishment for the children, after it has been boiled or made into cakes."

It must be borne in mind that at that time potatoes were all but unknown in the Highlands, and even in the Lowlands had scarcely got beyond the stage of a garden root. The staple food of the common Highlander was the various preparations of oats and barley; even fish seems to have been a rarity, but why it is difficult to say, as there were plenty both in the sea and in freshwater rivers and lochs. For a month or two after Michaelmas, the luxury of fresh meat seems to have been not uncommon, as at that time the cattle were in condition for being slaughtered; and the more provident or less needy might even go the length of salting a quantity for winter, but even this practice does not seem to have been common except among the tacksmen. "Nothing is more deplorable than the state of this people in time of winter." Then they were completely confined to their narrow glens, and very frequently night and day to their houses, on account of the severe snow and rain storms. "They have no diversions to amuse them, but sit brooding in the smoke over the fire till

¹ Letters, vol. ii. 28.

² Vol. i. p. 124.

their legs and thighs are scorched to an extraordinary degree, and many have sore eyes and some are quite blind. This long continuance in the smoke makes them almost as black as chimney-sweepers; and when the huts are not water-tight, which is often the case, the rain that comes through the roof and mixes with the sootiness of the inside, where all the sticks look like charcoal, falls in drops like ink. But, in this circumstance, the Highlanders are not very solicitous about their outward appearance."³ We need not wonder under these circumstances at the prevalence of a loathsome distemper, almost peculiar to the Highlands, and the universality of various kinds of vermin; and indeed, had it not been that the people spent so much of their time in the open air, and that the pure air of the mountains, and been on the whole temperate in drinking and correct in morals, their condition must have been much more miserable than it really was. The misery seems to have been apparent only to onlookers, not to those whose lot it was to endure it. No doubt they were most mercilessly oppressed sometimes, but even this oppression they do not seem to have regarded as any hardship, as calling for complaint on their part:—they were willing to endure anything at the hands of the chief, who, they believed, could do no wrong.

As a rule the chiefs and gentlemen of the clan appear to have treated their inferiors with kindness and consideration, although, at the same time, it was their interest and the practice of most of them to encourage the notions the people entertained of their duty to their chiefs, and to keep them in ignorance of everything that would tend to diminish this profitable belief. No doubt many of the chiefs themselves believed as firmly in the doctrine of clanship as their people; but there is good reason to believe, that many of them encouraged the old system from purely interested and selfish motives. Burt tells us that when a chief wanted to get rid of any troublesome fellow, he compelled him, under threat of perpetual imprisonment or the gallows, to sign a contract for his own banishment, when he was shipped off from the nearest port by the first vessel bound for the

West Indies. Referring no doubt to Lord Lovat,⁴ he informs us that this versatile and long-headed chief acted on the maxim that to render his clan poor would double the tie of their obedience; and accordingly he made use of all oppressive means to that end. "To prevent any diminution of the number of those who do not offend him, he dissuades from their purpose all such as show an inclination to traffic, or to put their children out to trades, as knowing they would, by such an alienation shake off at least good part of their slavish attachment to him and his family. This he does, when downright authority fails, by telling them how their ancestors chose to live sparingly, and be accounted a martial people, rather than submit themselves to low and mercenary employments like the Lowlanders, whom their forefathers always despised for the want of that warlike temper which they (his vassals) still retained, &c." This cunning chief was in the habit, according to Dr Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, of sending from Inverness and paying for the insertion in the *Edinburgh Courant* and *Mercury* of glaring accounts of feasts and rejoicings given by himself or held in his honour.⁵ And it is well known that this same lord during his life-time erected a handsome tombstone for himself inscribed with a glowing account of his heroic exploits, intended solely for the use of his clansmen. By these and similar means would crafty selfish lairds keep their tenants and cottars in ignorance of their rights, and make them resigned to all the oppressive impositions laid upon them. No doubt Lovat's was an extreme case, and there must have been many gradations of oppressions, and many chiefs who really cared for their people, and did their best to make them happy and comfortable, although, considering their circumstances and general surroundings, it is difficult to see how they could succeed. Yet notwithstanding their miserable and filthy huts, their scanty and poor food, their tattered and insufficient clothes, their lean cattle and meagre crops, their country wet above and below, their apparent want of all amusements and of anything to lighten their cheerless condition, and the op-

³ Burt, ii. p. 34.

⁴ *Letters*, vol. i. p. 51.

⁵ Fraser-Mackintosh's *Antiquarian Notes*, p. 1

pressive exactions of their chiefs, the Highlanders as a body certainly do not seem to have been an unhappy or discontented people, or to have had any feeling of the discomfort attending their lot.⁶ There seems to have been little or no grumbling, and it is a most remarkable fact that suicide was and probably is all but unknown among the Highlanders. Your genuine Highlander was never what could strictly be called a merry man; he never had any of the effervescence of the French Celt, nor of the inimitable never failing light-hearted humour of his Irish brother; but, on the other hand, under the old system, at heart he showed little or no discontent, but on the contrary seems to have been possessed of a self-satisfied, contented cheerfulness, a quiet resignation to fate, and a belief in the power and goodness of his chief, together with an ignorance and contempt for all outside his own narrow sphere, that made him feel as happy and contented as the most comfortable peasant farmer in France. They only became discontented and sorely cut up when their chiefs,—it being no longer the interest of the latter to multiply and support their retainers,—began to look after their own interests solely, and show little or no consideration for those who regarded them with reverence alone, and who thought their chief as much bound to support and care for them and share his land and his bread with them, as a father is to maintain his children. After the heritable jurisdictions were abolished, of course everything was changed; but before that there is every reason to believe that the Highland tenants and cottars were as contented and happy, though by no means so well off, as the majority of those in the same condition throughout the United Kingdom. Indeed the evils which prevailed formerly in the Highlands; like all other evils,

look far worse in prospect (in this case retrospect) than they do in reality. Misery in general is least perceived by those who are in its midst, and no doubt many poor and apparently miserable people wonder what charitable associations for their relief make so much fuss about, for they themselves see nothing to relieve. Not that this misery is any the less real and fruitful of evil consequences, and demanding relief; it is simply that those who are in the midst of it can't, very naturally, see it in its true light. As to the Highlands, the tradition remained for a long time, and we believe does so still in many parts, that under the old regime, chiefs were always kind as fathers, and the people faithful and loving as children; the men were tall and brave, and the women fair and pure; the cattle were fat and plentiful, and the land produced abundance for man and beast; the summers were always warm, and the winters mild; the sun was brighter than ever it has been since, and rain came only when wanted. In short everybody had plenty with a minimum of work and abundance of time for dancing and singing and other amusements; every one was as happy as the day was long. It was almost literally "a land flowing with milk and honey," as will be seen from the following tradition:⁷—"It is now indeed idle, and appears fabulous, to relate the crops raised here 30 or 40 years ago. The seasons were formerly so warm, that the people behoved to unyoke their ploughs as soon as the sun rose, when sowing barley; and persons yet living, tell, that in traveling through the meadows in the loan of Fearn, in some places drops of honey were seen as the dew in the long grass and plantain, sticking to their shoes as they passed along in a May morning; and also in other parts, their shoes were oiled as with cream, going through such meadows. Honey and bee hives were then very plenty. . . Cattle, butter, and cheese, were then very plenty and cheap." This glowing tradition, we fear, must melt away before the authentic and too sober accounts of contemporaries and eye-witnesses.

As for wages to day-labourers and mechanics, in many cases no money whatever was given; every service being frequently paid for in kind;

⁶ "The manners and habits of this parish [as of all other Highland parishes] have undergone a material change within these 50 years; before that period they lived in a plain simple manner, experienced few wants, and possessed not the means, nor had any desire, of procuring any commodities. If they had salt [upon which there was a grievous duty] and tobacco, paid their pittance of rents, and performed their ordinary services to their superiors, and that their conduct in general met their approbation, it seemed to be the height of their ambition."—*Old Statistical Account of Boleskin and Abertarf, Inverness-shire* (1798).

⁷ *Old Statistical Account of Fearn, Ross-shire.*

where money was given, a copper or two a day was deemed an ample remuneration, and was probably sufficient to provide those who earned it with a maintenance satisfactory to themselves, the price of all necessary provisions being excessively low. A pound of beef or mutton, or a fowl could be obtained for about a penny, a cow cost about 30 shillings, and a boll of barley or oatmeal less than 10 shillings; butter was about twopence a pound, a stone (21 lbs.) of cheese was to be got for about two shillings. The following extract, from the Old Statistical Account of Caputh, will give the reader an idea of the rate of wages, where servants were employed, of the price of provisions, and how really little need there was for actual cash, every man being able to do many things for himself which would now require perhaps a dozen workmen to perform. This parish being strictly in the lowlands, but on the border of the Highlands, may be regarded as having been, in many respects, further advanced than the majority of Highland parishes.⁸ "The ploughs and carts were usually made by the farmer himself; with little iron about the plough, except the colter and share; none upon the cart or harrows; no shoes upon the horses; no hempen ropes. In short, every instrument of farming was procured at small expense, wood being at a very low price. Salt was a shilling the bushel: little soap was used:

⁸ "The spades, ploughs, harrows, and sledges, of the most feeble and imperfect kinds, with all their harnessing, are made by the farmer and his servants; as also the boats, with all their tackle.—The boat has a Highland plaid for a sail; the running rigging is made of leather thongs and willow twigs; and a large stone and a heather rope serve for an anchor and cable; and all this, among a people of much natural ingenuity and perseverance. There is no fulling mill nor bleachfield; no tanner, maltster, or dyer; all the yarn is dyed, and all the cloth fulled or bleached by the women on the farm. The grain for malt is steeped in sacks in the river; and the hides are tanned, and the shoes made at home. There are, indeed, itinerant shoemakers, tailors, wrights, and masons, but none of these has full employment in his business, as all the inhabitants, in some measure, serve themselves in these trades: hence, in the royal boroughs of Inveraray, Campbelton, and Inverness, and in the considerable villages of Crieff, Callander, Oban, Maryburgh, Fort Augustus, and Stornoway, there are fewer tradesmen, and less demand for the workmanship of mechanics, than in any other places of the same size; yet these are either situated in, or are next adjacent to, a more extensive and populous country, than any other similar towns or villages in Scotland."—Walker's *Hebrides*, vol. ii. pp. 374, 5.

they had no candles, instead of which they split the roots of fir trees, which, though brought 50 or 60 miles from the Highlands, were purchased for a trifle. Their clothes were of their own manufacturing. The average price of weaving ten yards of such cloth was a shilling, which was paid partly in meal and partly in money. The tailor worked for a quantity of meal, suppose 3 pecks or a firloft a-year, according to the number of the farmer's family. In the year 1735, the best ploughman was to be had for L.8 Scots (13s. 4d.) a year, and what was termed a bounty, which consisted of some articles of clothing, and might be estimated at 11s. 6d.; in all L.1, 4s. 10d. sterling. Four years after, his wages rose to L.24 Scots, (L.2) and the bounty. Female servants received L.2 Scots, (3s. 4d.) and a bounty of a similar kind; the whole not exceeding 6s. or 7s. Some years after their wages rose to 15s. Men received for harvest work L.6 Scots, (10s.); women, L.5 Scots, (8s. 4d.). Poultry was sold at 40 pennies Scots, (3½d.) Oat-meal, bear and oats, at L.4 or L.5 Scots the boll. A horse that then cost 100 merks Scots, (L.5 : 11 : 1¾) would now cost L.25. An ox that cost L.20 Scots, (L.1 : 13 : 4) would now be worth L.8 or L.9. Beef and mutton were sold, not by weight, but by the piece; about 3s. 4d. for a leg of beef of 3½ stones; and so in proportion. No tea nor sugar was used: little whisky was drunk, and less of other spirits: but they had plenty of good ale; there being usually one malt barn (perhaps two) on each farm."⁹

When a Highlander was in need of anything which he could not produce or make himself, it was by no means easy for him to obtain it, as by far the greater part of the Highlands was utterly destitute of towns and manufactures; there was little or no commerce of any kind. The only considerable Highland town was Inverness, and, if we can believe Captain Burt, but little business was done there; the only other places, which made any pretensions to be towns were Stornoway and Campbeltown, and these at the time we are writing of, were little better than fishing villages. There were no manufactures strictly speaking, for although the people

⁹ *Old Stat. Account*, vol. ix. pp. 494, 5.

spun their own wool and made their own cloth, exportation, except perhaps in the case of stockings, seems to have been unknown. In many cases a system of merchandise somewhat similar to the ruinous, oppressive, and obstructive system still common in Shetland, seems to have been in vogue in many parts of the Highlands. By this system, some of the more substantial tacksmen would lay in a stock of goods such as would be likely to be needed by their tenants, but which these could not procure for themselves, such as iron, corn, wine, brandy, sugar, tobacco, &c. These goods the tacksmen would supply to his tenants as they needed them, charging nothing for them at the time; but, about the month of May, the tenant would hand over to his tacksman-merchant as many cattle as the latter considered an equivalent for the goods supplied. As the people would seldom have any idea of the real value of the goods, of course there was ample room for a dishonest tacksman to realise an enormous profit, which, we fear, was too often done. "By which traffic the poor wretched people were cheated out of their effects, for one half of their value; and so are kept in eternal poverty."¹

As to roads, with the exception of those made for military purposes by General Wade, there seems to have been none whatever, only tracts here and there in the most frequented routes, frequently impassable, and at all time unsafe without a guide. Captain Burt could not move a mile or two out of Inverness without a guide. Bridges seem to have been even rarer than slated houses or carriages.

We have thus endeavoured to give the reader a correct idea of the state of the country and people of the Highlands previous to the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions. Our only aim has been to find out the truth, and we have done so by appealing to the evidence of contemporaries, or of those whose witness is almost as good. We have endeavoured to exhibit both the good and bad side of the picture, and we are only sorry that space will not permit of giving further details. However, from what has been said above, the reader must see how much had to be accomplished by the

Highlanders to bring them up to the level of the rest of the country, and will be able to understand the nature of the changes which from time to time took place, the difficulties which had to be overcome, the prejudices which had to be swept away, the hardships which had to be encountered, in assimilating the Highlands with the rest of the country.

Having thus, as far as space permits, shown the condition of the Highlands previous to 1745, we shall now, as briefly as possible, trace the history down to the present day, showing the march of change, and we hope, of progress after the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions. In doing so we must necessarily come across topics concerning which there has been much rancorous and unprofitable controversy; but, as we have done in the case of other disputed matters, we shall do our best to lay facts before the reader, and allow him to form his opinions for himself. The history of the Highlands since 1745 is no doubt in some respects a sad one; much misery and cruel disappointment come under the notice of the investigator. But in many respects, and, we have no doubt in its ultimate results, the history is a bright one, showing as it does the progress of a people from semi-barbarism and slavery and ignorance towards high civilisation, freedom of action with the world before them, and enlightenment and knowledge, and vigorous and successful enterprise. Formerly the Highlanders were a nuisance to their neighbours, and a drag upon the progress of the country; now they are not surpassed by any section of her Majesty's subjects for character, enterprise, education, loyalty, and self-respect. Considering the condition of the country in 1745, what could we expect to take place on the passing and enforcing of an act such as that which abolished the heritable jurisdictions? Was it not natural, unavoidable that a fermentation should take place, that there should be a war of apparently conflicting interests, that, in short, as in the achievement of all great results by nations and men, there should be much experimenting, much groping to find out the best way, much shuffling about by the people to fit themselves to their new circumstances, before matters could again fall into something like a settled condition, before each man would find his place in the

¹ Gartmore Paper, in Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 364.

new adjustment of society? Moreover, the Highlanders had to learn an inevitable and a salutary lesson, that in this or in any country under one government, where prosperity and harmony are desired, no particular section of the people is to consider itself as having a right to one particular part of the country. The Highlands for the Highlanders is a barbarous, selfish, obstructive cry in a united and progressive nation. It seems to be the law of nature, as it is the law of progress, that those who can make the best use of any district ought to have it. This has been the case with the world at large, and it has turned out, and is still turning out to be the case with this country. The Highlands now contain a considerable lowland population, and the Highlanders are scattered over the length and breadth of the land, and indeed of the world, honourably fulfilling the noble part they have to play in the world's history. Ere long there will be neither Highlander nor Lowlander; we shall all be one people, having the best qualities of the blood of the formerly two antagonistic races running in our veins. It is, we have no doubt, with men as with other animals, the best breeds are got by judicious crossings.

Of course it is seldom the case that any great changes take place in the social or political policy of a country without much individual suffering: this was the case at all events in the Highlands. Many of the poor people and tacksmen had to undergo great hardships during the process of this new adjustment of affairs; but that the lairds or chiefs were to blame for this, it would be rash to assert. Some of these were no doubt unnecessarily harsh and unfeeling, but even where they were kindest and most considerate with their tenants, there was much misery prevailing among the latter. In the general scramble for places under the new arrangements, every one, chief, tacksmen, tenant, and cottar, had to look out for himself or go to the wall, and it was therefore the most natural thing in the world that the instinct of self-preservation and self-advancement, which is stronger by far than that of universal benevolence, should urge the chiefs to look to their own interests in preference to those of the people, who unfortunately, from the habit of centuries, looked to their superiors alone for that help

which they should have been able to give themselves. It appears to us that the results which have followed from the abolition of the jurisdictions and the obliteration of the power of the chiefs, were inevitable; that they might have been brought about in a much gentler way, with much less suffering and bitterness and recrimination, there is no doubt; but while the process was going on, who had time to think of these things, or look at the matter in a calm and rational light? Certainly not those who were the chief actors in bringing about the results. With such stubbornness, bigotry, prejudice, and ignorance on one side, and such power and poverty and necessity for immediate and decided action on the other, and with selfishness on both sides, it was all but inevitable that results should have been as they turned out to be. We shall do what we can to state plainly, briefly, and fairly the real facts of the case.

CHAPTER XLIII.

State of Highlands subsequent to 1745—Progress of Innovation—First mention of Emigration—Pennant's account of the country—Dr Johnson—Emigration fairly commenced in 1760—The Tacksmen the first to suffer and emigrate—Consequences to those who remained—Wretched condition of the Western Islands—Introduction of large sheep-farms—Ejection of small tenants—"Mailers"—Hebrides—Real Highland grievance—Title-deeds—The two sides of the Highland Question—Truth on both sides—Excessive population—Argument of those who condemn depopulation—The sentimental and military arguments—Testimony as to wretched condition of Highlanders—Highlands admirably suited for sheep—Effect of sheep-farming on Highland scenery—Highlands unsuited to black cattle—Large and small farms—Interference—Fishing and farming cannot be successfully united—Raising rents—Depopulation—How far the landlords were to blame—Kelp—Advantages and disadvantages of its manufacture—Potatoes—Introduction into the Highlands—Their importance—Failures of Crop—Disease—Amount of progress made during latter part of 18th century.

As we have said already, the Highlanders, chiefs and people, were so confounded, and prostrated by the cruel proceedings and stringent measures which followed Culloden, that it was some time ere they could realise the new position of affairs. Little alteration appears to have, for some years, been effected

in the relationship subsisting between people and chiefs, the latter being now simply landlords. The gentlemen and common people of the clans continued to regard their chief in the same light as they did previous to the abolition of the jurisdictions, for they did not consider that their obedience to the head of the clan was in the least dependent upon any legislative enactments. They still considered it their duty to do what they could to support their chief, and were still as ready as ever to make any sacrifice for his sake. At the same time, their notions of the chief's duty to his people remained unaltered; he, they thought, was bound as much as ever to see to it that they did not want, to share with them the land which belonged to the chief not so much as a proprietor, but as the head and representative of his people. The gentlemen, especially, of the clan, the tacksmen or large farmers, most firmly and sincerely believed that they had as much right to a share of the lands as the chief himself, their relation; he was as much bound to provide for them as a father is bound to make provision for his children. There is no doubt also that many of the chiefs themselves, especially the older ones, held the same belief on this matter as their subordinates, so that in many instances it was not till the old laird had passed away, and a new one had filled his place, that the full effect of the measures already described began to be felt. Of course, many of the chiefs and gentlemen who had taken part in the rebellion had been compelled to leave the country in order to save their lives, and many of the estates had been forfeited to government, which entrusted the management of them to commissioners. It was probably these estates upon which changes began to be first effected.

All the accounts we have of the Highlands from travellers and others down to the end of the 18th century, show the country in a state of commotion and confusion, resulting from the changes consequent on the rebellion, the breaking up of old relationships, and the gradual encroachment of lowland civilisation, lowland modes of life, and lowland methods of agriculture. Up to the end of the century, the positive changes do not appear to have been great or extensive, they seem more to have been of a tentative experimental kind, attempts to

find out the most suitable or profitable way of working under the new regime. The result of these experiments of this unsettling of many-century-old customs and ideas, and of the consequent shifting and disturbing of the people, was for a long time much discontent and misery. The progress of change, both with regard to place and in respect of the nature of the innovations, was gradual, beginning, as a rule, with those districts of the Highlands which bordered on the lowlands, and proceeding in a direction somewhat north-west. It was these border districts which got first settled down and assimilated in all respects to the lowlands, and, although in some instances the commotion was felt in the Western Islands and Highlands a few years after 1746, yet these localities, as a rule, were longest in adjusting themselves to the new state of things; indeed, in many western districts, the commotion has not yet subsided, and consequently misery and discontent still frequently prevail. In the same way it was only little by little that changes were effected, first one old custom giving way and then another, their places being filled by others which had prevailed in the lowlands for many years before. Indeed, we think the progress made by the Highlands during the last century has been much greater than that of the lowlands during the same period; for when, in the case of the Highlands, the march of progress commenced, they were in many respects centuries behind the rest of the country, whereas at the present day, with the exception of some outlying districts above mentioned, they are in almost every respect as far forward and as eager to advance farther as the most progressive districts of the south. This is no doubt owing to the extra pressure which was brought to bear upon them in the shape of the measures which followed Culloden, without which they no doubt must have progressed, but at a much slower rate. Perhaps this is the reason why certain outlying districts have lagged behind and are still in a state of unsettlement and discontent, the people, and often the lairds, refusing to acknowledge and give way to the necessity for change, but even yet attempting to live and act in accordance with the old-fashioned clannish mode of managing men and land.

The unsettled state of the Highlands, and the fact that many Highlanders were leaving the country, attracted attention so early as about 1750. For in 1752, a pamphlet was published by a Mr John Campbell, pretending to give "A Full and Particular Description of the Highlands," and propounding a scheme which, in the author's estimation, would "prove effectual in bringing in the most disaffected among them." There is little said in this book of the actual condition of the Highlanders at that time, only a few details as to their manners, funeral-customs, marriages, &c., and a lamentation, ever since repeated, that so many should be compelled to leave their native land and settle among foreigners. The author does not mention emigration to America; what he chiefly deplores is the fact that so many Highlanders, from the unkindness of their superiors at home, should have taken service in various capacities, civil and military, in other European countries, frequently fighting in foreign armies against their fellow-countrymen. However, from the general tone of his remarks, it may be gathered that he refers mainly to those who were compelled to leave the country on account of the part they took in the late rebellion, and not on account of any alterations which had yet taken place in the internal affairs of the Highlands. Still it is plainly to be inferred that already much misery and discontent prevailed in the country.

Pennant made his two tours in Scotland in the years 1769 and 1772. His travels in the Highlands were confined mainly to the Western Islands and the districts on the west coast, and his account is little else than a tale of famine and wretchedness from beginning to end. What little agriculture there was, was as bad as ever, the country rarely producing enough of grain to supply the inhabitants, and in many places he fears "the isles annually experience a temporary famine." In the island of Islay a thousand pounds worth of meal was annually imported, and at the time of Pennant's visit "a famine threatened." Indeed, the normal state of the Western Highlands at least appears for long to have been one bordering on famine, or what would have been considered so in any less wretched country; and periodically many seem to have died from absolute want of food.

Here is a sad picture of misery; Pennant is speaking more particularly of Skye, but his remarks might have been applied to most of the Western Islands. "The poor are left to Providence's care; they prowl like other animals along the shores to pick up limpets and other shell-fish, the casual repasts of hundreds during part of the year in these unhappy islands. Hundreds thus annually drag through the season a wretched life; and numbers, unknown, in all parts of the Western Highlands, fall beneath the pressure, some of hunger, more of the putrid fever, the epidemic of the coasts, originating from unwholesome food, the dire effects of necessity."¹ No change for the better to record in agriculture, the farms still overstocked with horses, black cattle and men, the fishing still all but neglected, hovels wretched as ever, and clothes as tattered and scanty—nothing in short to be seen but want and wretchedness, with apparently no inclination in the people to better their condition. Johnson, who visited the Western Islands in the autumn of 1773, has a very similar report to make. Everything seemed to be in a state of transition; old relationships were being broken up, and a spirit of general discontent and feeling of insecurity were abroad. As to the poor condition of the people generally, Johnson essentially confirms the statements of Pennant, although he hints that they did by no means appear to be unhappy, or able to realise their wretched condition.

At the time of Pennant's and Johnson's visits to the Highlands, the new leaven of change had fairly begun to work. Already had depopulation and emigration begun, and to some extent sheep-farming on a large scale had been introduced.

Emigration from the Highlands to America seems to have fairly commenced shortly after 1760, as, in a pamphlet² published in 1784, it is stated that between the years 1763 and 1775 above 20,000 Highlanders left their homes to settle on the other side of the Atlantic. The first apparently to suffer from the altered state of things in the Highlands, the decreasing value of men and the increasing value of money, were the tacksmen, or large farmers,

¹ Pennant's *Tour*, vol. ii. p. 305.

² *A View of the Highlands, &c.*

the relations of the old chiefs, who had held their farms from generation to generation, who regarded themselves as having about as much right to the land as the lairds, and who had hitherto been but little troubled about rent. After a time, when the chiefs, now merely lairds, began to realise their new position and to feel the necessity of making their land yield them as large an income as possible, they very naturally sought to get a higher rent for the farms let to these tacksmen, who, in most cases, were the only immediate holders of land from the proprietor. These tacksmen, in many cases, appear to have resented this procedure as they would a personal injury from their dearest friends. It was not that the addition to the rents was excessive, or that the rents were already as high as the land could bear, for generally the additions seem to have been trifling, and it is well known that the proprietors received nothing like the rents their lands should have yielded under a proper system of management. What seems to have hurt these gentlemen was the idea that the laird, the father of his people, should ever think of anything so mercenary as rent, or should ever by any exercise of his authority indicate that he had it in his power to give or let his farms to the highest bidders. It was bad enough, they thought, that an alien government should interfere with their old ways of doing; but that their chiefs, the heads of their race, for whom they were ready to lay down their lives and the lives of all over whom they had any power, should turn against them, was more than they could bear. The consequence was that many of them, especially in the west, threw up their farms, no doubt thinking that the lairds would at once ask them to remain on the old terms. This, however, was but seldom done, and the consequence was that many of these tacksmen emigrated to America, taking with them, no doubt, servants and sub-tenants, and enticing out more by the glowing accounts they sent home of their good fortune in that far-off land.

In some cases, the farms thus vacated were let to other tacksmen or large tenants, but in most instances, the new system was introduced of letting the land directly to what were formerly the sub-tenants, those who had held the

land immediately from the ousted tacksmen. A number of these sub-tenants would take a large farm among them, sub-dividing it as they chose, and each becoming liable for his proportion of the rent. The farms thus let were generally cultivated on the run-rig system already referred to, the pasture being common to all the tenants alike.

That certain advantages followed these changes there is no doubt. Every account we have of the Highlands during the earlier part of the 18th century, agrees in the fact that the Highlands were over-peopled and over-stocked, that it was impossible for the land to yield sufficient to support the men and beasts who lived upon it. Hence, this drafting off of a considerable portion of the population gave that which remained breathing-room; fewer people were left to support, and it is to be supposed that the condition of these would be improved. Moreover, they would probably have their farms at a cheaper rent than under the old system, when the demands of both tacksmen and laird had to be satisfied, the former, of course, having let the land at a much higher rate than that at which they held it from their superior. Now, it was possible enough for the laird to get a higher rent than before, and at the same time the people might have their farms at a lower rent than they had previously given to the tacksmen. There would also be fewer oppressive services demanded of these small tenants than under the old system, for now they had only the laird to satisfy, whereas previously they had both him and the tacksmen. There would still, of course, be services required by the laird from these tenants, still would part of the rent be paid in kind, still would they be thirled to particular mills, and have to submit to many similar exactions, of the oppressiveness of which, however, it was long before they became conscious; but, on the whole, the condition of those districts from which emigrations took place must to some extent have been the better for the consequent thinning of the population. Still no alteration appears to have taken place in the mode of farming, the nature of tenures, mode of paying rent, houses, clothes, food of the people. In some parts of the Highlands and islands, no alteration whatever appears

to have been made on the old system; the tacksmen were allowed to remain undisturbed, and the people lived and held land as formerly. But even in those districts from which emigrations were largely made, little or no improvement seems to have been the consequence, if we may trust the reports of those who saw how things stood with their own eyes. Pennant, Johnson, Buchanan,³ Newte,⁴ the Old Statistical Account, all agree that but little improvement was noticeable over the greater part of the Highlands from 1745 down till near the end of the 18th century.

One reason why perhaps emigration made so little odds in the way of improvement on the condition of those who remained in the country was, that no check was put upon the overstocking of the farms with men and animals. In spite of emigration, the population in many districts increased instead of diminished. A common practice among those tenants who conjointly held a large farm was for a father, on the marriage of a son or daughter, to divide his share of the farm with the young couple, who either lived in the old man's house or built a hut for themselves and tried to make a living out of the share of the pendicle allotted to them. To such an extent was this practice carried, that often a portion of land of a few acres, originally let to and sufficient to maintain one family, might in a few years be divided among six or eight families, and which, even if cultivated in the best manner possible, could not support its occupants for more than two or three months a year. On account of this ruinous practice, Skye, which in 1750 had 15,000 inhabitants, most of whom were in a condition of misery and want, in 1857, in spite of large and repeated emigrations, had a population of about 23,000. This custom was common in many Highland (chiefly western) districts down to only a few years ago, and was fruitful of many pernicious consequences—of frequent famines, the constant impoverishing of the soil, the overstocking of pasture-land, and continual wretchedness.

In some cases, the farms vacated by the old tacksmen, instead of being let to the old sub-tenants, were let to whatever stranger would

give the highest offer. On farms so let, the condition of the sub-tenants who were continued on the old footing, appears often to have been miserable in the extreme. These new-come tacksmen or middlemen cared nothing either for chiefs or people; they paid their rent and were determined to squeeze from those under them as large a return as possible for their outlay. In confirmation of these statements, and to show the sad condition of many parts of the Highlands in their state of transition, we quote the following passage from Buchanan's *Travels in the Hebrides*, referring to about 1780. Even allowing for exaggeration, although there is no reason to believe the writer goes beyond the truth, the picture is almost incredibly deplorable:—

“At present they are obliged to be much more submissive to their tacksmen than ever they were in former times to their lairds or lords. There is a great difference between that mild treatment which is shown to sub-tenants and even scallags, by the old lessees, descended of ancient and honourable families, and the outrageous rapacity of those necessitous strangers who have obtained leases from absent proprietors, who treat the natives as if they were a conquered and inferior race of mortals. In short, they treat them like beasts of burthen; and in all respects like slaves attached to the soil, as they cannot obtain new habitations, on account of the combinations already mentioned, and are entirely at the mercy of the laird or tacksman. Formerly, the personal service of the tenant did not usually exceed eight or ten days in the year. There lives at present at Scalpa, in the Isle of Harris, a tacksman of a large district, who instead of six days' work paid by the sub-tenants to his predecessor in the lease, has raised the predial service, called in that and in other parts of Scotland, *manerial bondage*, to fifty-two days in the year at once; besides many other services to be performed at different though regular and stated times: as tanning leather for brogues, making heather ropes for thatch, digging and drying peats for fuel; one pannier of peat charcoal to be carried to the smith; so many days for gathering and shearing sheep and lambs; for ferrying cattle from island to island, and other distant places, and

³ *Travels in the Western Islands.*

⁴ *Tour in England and Scotland* (1785).

several days for going on distant errands ; so many pounds of wool to be spun into yarn. And over and above all this, they must lend their aid upon any unforeseen occurrence whenever they are called on. The constant service of two months at once is performed at the proper season in the making of kelp. On the whole, this gentleman's sub-tenants may be computed to devote to his service full three days in the week. But this is not all : they have to pay besides yearly a certain number of cocks, hens, butter, and cheese, called CAORIGH-FERRIN, the WIFE'S PORTION ! This, it must be owned, is one of the most severe and rigorous tacksmen descended from the old inhabitants, in all the Western Hebrides : but the situation of his sub-tenants exhibits but too faithful a picture of the sub-tenants of those places in general, and the exact counterpart of such enormous oppression is to be found at Luskintire."

Another cause of emigration and of depopulation generally, was the introduction of sheep on a large scale, involving the junction into one of several small farms, each of which might before have been occupied by a number of tenants. These subjects of the introduction of sheep, engrossing of farms, and consequent depopulation, have occupied, and still to some extent do occupy, the attention of all those who take an interest in the Highlands, and of social economists in general. Various opinions have been passed on the matters in question, some advocating the retention of the people at all costs, while others declare that the greatest part of the Highlands is fit only for pasture, and it would be sheer madness, and shutting our eyes wilfully to the sad lessons of experience, to stock a land with people that is fit only to sustain sheep, and which at its very best contains mere specks of arable ground, which, even when cultivated to the utmost, can yield but a poor and unprofitable return.

Whatever opinion may be passed upon the general question, there can be no doubt that at first the introduction of sheep was fruitful of misery and discontent to those who had to vacate their old home and leave their native glens to find shelter they knew not well where. Many of those thus displaced by sheep and by one or two lowland shepherds, emigrated like

the discontented tacksmen to America, those who remained looking with ill-will and an evil eye on the lowland intruders. Although often the intruder came from the South country, and brought his sheep and his shepherds with him, still this was not always the case ; for many of the old tacksmen and even sub-tenants, after they saw how immensely more profitable the new system was over the old, wisely took a lesson in time, and following the example of the new lowland tenant, took large farms and stocked them with sheep and cattle, and reduced the arable land to a minimum. But, generally speaking, in cases where farms formerly subdivided among a number of tenants were converted into sheep farms, the smaller tenant had to quit and find a means of living elsewhere. The landlords in general attempted to prevent the ousted tenants from leaving the country by setting apart some particular spot either by the sea-shore or on waste land which had never been touched by plough, on which they might build houses and have an acre or two of land for their support. Those who were removed to the coast were encouraged to prosecute the fishing along with their agricultural labours, while those who were settled on waste land were stimulated to bring it into a state of cultivation. It was mainly by a number of such ousted Highlanders that the great and arduous undertaking was accomplished of bringing into a state of cultivation Kincardine Moss, in Perthshire. At the time the task was undertaken, about 1767, it was one of stupendous magnitude ; but so successfully was it carried out, that in a few years upwards of 2000 acres of fine clay-soil, which for centuries had been covered to the depth of seven feet with heath and decayed vegetable matter, were bearing luxuriant crops of all kinds. In a similar way, many spots throughout the Highlands, formerly yielding nothing but heath and moss, were, by the exertions of those who were deprived of their farms, brought into a state of cultivation. Those who occupied ground of this kind were known as *mailers*, and, as a rule, they paid no rent for the first few years, after which they generally paid the proprietor a shilling or two per acre, which was gradually increased as the land improved

and its cultivation extended. For the first season or two the proprietor usually either lent or presented them with seed and implements. In the parish of Urray, in the south-east of Ross-shire, about the year 1790, there were 248 families of this kind, most of whom had settled there within the previous forty years. Still the greater number of these, both tacksmen and sub-tenants, who were deprived of their farms, either on account of the raising of the rents or because of their conversion into large sheep-walks, emigrated to America. The old *Statistical Account of North Uist* says that between the years 1771 and 1775, a space of only four years, several thousands emigrated from the Western Highlands and Islands alone. At first few of the islands appear to have been put under sheep; where any alteration on the state of things took place at all, it was generally in the way of raising rents, thus causing the tacksmen to leave, who were succeeded either by strangers who leased the farms, or by the old sub-tenants, among whom the lands were divided, and who held immediately from the laird. It was long, however, as we have already indicated, before the innovations took thorough hold upon the Hebrides, as even down almost to the present time many of the old proprietors, either from attachment to their people, or from a love of feudal show, struggle to keep up the old system, leaving the tacksmen undisturbed, and doing all they can to maintain and keep on their property a large number of sub-tenants and cottars. Almost invariably, those proprietors who thus obstinately refused to succumb to the changes going on around them, suffered for their unwise conduct. Many of them impoverished their families for generations, and many of the estates were disposed of for behoof of their creditors, and they themselves had to sink to the level of landless gentlemen, and seek their living in commerce or otherwise.

Gradually, however, most of the proprietors, especially those whose estates were on the mainland Highlands, yielded, in general no doubt willingly, to change, raised their rents, abolished small tenancies, and gave their lands up to the sheep farmers. The temptation was, no doubt, often very great, on account

of the large rents offered by the lowland graziers. One proprietor in Argyleshire, who had some miles of pasture let to a number of small tenants for a few shillings yearly, on being offered by a lowlander who saw the place £300 a year, could not resist, but, however ruefully, cleared it of his old tenants, and gave it up to the money-making lowlander. It was this engrossing of farms and the turning of immense tracks of country into sheep-walks, part of which was formerly cultivated and inhabited by hundreds of people, that was the great grievance of the Highlanders during the latter part of last century. Not that it could aggravate their wretchedness to any great extent, for that was bad enough already even before 1745; it seems to have been rather the fact that their formerly much-loved chiefs should treat them worse than they could strangers, prefer a big income to a large band of faithful followers, and eject those who believed themselves to have as great a right to the occupancy of the land as the chiefs themselves. "The great and growing grievance of the Highlands is not the letting of the land to tacksmen, but the making of so many sheep-walks, which sweep off both tacksmen and sub-tenants all in a body."⁵ The tacksmen especially felt naturally cut to the quick by what they deemed the selfish and unjust policy of the chiefs. These tacksmen and their ancestors in most cases had occupied their farms for many generations; their birth was as good and their genealogy as old as those of the chief himself, to whom they were all blood relations, and to whom they were attached with the most unshaken loyalty. True, they had no writing, no document, no paltry "sheep-skin," as they called it, to show as a proof that they had as much right to their farms as the laird himself. But what of that? Who would ever have thought that their chiefs would turn against them, and try to wrest from them that which had been gifted by a former chief to their fathers, who would have bitten out their tongue before they would ask a bond? The gift, they thought, was none the less real because there was no written proof of it. These parchments were quite a modern innovation, not even then uni-

⁵ Newte.

versally acknowledged among the Highlanders, to whom the only satisfactory proof of proprietorship and chiefship was possession from time immemorial. Occasionally a chief, who could produce no title-deed to his estate, was by law deprived of it, and his place filled by another. But the clan would have none of this; they invariably turned their backs upon the intruder, and acknowledged only the ousted chief as their head and the real proprietor, whom they were bound to support, and whom they frequently did support, by paying to him the rents which were legally due to the other. In some cases, it would seem,⁶ the original granters of the land to the tacksmen conveyed it to them by a regular title-deed, by which, of course, they became proprietors. And we think there can be no doubt, that originally when a chief bestowed a share of his property upon his son or other near relation, he intended that the latter should keep it for himself and his descendants; he was not regarded merely as a tenant who had to pay a yearly rent, but as a sub-proprietor, who, from a sense of love and duty would contribute what he could to support the chief of his race and clan. In many cases, we say, this was the light in which chief, tacksmen, and people regarded these farms tenanted by the gentlemen of the clan; and it only seems to have been after the value of men decreased and of property increased, that most of the lairds began to look at the matter in a more commercial, legal, and less romantic light. According to Newte—and what he says is supported to a considerable extent by facts—"in the southern parts of Argyleshire, in Perthshire, Aberdeenshire, Moray, and Ross, grants of land were made in writing, while in Inverness-shire, Sutherlandshire, the northern parts of Argyleshire, and the Western Islands, the old mode was continued of verbal or emblematical transference. In Ross-shire, particularly, it would appear that letters and the use of letters in civil affairs had been early introduced and widely spread; for property is more equally divided in that country than in most other counties in Scotland, and than in any other of the Highlands. Agreeably to these observations, it is

from the great estates on the northern and western sides of Scotland that the descendants of the original tacksmen of the land, with their families, have been obliged to migrate by the positive and unrelenting demands of rent beyond what it was in their power to give, and, indeed, in violation of those conditions that were understood and observed between the original granter and original tenant and their posterity for centuries."³ These statements are exceedingly plausible, and we believe to a certain extent true; but it is unnecessary here to enter upon the discussion of the question. What we have to do with is the unquestionable fact that the Highland proprietors did in many instances take advantage of the legal power, which they undoubtedly possessed, to do with their land as they pleased, and, regardless of the feelings of the old tacksmen and sub-tenants, let it to the highest bidders. The consequence was that these tacksmen, who to a certain extent were demoralised and knew not how to use the land to best advantage, had to leave the homes of their ancestors; and many of the small farmers and cottars, in the face of the new system of large sheep-farms, becoming cumberers of the ground, were swept from the face of the country, and either located in little lots by the sea-side, where they became useful as fishers and kelp-burners, or settled on some waste moor, which they occupied themselves in reclaiming from its native barrenness, or, as was frequently the case, followed the tacksmen, and sought a home in the far west, where many of them became lairds in their own right.

These then are the great results of the measures which followed the rebellion of 1745-6, and the consequent breaking up of the old clan system—extensive sheep-farming, accompanied with a great rise in the rent of land, depopulation, and emigration. As to the legality of the proceedings of the proprietors, there can be no doubt; as little doubt is there that the immediate consequence to many of the Highlanders was great suffering, accompanied by much bitterness and discontent. As to the morality or justice of the laird's conduct, various opinions have been, and no doubt for

⁶ Newte's *Travels*, p. 127.

⁷ Newte's *Travels*, p. 127.

long will be, expressed. One side maintains that it was the duty of these chiefs upon whom the people depended, whom they revered, and for whom they were ready to die, at all events, to see to it that their people were provided for, and that ultimately it would have been for the interest of the proprietors and the country at large to do everything to prevent from emigrating in such numbers as they did, such a splendid race of men, for whose services to the country no money equivalent could be found. It is maintained that the system of large farms is pernicious in every respect, and that only by the system of moderate sized farms can a country be made the best of, an adequate rural population be kept up, and self-respect and a high moral tone be nourished and spread throughout the land. Those who adopt this side of the question pooh-pooh the common maxims of political economy, and declare that laws whose immediate consequences are widespread suffering, and the unpeopling of a country, cannot be founded on any valid basis; that proprietors hold their lands only in trust, and it is therefore their duty not merely to consider their own narrow interests, but also to consult the welfare and consult the feelings of their people. In short, it is maintained by this party, that the Highland lairds, in acting as they did, showed themselves to be unjust, selfish, heartless, unpatriotic, mercenary, and blind to their own true interests and those of their country.

On the other hand, it is maintained that what occurred in the Highlands subsequent to 1745 was a step in the right direction, and that it was only a pity that the innovations had not been more thorough and systematic. For long previous to 1745, it is asserted the Highlands were much over-peopled, and the people, as a consequence of the vicious system under which they had lived for generations, were incurably lazy, and could be roused from this sad lethargy only by some such radical measures as were adopted. The whole system of Highland life and manners and habits were almost barbarous, the method of farming was thoroughly pernicious and unproductive, the stock of cattle worthless and excessive, and so badly managed that about one half perished every winter. On account of the excessive popula-

tion, the land was by far too much subdivided, the majority of so-called farmers occupying farms of so small a size that they could furnish the necessaries of life for no more than six months, and consequently the people were continually on the verge of starvation. The Highlands, it is said, are almost totally unsuited for agriculture, and fit only for pasturage, and that consequently this subdivision into small farms could be nothing else than pernicious; that the only method by which the land could be made the most of was that of large sheep-farms, and that the proprietors, while no doubt studying their own interests, adopted the wisest policy when they let out their land on this system. In short, it is maintained by the advocates of innovations, the whole body of the Highlanders were thoroughly demoralised, their number was greater by far than the land could support even if managed to the best advantage, and was increasing every year; the whole system of renting land, of tenure, and of farming was ruinous to the people and the land, and that nothing but a radical change could cure the many evils with which the country was afflicted.

There has been much rather bitter discussion between the advocates of the two sides of the Highland question; often more recrimination and calling of names than telling argument. This question, we think, is no exception to the general rule which governs most disputed matters; there is truth, we believe, on both sides. We fear the facts already adduced in this part of the book comprise many of the assertions made by the advocates of change. As to the wretched social condition of the Highlanders, for long before and after 1745, there can be no doubt, if we can place any reliance on the evidence of contemporaries, and we have already said enough to show that the common system of farming, if worthy of the name, was ruinous and inefficient; while their small lean cattle were so badly managed that about one half died yearly. That the population was very much greater than the land, even if used to the best advantage, could support, is testified to by every candid writer from the Gartmore paper^s down almost to the

^s Burt's *Letters*, Appendix.

present day. The author of the Gartmore paper, written about 1747, estimated that the population of the Highlands at that time amounted to about 230,000; "but," he says, "according to the present economy of the Highlands, there is not business for more than one half of that number of people. . . The other half, then, must be idle and beggars while in the country." "The produce of the crops," says Pennant,⁹ "very rarely are in any degree proportioned to the wants of the inhabitants; golden seasons have happened, when they have had superfluity, but the years of famine are as ten to one." It is probable, from a comparison with the statistics of Dr Webster, taken in 1755,¹ that the estimate of the author of the Gartmore paper was not far from being correct; indeed, if anything, it must have been under the mark, as in 1755 the population of the Highlands and Islands amounted, according to Webster, to about 290,000, which, in 1795, had increased to 325,566,² in spite of the many thousands who had emigrated. This great increase in the population during the latter part of the 18th century is amply confirmed by the writers of the Statistical Accounts of the various Highland parishes, and none had better opportunities of knowing the real state of matters than they. The great majority of these writers likewise assert that the population was far too large in proportion to the produce of the land and means of employment, and that some such outlet as emigration was absolutely necessary. Those who condemn emigration and depopulation, generally do so for some merely sentimental reason, and seldom seek to show that it is quite possible to maintain the large population without disastrous results. It is a pity, they say, that the Highlander, possessing so many noble qualities, and so strongly attached to his native soil, should be compelled to seek a home in a foreign land, and bestow upon it the services which might be profitably employed by his mother country. By permitting, they say, these loyal and brave Highlanders to leave the country, Britain is throwing away some of the finest recruiting material in the

world, for—and it is quite true—the Highland soldier has not his match for bravery, moral character, and patriotism.

These statements are no doubt true; it certainly is a pity that an inoffensive, brave, and moral people should be compelled to leave their native land, and devote to the cultivation of a foreign soil those energies which might be used to the benefit of their own country. It would also be very bad policy in government to lose the chance of filling up the ranks of the army with some of the best men obtainable anywhere. But then, if there was nothing for the people to do in the country, if their condition was one of chronic famine, as was undoubtedly the case with the Highlanders, if the whole productions of the country were insufficient even to keep them in bare life, if every few years the country had to contribute thousands of pounds to keep these people alive, if, in short, the majority of them were little else than miserable beggars, an encumbrance on the progress of their country, a continual source of sadness to all feeling men, gradually becoming more and more demoralised by the increasingly wretched condition in which they lived, and by the ever-recurring necessity of bestowing upon them charity to keep them alive,—if such were the case, the advocates for a thinning of the population urge, whom would it profit to keep such a rabble of half-starved creatures huddled together in a corner of the country, reaping for themselves nothing but misery and degradation, and worse than useless to everybody else. Moreover, as to the military argument, it is an almost universal statement made by the writers of the Old Statistical Account (about 1790), that, at that time, in almost all the Highland parishes it was scarcely possible to get a single recruit, so great was the aversion of the people both to a naval and military life. Besides, though the whole of the surplus population had been willing to volunteer into the army, of what value would it have been if the country had no use for them; and surely it would be very questionable policy to keep thousands of men in idleness on the bare chance that they might be required as soldiers.

The sentimental and military arguments are no doubt very touching and very convincing to

⁹ *Tour*, ii. 306.

¹ See Walker's *Hebrides*, vol. i pp. 24, 28.

² Walker, vol. i. p. 31.

men in whom impulse and imagination predominate over reason and clearness of vision, and are fitting subjects for a certain kind of poetry, which has made much of them; but they cannot for one moment stand the test of facts, and become selfishly cruel, impracticable, and disastrous, when contrasted with the teachings of genuine humanity and the best interests of the Highlanders. On this subject, the writer of the *Old Statistical Account* of the parish of Lochgoilhead makes some remarks so sensible, and so much to the point, that we are tempted to quote them here. "It is frequent," he says, "with people who wish well to their country, to inveigh against the practice of turning several small farms into one extensive grazing, and dispossessing the former tenants. If the strength of a country depends upon the number of its inhabitants, it appears a pernicious measure to drive away the people by depriving them of their possessions. This complaint is very just with regard to some places in Scotland; for it must be greatly against the interest of the nation to turn rich arable land, which is capable at the same time of supporting a number of people, and of producing much grain, into pasture ground. But the complaint does not seem to apply to this country. The strength of a nation cannot surely consist in the number of idle people which it maintains; that the inhabitants of this part of the country were formerly sunk in indolence, and contributed very little to the wealth, or to the support of the state, cannot be denied. The produce of this parish, since sheep have become the principal commodity, is at least double the intrinsic value of what it was formerly, so that half the number of hands produce more than double the quantity of provisions, for the support of our large towns, and the supply of our tradesmen and manufacturers; and the system by which land returns the most valuable produce, and in the greatest abundance, seems to be the most beneficial for the country at large. Still, however, if the people who are dispossessed of this land emigrated into other nations, the present system might be justly condemned, as diminishing the strength of the country. But this is far from being the case; of the great number of people who have been deprived of their farms in this

parish, for thirty years past, few or none have settled out of the kingdom; they generally went to sea, or to the populous towns upon the Clyde. In these places, they have an easy opportunity, which they generally embrace, of training up their children to useful and profitable employments, and of rendering them valuable members of society. So that the former inhabitants of this country have been taken from a situation in which they contributed nothing to the wealth, and very little to the support of the state, to a situation in which their labour is of the greatest public utility. Nor has the present system contributed to make the condition of the inhabitants of the country worse than it was before; on the contrary, the change is greatly in their favour. The partiality in favour of former times, and the attachment to the place of their nativity, which is natural to old people, together with the indolence in which they indulged themselves in this country, mislead them in drawing a comparison between their past and their present situations. But indolence was almost the only comfort which they enjoyed. There was scarcely any variety of wretchedness with which they were not obliged to struggle, or rather to which they were not obliged to submit. They often felt what it was to want food; the scanty crops which they raised were consumed by their cattle in winter and spring; for a great part of the year they lived wholly on milk, and even that in the end of spring and beginning of winter was very scarce. To such extremity were they frequently reduced, that they were obliged to bleed their cattle in order to subsist for some time upon the blood; and even the inhabitants of the glens and valleys repaired in crowds to the shore, at the distance of three or four miles, to pick up the scanty provision which the shell-fish afforded them. They were miserably ill clothed, and the huts in which they lived were dirty and mean beyond expression. How different from their present situation? They now enjoy the necessaries, and many of the comforts of life in abundance: even those who are supported by the charity of the parish feel no real want. Much of the wretchedness which formerly prevailed in this and in other parishes in the Highlands, was owing to the indolence of the

people, and to their want of management; but a country which is neither adapted for agriculture nor for rearing black cattle, can never maintain any great number of people comfortably."

No doubt the very men who deplore what they call the depopulation of the Highlands would advocate the advisability of emigration in the case of the unemployed surplus population of any other part of the country. If their arguments against the emigration of the Highlanders to another country, and in favour of their being retained in their own district were logically carried out, to what absurd and disastrous consequences would they lead? Supposing that all the people who have emigrated from this country to America, Australia, and elsewhere, had been kept at home, where would this country have been? There would scarcely have been standing room for the population, the great majority of whom must have been in a state of indescribable misery. The country would have been ruined. The same arguments might also be used against the emigration of the natives of other countries, many of whom are no doubt as attached to their native soil as the Highlanders; and if the principle had been rigidly carried out, what direful consequences to the world at large would have been the result. In fact, there would have been little else but universal barbarism. It seems to be admitted by all thoughtful men that the best outlet for a redundant or idle population is emigration; it is beneficial to the mother country, beneficial to the emigrants, and beneficial to the new country in which they take up their abode. Only thus can the earth be subdued, and made the most of.

Why then should there be any lamentation over the Highlanders leaving their country more than over any other class of respectable willing men? Anything more hopelessly wretched than their position at various times from 1745 down to the present day it would be impossible to imagine. If one, however, trusted the descriptions of some poets and sentimentalists, a happier or more comfortably situated people than the Highlanders at one time were could not be found on the face of the globe. They were always clean, and tidy,

and well dressed, lived in model cottages, surrounded by model gardens, had always abundance of plain wholesome food and drink, were exuberant in their hospitality, doated on their chiefs, carefully cultivated their lands and tended their flocks, but had plenty of time to dance and sing, and narrate round the cheerful winter hearth the legends of their people, and above all, feared God and honoured the king. Now, these statements have no foundation in fact, at least within the historical period; but generally the writers on this side of the question refer generally to the period previous to 1745, and often, in some cases, to a time subsequent to that. Every writer who pretends to record facts, the result of observation, and not to draw imaginary Arcadian pictures, concurs in describing the country as being sunk in the lowest state of wretchedness. The description we have already given of the condition of the people before 1745, applies with intensified force to the greater part of the Highlands for long after that year. Instead of improving, and often there were favourable opportunities for improvement, the people seemed to be retrograding, getting more and more demoralised, more and more miserable, more and more numerous, and more and more famine-struck. In proof of what we say, we refer to all the writers on and travellers in the Highlands of last century, to Pennant, Boswell, Johnson, Newte, Buchanan,³ and especially the Old Statistical Account. To let the reader judge for himself as to the value of the statements we make as to the condition of the Highlands during the latter part of last century, we quote below a longish extract from a pamphlet written by one who had visited and enquired into the state of the Highlands about the year 1780.⁴ It is written

³ *Western Isles.*

⁴ "Upon the whole, the situation of these people, inhabitants of Britain! is such as no language can describe, nor fancy conceive. If, with great labour and fatigue, the farmer raises a slender crop of oats and barley, the autumnal rains often baffle his utmost efforts, and frustrate all his expectations; and instead of being able to pay an exorbitant rent, he sees his family in danger of perishing during the ensuing winter, when he is precluded from any possibility of assistance elsewhere.

"Nor are his cattle in a better situation; in summer they pick up a scanty support amongst the morasses or heathy mountains; but in winter, when the grounds are covered with snow, and when the naked wilds

by one who deplores the extensive emigration which was going on, but yet who, we are in-

afford neither shelter nor subsistence, the few cows, small, lean, and ready to drop down through want of pasture, are brought into the hut where the family resides, and frequently share with them the small stock of meal which had been purchased, or raised, for the family only; while the cattle thus sustained, are bled occasionally, to afford nourishment for the children after it hath been boiled or made into cakes.

"The sheep being left upon the open heaths, seek to shelter themselves from the inclemency of the weather amongst the hollows upon the lee-side of the mountains, and here they are frequently buried under the snow for several weeks together, and in severe seasons during two months or upwards. They eat their own and each other's wool, and hold out wonderfully under cold and hunger; but even in moderate winters, a considerable number are generally found dead after the snow hath disappeared, and in rigorous seasons few or none are left alive.

"Meanwhile the steward, hard pressed by letters from Almack's or Newmarket, demands the rent in a tone which makes no great allowance for unpropitious seasons, the death of cattle, and other accidental misfortunes; disguising the feelings of his own breast—his Honour's wants must at any rate be supplied, the bills must be duly negotiated.

"Such is the state of farming, if it may be so called, throughout the interior parts of the Highlands; but as that country hath an extensive coast, and many islands, it may be supposed that the inhabitants of those shores enjoy all the benefits of their maritime situation. This, however, is not the case; those gifts of nature, which in any other commercial kingdom would have been rendered subservient to the most valuable purposes, are in Scotland lost, or nearly so, to the poor natives and the public. The only difference, therefore, between the inhabitants of the interior parts and those of the more distant coasts, consists in this, that the latter, with the labours of the field, have to encounter alternately the dangers of the ocean and all the fatigues of navigation.

"To the distressing circumstances at home, as stated above, new difficulties and toils await the devoted farmer when abroad. He leaves his family in October, accompanied by his sons, brothers, and frequently an aged parent, and embarks on board a small open boat, in quest of the herring fishery, with no other provision than oatmeal, potatoes, and fresh water; no other bedding than heath, twigs, or straw, the covering, if any, an old sail. Thus provided, he searches from bay to bay, through turbulent seas, frequently for several weeks together, before the shoals of herrings are discovered. The glad tidings serve to vary, but not to diminish his fatigues. Unremitting nightly labour (the time when the herrings are taken), pinching cold winds, heavy seas, uninhabited shores covered with snow, or deluged with rains, contribute towards filling up the measure of his distresses; while to men of such exquisite feelings as the Highlanders generally possess, the scene which awaits him at home does it most effectually.

"Having disposed of his capture to the Busses, he returns in January through a long navigation, frequently amidst unceasing hurricanes, not to a comfortable home and a cheerful family, but to a hut composed of turf, without windows, doors, or chimney, environed with snow, and almost hid from the eye by its astonishing depth. Upon entering this solitary mansion, he generally finds a part of his family, sometimes the whole, lying upon heath or straw, languishing through want or epidemical disease; while the few surviving cows, which possess the other

clined to believe, has slightly exaggerated the misery of the Highlanders in order to make the sin of absentee chiefs, who engross farms, and raise enormously the rents, as great as possible. Still, when compared with the statements made by other contemporary authorities, the exaggeration seems by no means great, and making allowances, the picture presented is a mocking, weird contrast to the fancies of the sentimentalist. That such a woful state of things required radical and uncompromising measures of relief, no one can possibly deny. Yet this same writer laments most pitifully that 20,000 of these wretched people had to leave their wretched homes and famine-struck condition, and the oppression of their lairds, for lands and houses of their own in a fairer and more fertile land, where independence and affluence were at the command of all who cared to bend their backs to labour. What good purpose, divine or human, could be served by keeping an increasing population in a land that cannot produce enough to keep the life in one-half of its people? Nothing but misery, and degradation, and oppression here; happiness, advancement, riches, and freedom on the other side of the water. Is there more than one conclusion?

In spite of all the emigration that has taken place from this country, no one has, we daresay, any real dread of depopulation; the population is increasing over all the land every year, not excepting the Highlands. As for soldiers, no

end of the cottage, instead of furnishing further supplies of milk or blood, demand his immediate attention to keep them in existence.

"The season now approaches when he is again to delve and labour the ground, on the same slender prospect of a plentiful crop or a dry harvest. The cattle which have survived the famine of the winter, are turned out to the mountains; and, having put his domestic affairs into the best situation which a train of accumulated misfortunes admits of, he resumes the oar, either in quest of the herring or the white fishery. If successful in the latter, he sets out in his open boat upon a voyage (taking the Hebrides and the opposite coast at a medium distance) of 200 miles, to vend his cargo of dried cod, ling, &c., at Greenock or Glasgow. The produce, which seldom exceeds twelve or fifteen pounds, is laid out, in conjunction with his companions, upon meal and fishing tackle; and he returns through the same tedious navigation.

"The autumn calls his attention again to the field; the usual round of disappointment, fatigue, and distress awaits him; thus dragging through a wretched existence in the hope of soon arriving in that country where the weary shall be at rest."—*A View of the Highlands, &c.*, pp. 3-7.

doubt plenty will be forthcoming when wanted; if not so, it is not for want of men well enough fitted for the occupation. As every one knows, there is seldom a want of willing workers in this country, but far more frequently a great want of work to do.

That by far the larger part of the surface of the Highland districts is suited only for the pasturage of sheep, is the testimony of every one who knows anything about the subject. Those who speak otherwise must either ignore facts or speak of what they do not know, urged merely by impulse and sentimentalism. True, there are many spots consisting of excellent soil suited for arable purposes, but generally where such do occur the climate is so unfavourable to successful agriculture that no expenditure will ever produce an adequate return.⁵ Other patches again, not, however, of frequent occurrence, have everything in their favour, and are as capable of producing luxuriant crops as the most fertile district of the lowlands. But nearly all these arable spots, say those who advocate the laying of the whole country under sheep, it is absolutely necessary to retain as winter pasturage, if sheep-farming is to be carried on successfully. The mountainous districts, comprising nearly the whole of the Highlands, are admirably suited for sheep pasturage when the weather is mild; but in winter are so bleak and cold, and exposed to destructive storms, that unless the sheep during winter can be brought down to the low and sheltered grounds, the loss of a great part of the flocks would inevitably be the consequence. Hence, it is maintained, unless nearly the whole of the country is allowed to lie waste, or unless a sheep farmer makes up his mind to carry on an unprofitable business, the arable spots in the valleys and elsewhere must, as a rule, be retained as pasture. And this seems to be the case in most districts. It must not be imagined, however, that the surface of the Highlands is one universal expanse of green and brown fragrant heather; every tourist knows that in almost every glen, by the side of many lochs, streams, and bogs, patches of cultivated land are to be met with,

bearing good crops of oats, barley, potatoes, and turnips. These productions chiefly belong to the large sheep farmers, and are intended for the use of themselves, their servants, and cattle, and but seldom have they any to dispose of. Others of these arable spots belong to small farmers, the race of whom is happily not yet extinct. But, on the whole, it would seem that so far as agricultural products are concerned, the Highlands seldom, if ever, produce sufficient to supply the wants of the inhabitants, importation being thus necessary.

A curious and interesting point connected with the introduction of sheep into the Highlands may be mentioned here:—By means of this innovation, the whole aspect of the country seems to have been changed. Previous to that, the whole country seems to have borne a universal aspect of blackness, rarely relieved by a spot of green, arising from the fact that almost the only product of the mountains was dark-brown heath. Captain Burt and others who visited the Highlands previous to the extensive introduction of sheep, indulge in none of the raptures over Highland scenery, that the most common-place and prosy tourist thinks it his duty to get into at the present day. They speak of the country almost with horror, as a black howling wilderness, full of bogs and big boulders, and almost unfit for human habitation. They could see no beauty in the country that it should be desired; it was a place to get out of as soon as possible. How far these sentiments may have been justified by facts it is impossible now to say; but it is the almost universal assertion by the writers in the *Old Statistical Account*, that the appearance of the Highland hills was rapidly changing, and that instead of the universal dark-brown heath which previously covered them, there was springing up the light-brown heath and short green bent or strong grass so well known to all modern tourists. If the Highland hills formerly bore anything like the aspect presented at the present day by the dreary black wet hills of Shetland, the remarks of Burt and others need not cause astonishment. But as the great outlines and peculiar features of the country must have been the same then as now, we suspect that these early English adventurers into the High-

⁵ See *Old and New Statistical Accounts, passim*.

lands wanted training in scenery or were determined to see nothing to admire. But, indeed, admiration of and hunting for fine scenery seem to be quite a modern fashion, and were quite unknown to our ancestors in the beginning of last century, or were confined to a few crazy poets. Men require to be trained to use their eyes in this as in many other respects. There can be no doubt that the first impulse to the admiration of the Highlands and Highlanders was given by the poems and novels of Sir Walter Scott; it was he who set the sheepish stream of tourists agoing, and indirectly to him many a Highland hotel-keeper owes a handsome fortune. The fact at all events seems unquestionable, that the extensive introduction of sheep has to a large extent changed the external aspect of the Highlands.

It must not be imagined that, previous to the changes we are speaking of, there were no sheep in the Highlands; there were always a few of a very small native breed, but the staple stock of the Highland farmer was, as we previously mentioned, black cattle. The sheep, however, have also to a very large extent superseded them, a fact which is deplored by those who lament the many innovations which have been introduced since 1745. But by all accounts much of the country is unsuited to the pasturage of black cattle, and as cattle and sheep do not thrive well together, the only alternative seems to be the introduction of sheep alone into those districts unsuited for cattle. "More than one-third of the country consists of mountains and declivities too steep and abrupt for black cattle, and the grass they produce too short and fine to afford them a tolerable pasture except in the height of summer. The greater part of the pasture is therefore lost, though it might all be beneficially consumed with sheep. A flock of sheep will thrive where cows and oxen would starve, and will go at all seasons of the year to such heights as are inaccessible to black cattle. . . . In a situation of this kind the very wool of a flock would amount to more than the whole profit to be obtained by black cattle."⁶ The only conclusion to be drawn from these state-

ments is, that the wisest thing that could be done was to introduce sheep into those districts which were being wasted on black cattle.

Along with the introduction of sheep, indeed, to a great extent caused by that, was the enlargement of farms, which with the raising of rents led to the depopulation of many districts. The old system of letting farms in the Highlands has already been sufficiently explained, and the introduction of sheep seems to have rendered it necessary that this old system should be abolished, and that a large extent of country should be taken by one man. The question between large and small farms does not appear to us to be the same as between the old and new system of letting land. Under the old system, a farm of no great extent was often let to a large number of tenants, who frequently subdivided it still more, by either sub-letting part, or by sharing their respective portions with their newly-married sons and daughters. The testimony as to the perniciousness of this old system is universal; it was, and until recently continued to be, the chief source of all the misfortunes that have afflicted the Highlands. As to whether, however, this old system should have been entirely abolished, or whether some modification of it might not have been retained, has been a matter of dispute. Some maintain that the Highlands can be profitably managed only on the large farm system, and only thus can sheep be made to pay, while others assert that, though many districts are suitable for large farms, still there are others that might with great profit be divided into small holdings. By this latter method, it is said, a fair proportion of all classes would be maintained in the Highlands, noblemen, gentlemen, farmers large and small, cottars, labourers, and that only when there is such a mixture can a country be said to be prosperous. Moreover, it is held a proprietor, who in this country should be considered as a steward rather than the absolute owner of his estate, has no right to exclude the small farmer from having a chance of making a respectable living by the occupation for which he is suited; that he stands in the way of his own and his country's interests when he discourages the

⁶ Walker's *Hebrides and Highlands*.

small farmer, for only by a mixture of the two systems can the land be made the most of; and that, to say the least of it, it is selfish and wrong in proprietors not to consider the case of the poor as well as the rich.

On the question as to the expediency of large or small farms we cannot pretend to be able to judge; we know too little of its real merits. However, it appears to us that there is no reason why both systems cannot be very well combined in many parts of the Highlands, although there are many districts, we believe, totally unsuited for anything else but sheep-farms of the largest dimensions. Were the small farms made large enough to sufficiently support the farmer and his family, and remunerate him for his outlay and labour, were precautions taken against the subdivision of these moderate-sized holdings, and were leases of sufficient duration granted to all, it seems to us that there is nothing in the nature of things why there should not be farms of a small size in the Highlands as well as farms covering many miles in extent. We certainly do think it too bad to cut out the small respectable class of farmers entirely, and put the land of the country in the hands of a sort of farmer aristocracy; it is unfair and prejudicial to the best interests of the country. But the small farmers must first show that they deserve to be considered; certainly the small farmers under the old Highland system, which we believe is not yet quite extinct in some remote districts, deserved only to have the land they so mismanaged taken from them and given to others who could make a better use of it. Some consideration, we think, ought to be had towards the natives of the country, those whose ancestors have occupied the land for centuries, and if they are able to pay as good a rent as others, and show themselves willing to manage the land as well, in all humanity they ought to have the preference. But these are matters which we think ought to be left to adjust themselves according to the inevitable laws which regulate all human affairs. Interference in any way between landlord and tenant by way of denunciation, vituperation, or legislation, seems to us only to make matters worse. It seems to us that the simplest commercial maxims—the laws of profit and loss, if

they have fair play—will ultimately lead to the best system of managing the land of the Highlands and of every other district, both in the interests of the proprietors and those of the tenants. If proprietors find it most profitable to let their lands in large lots, either for agriculture, for cattle, for sheep, or for deer, there is no reason why they should not do so, and there is no doubt that in the end what is most advantageous to the proprietor is so to the tenant, and *vice versa*, as also to the country at large. If, on the other hand, it be found that letting land in small lots is more profitable than the other practice, few proprietors, we daresay, would hesitate to cut up their land into suitable lots. But all this, we think, must be left to experiment, and it cannot be said that the Highlands as a whole have as yet got beyond the stage of probation; changes from small to large and from large to small farms—mostly the former—and changes from sheep to deer and deer to sheep are still going on; but, no doubt, ere long both proprietors and tenants of land will find out what their real common interest is, and adjust themselves in their proper relations to each other. It is best to leave them alone and allow them to fight the battle out between themselves. Interference was attempted at the end of last century to stop emigration and to settle the ousted tenants on small lots by the sea-shore, where both fishing and farming could be carried on, but the interference did no good. Emigration was not diminished, although curiously it was the proprietors themselves, who subsequently did their best to promote emigration, that at this time attempted to stop it. The people seem generally until lately to have been quite willing and even anxious to emigrate at least those of most intelligence; not that they cared not for their country, but that, however much they loved it, there was no good in staying at home when nothing but misery and starvation stared them in the face. We say that the landlords and others, including the Highland Society, interfered, and endeavoured to get government to interfere, to prevent the great emigrations which were going on, and which they feared would ere long leave the country utterly peopleless. But the interference was of no use, and was quite

uncalled for. Emigration still went on, and will go on so long as there is a necessity for it; and the country will always have plenty of inhabitants so long as it can afford a decent subsistence. When men know better the laws of sociology—the laws which govern human affairs—interference of this kind will be simply laughed at.

The scheme of the landlords—who, while they raised the rents and extended their farms, were still loath to lose their numerous tenants and retainers—of settling those on the coast where they could combine farming and fishing, failed also, for the simple reason that, as it has been fairly proved, one man cannot unite successfully the two occupations in his own person. In this sense “no man can serve two masters.” “No two occupations can be more incompatible than farming and fishing, as the seasons which require undivided exertion in fishing are precisely those in which the greatest attention should be devoted to agriculture. Grazing, which is less incompatible with fishing than agriculture, is even found to distract the attention and prevent success in either occupation. This is demonstrated by the very different success of those who unite both occupations from those who devote themselves exclusively to fishing. Indeed, the industrious fisher finds the whole season barely sufficient for the labours of his proper occupation.”⁷ It seems clear, then, that the Highland proprietors should be left alone and allowed to dispose of their land as they think fit, just as the owner of any other commercial commodity takes it to whatever market he chooses, and no harm accrues from it. If the Highland peasantry and farmers see it to be to their advantage to leave their native land and settle in a far-off soil where they will have some good return for hard work, we do not see that there is any call for interference or lamentation. Give all help and counsel to those who require and deserve them by all means either to stay at home or go abroad; but to those who are able to think and free to act for themselves nothing is necessary but to be left alone.

As we have already said, another cause

of emigration besides sheep-farming, though to some extent associated with it, was the raising of rents. Naturally enough, when the number of tenants upon a laird's estate ceased to make him of importance and give him power, he sought by raising his rents to give himself the importance derived from a large income. There can be no doubt that, previous to this, farms were let far below their real value, and often at a merely nominal rent; and thus one of the greatest incitements to industry was wanting in the case of the Highland tenants, for when a man knows that his landlord will not trouble him about his rent, but would rather let him go scot-free than lose him, it is too much to expect of human nature in general that it will bestir itself to do what it feels there is no absolute necessity for. Thus habits of idleness were engendered in the Highlanders, and the land, for want of industrious cultivation, was allowed to run comparatively waste. That the thinning of the population gave those who remained a better chance of improving their condition, is testified to by many writers in the *Old Statistical Account*, and by other contemporary authorities, including even Dr Walker, who was no friend to emigration. He says,⁸ “these measures in the management of property, and this emigration, were by no means unfriendly to the population of the country. The sub-tenants, who form the bulk of the people, were not only retained but raised in their situation, and rendered more useful and independent.” It is amusing now to read Dr Walker's remarks on the consequences of emigration from the Highlands; had his fears been substantiated,—and had they been well grounded, they ought to have been by this time, for sheep-farming, rent-raising, depopulation, and emigration have been going on rapidly ever since his time—the Highlands must now have been “a waste howling wilderness.” “If the [Highlanders],” he says,⁹ “are expelled, the Highlands never can be reclaimed or improved by any other set of men, but must remain a mere grazing-field for England and the South of Scotland. By this alteration, indeed, the present rents may, no doubt, be augmented, but they must become

⁷ Essay on *The Fisheries of Scotland*, in *Highland Society Prize Essays*, vol. ii.

⁸ *Hebrides and Highlands*, vol. ii. p. 406.

⁹ *Idem*, p. 409.

immediately stationary, without any prospect of further advancement, and will in time from obvious causes be liable to great diminution. All improvement of the country must cease when the people to improve it are gone. The soil must remain unsubdued for ever, and the progress of the Highlands must be finally stopt, while all the cultivated wastes of the kingdom are advancing in population and wealth." How these predictions have been belied by facts, all who know anything of the progress of the Highlands during the present century must perceive. All these changes and even grievances have taken place, and yet the Highlands are far enough from anything approximating to depopulation or unproductiveness, and rents, we believe, have not yet ceased to rise.

Notwithstanding the large emigration which has been going on, the population of the Highlands at the census of 1861 was at least 70,000 greater than it was in the time of Dr Walker.¹ The emigration, especially from the west, does not seem to have been large enough, for periodically, up even to the present day, a rueful call for help to save from famine comes from that quarter." This very year (1863) the cry of destitution in Skye has been loud as ever, and yet from no part of the Highlands has there been a more extensive emigration. From the very earliest period in the history of emigration down to this date, Skye has been largely drawn upon, and yet the body of the people in Skye were never more wretched than at this moment."² Dr Walker himself states that, in spite of an emigration of about 6000 between the years 1771 and 1794 from the Hebrides and Western Highlands, the population had increased by about 40,000 during the forty years subsequent to 1750.³ Yet though he knew of the wretched condition of the country from an over-crowded population, practical man as he was, he gives way to the vague and unjustifiable fears expressed above. It is no doubt sad to see the people of a country, and these possessing many high qualities, compelled to leave it in order to get room to breathe; but to tirade against emigra-

tion as Dr Walker and others do in the face of such woful facts as are known concerning the condition of the Highlands is mere selfish and wicked sentimentalism.

Another fact, stated by the same author, and which might have taught him better doctrines in connection with some of the border parishes, is worth introducing here. The population of seventeen parishes in Dumbartonshire, Perthshire, and Argyllshire, bordering on the low country, decreased in population between 1755 and 1795, from 30,525 to 26,748, *i.e.*, by 3,787; these parishes having been during that time to a great extent laid out in cattle and sheep. Now, according to the *Old Statistical Account* (about 1795), these very parishes were on the whole among the most prosperous in the Highlands, those in which improvements were taking place most rapidly, and in which the condition of the people was growing more and more comfortable. It appears to us clear that the population of the Highlands did require a very considerable thinning; that depopulation to a certain extent was, and in some places still is, a necessary condition to improvement.

The main question is, we think, how to get these districts which are in a state of wretchedness and retrogression from over-population rid of the surplus. Unless some sudden check be put upon the rate of increase of the general population, there never will be a lack of hands to bring in the waste places when wanted, and to supply all other demands for men. No doubt, it is a pity, if it be the case, that any extensive districts which could be brought to a high style of cultivation, and would then be better employed than in pasture should be allowed to lie waste, when there is every necessity for the land being made to yield as much as possible. And if the Highlanders are willing, it certainly does seem to be better to keep them at home and employ them for such purposes rather than let them go abroad and give their services to strangers. We should fancy the larger a population there is in a country where there is room enough for them, and which can give them enough to eat and drink, the better for that country. All we maintain is, that it being proved that the population in many parts of the Highlands having been redundant.

¹ Social Science Transactions for 1863, p. 608.

² *Idem.*

³ *Hebrides, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 401

so much so as to lead to misery and degradation, it was far better that the surplus should emigrate than that they should be kept at home to increase the misery and be an obstruction to the progress of the country. Keep them at home if possible ; if not, permit them without any weak sentimental lamentation to go abroad. It has been said that if the Highlander is compelled to leave his native glen, he would as soon remove to a distance of 4000 as to a distance of 40 miles ; and that indeed many of them, since they must move, prefer to leave the country altogether rather than settle in any part of it out of sight of their native hills. There is no doubt much truth in this, so that the outcry about keeping the Highlanders at home is to a great extent uncalled for ; they don't wish to stay at home. Still many of them have been willing to settle in the lowlands or in other parts of the Highlands. We have already referred to the great services rendered by the ousted tenants on the borders of the Perthshire and Dumbartonshire Highlands who settled in the neighbourhood of Stirling and reclaimed many thousand acres of Kincardine moss, now a fertile strath. Similar services have been rendered to other barren parts of the country by many Highlanders, who formerly spent their time in lolling idleness, but who, when thus given the opportunity, showed themselves to be as capable of active and profitable exertion as any lowland peasant or farmer. Many Highlanders also, when deprived of their farms, removed to some of our large towns, and by their exertions raised themselves and their families to an honourable and comfortable position, such as they could never have hoped to reach had they never left their native hills. By all means keep the Highlanders at home if they are willing to stay and there is work for them to do ; but what purpose can be served in urging them to stay at home if the consequence be to increase the already enormous sort of pauperism ?

That the landlords, the representatives of the old chiefs, were not accountable for much of the evil that flowed from the changes of which we have been speaking, no one who knows the history of the Highlands during the last century will venture to assert. Had they

all uniformly acted towards their old tenants with humanity, judiciousness, and unselfishness, much misery, misunderstanding, and bitter ill-will might have been avoided. It is, we venture to believe, quite against the spirit of the British constitution as it now exists, and quite out of accordance with enlightened reason and justice, not to say humanity, that these or any other landed proprietors should be allowed to dispose of their land as they choose without any consideration for the people whose fathers have been on it for centuries, or without regard to the interests of the country to which the land belongs. Many of the Highland proprietors, in their haste to get rich, or at least to get money to spend in the fashionable world, either mercilessly, and without warning, cleared their estates of the tenants, or most unseasonably oppressed them in the matter of rent. The great fault of many of the landlords—for they were not all alike—was in bringing about too suddenly changes, in themselves, perhaps, desirable enough. Rents seem to have been too suddenly raised to such a rate as tended to inspire the tenant with despair of being able to meet it. Some also, in their desire to introduce the large farm system, swept the tenants off the ground without warning, and left them to provide for themselves ; while others made a show of providing for them by settling them in hamlets by the seaside, where, in general, they were worse off than ever. It was in their utter want of consideration for these old tenants that many of the Highland landlords were to blame. Had they raised the rents gradually, extended the size of their farms slowly, giving the old tenants a chance under the new system, and doing their best to put these necessarily ejected in a way of making a living for themselves, tried to educate their people up to the age in the matter of agriculture, social habits, and other matters ; lived among them, and shown them a good example ;—in short, as proprietors, rigidly done their duty to their tenants, as descendants of the old chiefs treated with some tender consideration the sons of those who worshipped and bled for the fathers of their clan, and as men, shown some charity and kindness to their poorer brethren, the improvement of the Highlands might have been brought

about at a much less expense of misery and rancour. That these old Highlanders were open to improvement, enlightenment, and education, when judiciously managed, is proved by what took place in some of the border and other districts, where many improvements were effected without great personal inconvenience to any one, and without any great or sudden diminution of the population. Especially in the Western and Northern Highlands and the Islands, the landlords went to extremes in both directions. Some of them acted as we have just indicated, while others again, moved by a laudable consideration for, and tenderness towards the old tenants, retained the old system of small holdings, which they allowed to be now and then still more subdivided, endeavouring, often unsuccessfully, to obtain a rise of rent. In most cases the latter course was as fatal and as productive of misery and ruin as the former. Indeed, in some cases it was more so; for not only was the lot of the tenant not improved, but the laird had ultimately to sell his estate for behoof of his creditors, and himself emigrate to the lowlands or to a foreign country. This arose from the fact that, as the number of tenants increased, the farms were diminished in size more and more, until they could neither support the tenant nor yield the landlord a rent adequate to his support. In this way have many of the old hospitable chiefs with small estates dropped out of sight; and their places filled by some rich lowland merchants, who would show little tenderness to the helpless tenantry.

But it is an easy matter now to look calmly back on these commotions and changes among the Highlanders, and allot praise or blame to chiefs and people for the parts they played, forgetting all the time how difficult these parts were. Something decisive had to be done to prevent the Highlands from sinking into inconceivable misery and barbarism; and had the lairds sat still and done nothing but allowed their estates to be managed on the old footing, ruin to themselves and their tenants would have been the consequence, as indeed was the case with most of those who did so. It was very natural, then, that they should deem it better to save themselves at the expense of their tenants, than that both land and tenants

should be involved in a common ruin. They were not the persons to find out the best mode of managing their estates, so that they themselves might be saved, and the welfare of their tenants only considered. In some cases, no doubt, the lairds were animated by utter indifference as to the fate of their tenants; but we are inclined to think these were few, and that most of them would willingly have done much for the welfare of their people, and many of them did what they could; but their first and most natural instinct was that of self-preservation, and in order to save themselves, they were frequently compelled to resort to measures which brought considerable suffering upon their poor tenants. We have no doubt most did their best, according to their knowledge and light, to act well their parts, and deal fairly with their people; but the parts were so difficult, and the actors were so unaccustomed to their new situation, that they are not to be too severely blamed if they sometimes blundered. No matter how gently changes might have been brought about, suffering and bitterness would necessarily to a certain extent have followed; and however much we may deplore the great amount of unnecessary suffering that actually occurred, still we think the lasting benefits which have accrued to the Highlands from the changes which were made, far more than counterbalance this temporary evil.

What we have been saying, while it applies to many recent changes in the Highlands, refers chiefly to the period between 1750 and 1800, during which the Highlands were in a state of universal fermentation, and chiefs and people were only beginning to realise their position and perceive what were their true interests. We shall very briefly notice one or two other matters of interest connected with that period.

The only manufacture of any consequence that has ever been introduced into the Highlands is that of kelp, which is the ashes of various kinds of sea-weed containing some of the salts, potash, and chiefly soda, used in some of the manufactures, as soap, alum, glass, &c. It is used as a substitute for barilla, imported from Spain, America, and other places, during the latter part of last century, on

account of the American and continental wars, as well as of the high duties imposed on the importation of salt and similar commodities. The weeds are cut from the rocks with a hook or collected on the shore, and dried to a certain degree on the beach. They are afterwards burnt in a kiln, in which they are constantly stirred with an iron rake until they reach a fluid state; and when they cool, the ashes become condensed into a dark blue or whitish-coloured mass, nearly of the hardness and solidity of rock. The manufacture is carried on during June, July, and August; and even at the present day, in some parts of the Islands and Highlands, affords occupation to considerable numbers of both sexes.⁴ This manufacture seems to have been introduced into some of the lowland parts of the Scottish coast early in the eighteenth century, but was not thoroughly established in the Highlands till about the year 1750. At first it was of little importance, but gradually the manufacture spread until it became universal over all the western islands and coasts, and the value of the article, from the causes above-mentioned, rose rapidly from about £1 per ton, when first introduced, to from £12 to £20 per ton⁵ about the beginning of the present century. While the great value of the article lasted, rents rose enormously, and the income of proprietors of kelp-shore rose in proportion. As an example, it may be stated that the rent of the estate of Clanranald in South Uist previous to 1790 was £2200, which, as kelp increased in value, rapidly rose to £15,000.⁶ While the kelp season lasted, the whole time of the people was occupied in its manufacture, and the wages they received, while it added somewhat to their scanty income, and increased their comfort, were small in proportion to the time and labour they gave, and to the prices received by those to whom the kelp belonged. Moreover, while the kelp-fever lasted, the cultivation of the ground and other agricultural matters seem to have been to a great extent neglected, extravagant habits were contracted by the proprietors, whose incomes were thus so considerably increased, and the permanent improve-

ment of their estates were neglected in their eagerness to make the most of an article whose value, they did not perceive, was entirely factitious, and could not be lasting. Instead of either laying past their surplus income or expending it on the permanent improvement of their estates, they very foolishly lived up to it, or borrowed heavily in the belief that kelp would never decrease in value. The consequence was that when the duties were taken off the articles for which kelp was used as a substitute in the earlier part of the 19th century, the price of that article gradually diminished till it could fetch, about 1830-40, only from £2 to £4 a ton. With this the incomes of the proprietors of kelp-shores also rapidly decreased, landing not a few of them in ruin and bankruptcy, and leading in some instances to the sale of the estates. The income above mentioned, after the value of kelp decreased, fell rapidly from £15,000 to £5000. The manufacture of this article is still carried on in the West Highlands and Islands, and to a greater extent in Orkney, but although it occupies a considerable number of hands, it is now of comparatively little importance, much more of the sea-weed being employed as manure. While it was at its best, however, the manufacture of this article undoubtedly increased to a very large extent the revenue of the West Highlands, and gave employment to and kept at home a considerable number of people who otherwise might have emigrated. Indeed, it was partly on account of the need of many hands for kelp-making that proprietors did all they could to prevent the emigration of those removed from the smaller farms, and tried to induce them to settle on the coast. On the whole, it would seem that this sudden source of large income ultimately did more harm than good to the people and to the land. While this manufacture flourished, the land was to a certain extent neglected, and the people somewhat unfitted for agricultural labour; instead of looking upon this as a temporary source of income, and living accordingly, both they and the proprietors lived as if it should never fail, so that when the value of kelp rapidly decreased, ruin and absolute poverty stared both proprietors and people in the face. Moreover, by preventing the small tenants from leaving

⁴ *Beauties of Scotland*, vol. v p. 95.

⁵ *New Statistical Account of Burray*.

⁶ *New Stat. Account of South Uist*

the country, and accumulating them on the coasts, the country became enormously overpeopled, so that when the importance of this source of employment waned, multitudes were left with little or no means of livelihood, and the temporary benefits which accrued to the Highlanders from the adventitious value of kelp, indirectly entailed upon them ultimately hardships and misfortunes greater than ever they experienced before, and retarded considerably their progress towards permanent improvement.

By all accounts the potato, introduced from Chili into Spain about the middle of the sixteenth century, was first introduced into Ireland by or through the instrumentality of Sir Walter Raleigh about the end of that century. From Ireland it seems shortly after to have been introduced into England, although its cultivation did not become anything like common till more than a century afterwards, and its use seems to have been restricted to the upper classes.⁷ Its value as a staple article of food for the poorer classes remained for long unappreciated. According to the *Old Statistical Account* of Scotland, potatoes were first cultivated in the fields there in the county of Stirling, in the year 1739, although for long after that, in many parts of the country, they were planted only as a garden vegetable. According to Dr Walker, potatoes were first introduced into the Hebrides from Ireland in the year 1743, the island of South Uist being the first to welcome the strange root, although the welcome from the inhabitants seems to have been anything but hearty. The story of its introduction, as told by Dr Walker,⁸ is amusing, though somewhat ominous when read in the light of subsequent melancholy facts. "In the spring of that year, old Clanronald was in Ireland, upon a visit to his relation, Macdonnell of Antrim; he saw with surprise and approbation the practice of the country, and having a vessel of his own along with him, brought home a large cargo of potatoes. On his arrival, the tenants in the island were convened, and directed how to plant them, but they all refused. On this they were all committed to prison. After a little confinement,

they agreed, at last, to plant these unknown roots, of which they had a very unfavourable opinion. When they were raised in autumn, they were laid down at the chieftain's gate, by some of the tenants, who said, the Laird indeed might order them to plant these foolish roots, but they would not be forced to eat them. In a very little time, however, the inhabitants of South Uist came to know better, when every man of them would have gone to prison rather than not plant potatoes."

By the year 1760 potatoes appear to have become a common crop all over the country; and by 1770 they seem to have attained to that importance as a staple article of food for the common people which they have ever since maintained.⁹ The importance of the introduction of this valuable article of food, in respect both of the weal and the woe of the Highlands, cannot be over-estimated. As an addition to the former scanty means of existence it was invaluable; had it been used only as an addition the Highlanders might have been spared much suffering. Instead of this, however, it ere long came to be regarded as so all-important, to be cultivated to such a large extent, and to the exclusion of other valuable productions, and to be depended upon by the great majority of the Highlanders as almost their sole food, that one failure in the crop by disease or otherwise must inevitably have entailed famine and misery. For so large a share of their food did the common Highlanders look to potatoes, that, according to the *Old Statistical Account*, in many places they fed on little else for nine months in the year.

The first remarkable scarcity subsequent to 1745 appears to have been in the year 1770,¹ arising apparently from the unusual severity of the weather, causing the destruction of most of the crops, and many of the cattle. That, however, of 1782-83 seems to have been still more terrible, and universal over all the Highlands, according to the *Old Statistical Account*. It was only the interference of government and the charity of private individuals that prevented multitudes from dying of starvation. Neither of these famines, however, seem to have been

⁷ *Rural Cyclopædia*, article POTATO.

⁸ *Hebrides and Highlands*, vol. i. p. 251.

⁹ Tennant's *Tour*, vol. ii. p. 306.

¹ Johnson's *Tour*, p. 196, and Pennant in several places.

caused by any failure in the potato crop from disease, but simply by the inclemency of seasons. But when to this latter danger there came subsequently to be added the liability of the staple article of food to fail from disease, the chances of frequently recurring famines came to be enormously increased. About 1838 potatoes constituted four-fifths of the food of the common Highlanders.² However, we are anticipating. It is sufficient to note here as a matter of great importance in connection with the later social history of the Highlands, the universal cultivation of the potato sometime after the middle of the eighteenth century. Even during the latter part of last century, potato-disease was by no means unknown, though it appears to have been neither so destructive nor so widespread as some of the forms of disease developed at a later period. New forms of disease attacked the root during the early part of the present century, working at times considerable havoc, but never apparently inducing anything approaching a famine. But about 1840, the potato disease *par excellence* seems to have made its first appearance, and after visiting various parts of the world, including the Highlands, it broke out generally in 1845, and in 1846 entailed upon the Highlands indescribable suffering and hardship. Of this, however, more shortly. One effect attributed frequently in the *Old Statistical Account* to the introduction and immoderate use of the potato is the appearance of diseases before unknown or very rare. One of the principal of these was dropsy, which, whether owing to the potato or not, became certainly more prevalent after it came into common use, if we may trust the testimony of the writers of the *Statistical Account*.

In looking back, then, by the aid of the authority just mentioned, along with others, on the progress made by the Highlands during the latter half of the eighteenth century, while there is much to sadden, still there is much that is cheering. The people generally appear in a state of ferment and discontent with themselves, and doing their best blindly to grope their way to a better position. While still there remain many traces of the old

thralldom, there are many indications that freedom and a desire after true progress were slowly spreading among the people. Many of the old grievous services were still retained; still were there many districts thirled to particular mills; still were leases rare and tenures uncertain, and rents frequently paid in kind; in many districts the houses were still unsightly and uncomfortable huts, the clothing scanty, and the food wretched and insufficient. In most Highland districts, we fear, the old Scotch plough, with its four or five men, and its six or ten cattle, was still the principal instrument of tillage; drainage was all but unknown; the land was overstocked in many places with people and cattle; the ground was scourged with incessant cropping, and much of the produce wasted in the gathering and in the preparing it for food. Education in many places was entirely neglected, schools few and far between, and teachers paid worse than ploughmen! The picture has certainly a black enough background, but it is not unrelieved by a few bright and hopeful streaks.

On many parts of the border-Highlands improvements had been introduced which placed them in every respect on a level with the lowlands. Many of the old services had been abolished, leases introduced, the old and inefficient agricultural instrument replaced by others made on the most approved system. Houses, food, and clothing were all improved; indeed, in the case of the last article, there is frequent complaint made that too much attention and money were expended on mere ornamentation. The old method of constant cropping had in not a few districts been abolished, and a proper system of rotation established; more attention was paid to proper manuring and ingathering, and instead of restricting the crops, as of old, to oats and barley, many other new cereals, and a variety of green crops and grasses had been introduced. Not only in the districts bordering on the Lowlands, but in many other parts of the Highlands, the breed of sheep, and cattle, and horses had been improved, and a much more profitable system of management introduced. By means of merciful emigration, the by far too redundant population of the Highlands had been considerably reduced, the position

² Fullarton & Baird's *Remarks on the Highlands and Islands*, p. 10. 1838.

of those who left the country vastly improved, and more room and more means of living afforded to those who remained. A more rational system of dividing the land prevailed in many places, and sheep-farming—for which alone, according to all unprejudiced testimony, the greater part of the surface of the Highlands is fitted—had been extensively introduced. The want of education was beginning to be felt, and in many districts means were being taken to spread its advantages, while the moral and religious character of the people, as a whole, stood considerably above the average of most other districts of Scotland. In short, the Highlanders, left to themselves, were advancing gradually towards that stage of improvement which the rest of the country had reached, and the natural laws which govern society had only not to be thwarted and impertinently interfered with, to enable the Highlanders ere long to be as far forward as the rest of their countrymen. From the beginning of this century down to the present time they have had much to struggle with, many trials to undergo, and much unnecessary interference to put up with, but their progress has been sure and steady, and even comparatively rapid. We must glance very briefly at the state of the Highlands during the present century; great detail is uncalled for, as much that has been said concerning the previous period applies with equal force to the present.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Progress of Highlands during present century—Depopulation and emigration—Questions between landlords and tenants—Hardships of the ousted tenants—Sutherland clearings—Compulsory emigration—Famines—Poorer tenants compelled to take service—Sir John M'Neill's Report—Changes complained of inevitable—Emigration the only remedy—Large and small farms—Experiments—Highlanders succeed when left to themselves—Substitution of deer for sheep—Recent state of Highlands—Means of improvement—Increased facilities for intercourse of great value—Population of chief Highland counties—Highland colonies—Attachment of Highlanders to their old home—Conclusion.

THE same causes have been at work and the same processes going on since 1800, as there were during the latter half of last century.

Taking stand at the date, about 1840, of the *New Statistical Account*, and looking back, the conclusion which, we think, any unprejudiced inquirer must come to is, that the Highlands as a whole had improved immensely. With the exception of some of the Western Islands, agriculture and sheep-farming at the above date were generally abreast of the most improved lowland system, and the social condition of the people was but little, if any, behind that of the inhabitants of any other part of the country. In most places the old Scotch plough was abolished, and the improved two-horse one introduced; manuring was properly attended to, and a system of rotation of crops introduced; runrig was all but abolished, and the land properly inclosed; in short, during the early half of the present century the most approved agricultural methods had been generally adopted, where agriculture was of any importance. Thirlage, multures, services, payment in kind, and other oppressions and obstructions to improvement, were fast dying out, and over a great part of the country the houses, food, clothing, and social condition of the people generally were vastly improved from what they were half a century before. Education, moreover, was spreading, and schools were multiplied, especially after the disruption of the Established Church in 1843, the Free Church laudably planting schools in many places where they had never been before. In short, one side of the picture is bright and cheering enough, although the other is calculated to fill a humane observer with sadness.

Depopulation and emigration went on even more vigorously than before. Nearly all the old lairds and those imbued with the ancient spirit of the chiefs had died out, and a young and new race had now the disposal of the Highland lands, a race who had little sympathy with the feelings and prejudices of the people, and who were, naturally, mainly anxious to increase as largely as possible their rent-roll. In the earlier part of the century at least, as in the latter half of the previous one, few of the proprietors wished, strictly speaking, to depopulate their estates, and compel the inhabitants to emigrate, but simply to clear the interior of the small farms into which many properties

were divided, convert the whole ground into sheep pasture, let it out in very large farms, and remove the ejected population to the coasts, there to carry on the manufacture of kelp, or engage in fishing. It was only when the value of kelp decreased, and the fishing proved unprofitable, that compulsory emigration was resorted to.

It is unnecessary to say more here on the question of depopulation and emigration, the question between Highland landlords and Highland tenants, the dispute as to whether large or small farms are to be preferred, and whether the Highlands are best suited for sheep and cattle or for men and agriculture. Most that has been written on the subject has been in advocacy of either the one side or the other ; one party, looking at the question exclusively from the tenant's point of view, while the other writes solely in the interests of the landlords. The question has scarcely yet been dispassionately looked at, and perhaps cannot be for a generation or two yet, when the bitter feelings engendered on both sides shall have died out, when both landlords and tenants will have found out what is best for themselves and for the country at large, and when the Highlands will be as settled and prosperous as the Lothians and the Carse of Gowrie. There can be no doubt, however, that very frequently landlords and their agents acted with little or no consideration for the most cherished old feelings, prejudices, and even rights, of the tenants, whom they often treated with less clemency than they would have done sheep and cattle. It ought to have been remembered that the Highland farmers and cottars were in a condition quite different from those in the lowlands. Most of them rented farms which had been handed down to them from untold generations, and which they had come to regard as as much belonging to them as did the castle to the chief. They had no idea of lowland law and lowland notions of property, so that very often, when told to leave their farms and their houses, they could not realise the order, and could scarcely believe that it came from the laird, the descendant of the old chiefs, for whom their fathers fought and died. Hence the sad necessity often, of laying waste their farms, driving off their cattle, and burn-

ing their houses about their ears, before the legal officers could get the old tenants to quit the glens and hill-sides where their fathers had for centuries dwelt. It was not sheer pig-headed obstinacy or a wish to defy the law which induced them to act thus ; only once, we think, in Sutherland, was there anything like a disturbance, when the people gathered together and proceeded to drive out the sheep which were gradually displacing themselves. The mere sight of a soldier dispersed the mob, and not a drop of blood was spilt. When forced to submit and leave their homes they did so quietly, having no spirit to utter even a word of remonstrance. They seemed like a people amazed, bewildered, taken by surprise, as much so often as a family would be did a father turn them out of his house to make room for strangers. In the great majority of instances, the people seem quietly to have done what they were told, and removed from their glens to the coast, while those who could afford it seem generally to have emigrated. Actual violence seems to have been resorted to in very few cases.

Still the hardships which had to be endured by many of the ousted tenants, and the unfeeling rigour with which many of them were treated is sad indeed to read of. Many of them had to sleep in caves, or shelter themselves, parents and children, under the lee of a rock or a dyke, keeping as near as they could to the ruins of their burnt or fallen cottage, and living on what shell-fish they could gather on the shore, wild roots dug with their fingers, or on the scanty charity of their neighbours ; for all who could had emigrated. Many of the proprietors, of course, did what they could to provide for the ousted tenants, believing that the driving of them out was a sad necessity. Houses, and a small piece of ground for each family, were provided by the shore, on some convenient spot, help was given to start the fishing, or employment in the manufacture of kelp, and as far as possible their new condition was made as bearable as possible. Indeed, we are inclined to believe, that but few of the landlords acted from mere wantonness, or were entirely dead to the interests of the old tenants ; but that, their own interests naturally being of the greatest importance to them, and some

radical change being necessary in the management of lands in the Highlands, the lairds thoughtlessly acted as many of them did. It was the natural rebound from the old system when the importance and wealth of a chief were rated at the number of men on his estate; and although the consequent suffering is to be deplored, still, perhaps, it was scarcely to be avoided. It is easy to say that had the chiefs done this or the government done the other thing, much suffering might have been spared, and much benefit accrued to the Highlanders; but all the suffering in the world might be spared did people know exactly when and how to interfere. It would be curious, indeed, if in the case of the Highlands the faults were all on one side. We believe that the proprietors acted frequently with harshness and selfishness, and did not seek to realise the misery they were causing. They were bound, more strongly bound perhaps than the proprietors of any other district, to show some consideration for the people on their estates, and not to act as if proprietors had the sole right to benefit by the land of a country, and that the people had no right whatever. Had they been more gentle, introduced the changes gradually and judiciously, and given the native Highlanders a chance to retrieve themselves, much permanent good might have been done, and much suffering and bitterness spared. But so long as the world is merely learning how to live, groping after what is best, so long as men act on blind unreasoning impulse, until all men learn to act according to the immutable laws of Nature, so long will scenes such as we have been referring to occur. The blame, however, should be laid rather to ignorance than to wanton intention.

Of all the Highland counties, perhaps Sutherland is better known than any other in connection with the commotions which agitated the Highlands during the early part of this century, and, according to all accounts, the depopulation is more marked there than anywhere else. The clearance of that county of the old tenants, their removal to the coast, and the conversion of the country into large sheep-farms commenced about 1810, under the Marquis of Stafford, who had married the heiress of the Sutherland estate. The clearing

was, of course, carried out by Mr Sellar, the factor, who, on account of some of the proceedings to which he was a party, was tried before a Court of Justiciary, held at Inverness in 1816, for culpable homicide and oppression. Many witnesses were examined on both sides, and, after a long trial, the jury returned a verdict of "Not guilty," in which the judge, Lord Pitmilley, completely concurred. This, we think, was the only verdict that could legally be given, not only in the case of the Sutherland clearings, but also in the case of most of the other estates where such measures were carried on. The tenants were all duly warned to remove a considerable number of weeks before the term, and as few of them had many chattels to take with them, this could easily have been done. Most of them generally obeyed the warning, although a few, generally the very poor and very old, refused to budge from the spot of their birth. The factor and his officers, acting quite according to law, compelled them, sometimes by force, to quit the houses, which were then either burnt or pulled to the ground. As a rule, these officers of the law seem to have done their duty as gently as law officers are accustomed to do; but however mildly such a duty had been performed, it could not but entail suffering to some extent, especially on such a people as many of the Highlanders were who knew not how to make a living beyond the bounds of their native glen. The pictures of suffering drawn, some of them we fear too true, are sometimes very harrowing, and any one who has been brought up among the hills, or has dwelt for a summer in a sweet Highland glen, can easily fancy with how sad a heart the Highlander must have taken his last long lingering look of the little cottage, however rude, where he passed his happiest years, nestled at the foot of a sunny brae, or guarded by some towering crag, and surrounded with the multitudinous beauties of wood and vale, heather and ferns, soft knoll and rugged mountain. The same result as has followed in the Highlands has likewise taken place in other parts of the country, without the same outcry about depopulation, suffering, emigration, &c., simply because it has been brought about gradually. The process commenced in the

Highlands only about a hundred years since, was commenced in the lowlands and elsewhere centuries ago; the Highlanders have had improvements thrust upon them, while the lowlanders were allowed to develop themselves.

After the decline in the price of kelp (about 1820), when it ceased to be the interest of the proprietors to accumulate people on the shore, they did their best to induce them to emigrate, many proprietors helping to provide ships for those whom they had dispossessed of their lands and farms. Indeed, until well on in the present century, the Highlanders generally seem to have had no objections to emigrate, but, on the contrary, were eager to do so whenever they could, often going against the will of the lairds and of those who dreaded the utter depopulation of the country and a dearth of recruits for the army. But about 1840 and after, compulsion seems often to have been used to make the people go on board the ships provided for them by the lairds, who refused to give them shelter on any part of their property. But little compulsion, however, in the ordinary sense of the term, seems to have been necessary, as the Highlanders, besides having a hereditary tendency to obey their superiors, were dazed, bewildered, and dispirited by what seemed to them the cruel, heartless, and unjust proceedings of their lairds.

The earliest extensive clearing probably took place on the estate of Glengarry, the traditional cause of it being that the laird's lady had taken umbrage at the clan. "Summonses of ejection were served over the whole property, even on families most closely connected with the chief."³ From that time down to the present day, the clearing off of the inhabitants of many parts of the Highlands has been steadily going on. We have already spoken of the Sutherland clearings, which were continued down to a comparatively recent time. All the Highland counties to a greater or less

extent have been subjected to the same kind of thinning, and have contributed their share of emigrants to America, Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere. It would serve no purpose to enter into details concerning the clearing of the several estates in the various Highland counties; much, as we have said, has been written on both sides, and if faith can be put in the host of pamphlets that have been issued during the present century on the side of the ejected Highlanders, some of the evictions were conducted with great cruelty;⁴ much greater cruelty and disregard for the people's feelings than we think there was any need for, however justifiable and necessary the evictions and clearings were.

We have already referred to the frequent occurrence of famines during the past and present centuries in the Highlands, arising from the failure of the crops, principally, latterly, through the failure of the potatoes. These frequent famines gave a stimulus to emigration, as, of course, the people were anxious to escape from their misery, and the proprietors were glad to get quit of the poor they would otherwise have had to support. Besides the failure of the crops, other causes operated, according to Mr Tregelles, in the pamphlet already referred to, to produce the frequent occurrence of distress in the Highlands; such as the relation of landlord and tenant, the defective character of the poor-law, the excessive division and subdivision of the land, the imprudence and ignorance of some of the peasantry, inertness, also consequent on chronic poverty, want of capital. Every few years, up even to the present time, a cry of distress comes from the Highlands. Besides the famines already referred to in 1837 and 1846, a still more severe and distressing one occurred in 1850, and seems, according to the many reports and pamphlets issued, to have continued for some years after. In the one of 1837, many Highland proprietors and private gentlemen, forming themselves into an association, did what they could to assist the Highlanders, mainly by way of emigration. Not only was it for the advantage of Highland proprietors, in respect of being able to let their

³ Those who wish further details may refer to the following pamphlets:—*The Glengarry Evictions*, by Donald Ross; *Hist. of the Hebrides*, by E. O. Tregelles; *Twelve Days in Skye*, by Lady M'Caskill; *Exterminations of the Scottish Peasantry*, and other works, by Mr Robertson of Dundonnachie; *Highland Clearances*, by the Rev. E. J. Findlater; *Sutherland as it was and is*; and the pamphlet in last note. On the other side, see Selkirk on Emigration; Sir J. M'Neill's report and article in *Edin. Review* for Oct. 1857.

⁴ *The Depopulation System in the Highlands*, by an Eye-Witness. Pamphlet. 1849.

lands at a better rent, to do what they could to enable the people to emigrate, but by doing so, and thus diminishing the number of poor on their estates, they considerably decreased the large tax they had to pay under the recent Scotch Poor-law Act. "Formerly the poor widows and orphans and destitute persons were relieved by the parish minister from the poor's box, by voluntary subscriptions, which enabled the extremely needy to receive four or five shillings the quarter; and this small pittance was felt on all hands to be a liberal bounty. The landlord added his five or ten pound gift at the beginning of the year, and a laudatory announcement appeared in the newspaper. But the Act for the relief of the poor of Scotland now provides that a rate shall be levied on the tenant or occupier, and some of those who formerly paid £10 per annum, and were deemed worthy of much commendation, have now to pay £400 per annum without note or comment! Can we be surprised, then, that some of the landlords, with increased claims on their resources, and perhaps with diminished ability to meet such claims, should look round promptly and earnestly for a remedy? One of the most obvious and speedy remedies was emigration; hence the efforts to clear the ground of those who, with the lapse of time, might become heavy encumbrances. It need not be matter of surprise that the landlord should clear his ground of tenants who, for a series of years, had paid no rent; although perhaps a wiser and better course would have been to have sought for and found some good means of continued lucrative employment. . . . The lands are divided and subdivided until a family is found existing on a plot which is totally inadequate for their support; and here we see their imprudence and ignorance. Families are reared up in misery, struggling with impossibilities, producing at last that inertness and dimness of vision which result from a sick heart."⁵ Most of those who write, like Mr Tregelles, of the distress of the Highlands in 1850 and succeeding years, do so in the same strain. They declare there is no need for emigration, that the land and sea, if properly worked, are quite suffi-

cient to support all the inhabitants that were ever on it at any time, and that the people only need to be helped on, encouraged and taught, to make them as prosperous and the land as productive as the people and land of any other part of the kingdom. While this may be true of many parts, we fear it will not hold with regard to most of the Western Islands, where until recently, in most places, especially in Skye, the land was so subdivided and the population so excessive, that under the most productive system of agriculture the people could not be kept in food for more than half the year. Even in some of the best off of the islands, it was the custom for one or more members of a family to go to the south during summer and harvest, and earn as much as would pay the rent and eke out the scanty income. "The fact is, that the working classes of Skye, for many years anterior to 1846, derived a considerable part of their means from the wages of labour in the south. Even before the manufacture of kelp had been abandoned, the crofters of some parts at least of Skye appear to have paid their rents chiefly in money earned by labour in other parts of the kingdom. When that manufacture ceased, the local employment was reduced to a small amount, and the number who went elsewhere for wages increased. The decline of the herring-fishery, which for several years had yielded little or no profit in Skye, had a similar effect. The failure of the potato crop in 1846 still further reduced the local means of subsistence and of employing labour, and forced a still greater number to work for wages in different parts of the country. From the Pentland Firth to the Tweed, from the Lewis to the Isle of Man, the Skye men sought the employment they could not find at home; and there are few families of cottars, or of crofters at rents not exceeding £10, from which at least one individual did not set out to earn by labour elsewhere the means of paying rent and buying meal for those who remained at home. Before 1846, only the younger members of the family left the district for that purpose; since that year, the crofter himself has often found it necessary to go. But young and old, crofters and cottars, to whatever distance they may have gone, return home for the winter, with

⁵ Tregelles' *Hints on the Hebrides*.

rare exceptions, and remain there nearly altogether idle, consuming the produce of the croft, and the proceeds of their own labour, till the return of summer and the failure of their supplies warn them that it is time to set out again. Those whose means are insufficient to maintain them till the winter is past, and who cannot find employment at that season at home, are of course in distress. and, having exhausted their own means, are driven to various shifts, and forced to seek charitable aid."

The above extract is from the Report by Sir John McNeill, on the distress in Highlands and Islands in 1850-51, caused by the failure of the crops. He went through most of the western island and western mainland parishes examining into the condition of the people, and the conclusion he came to was, that the population was excessive, that no matter how the land might be divided, it could not support the inhabitants without extraneous aid, and that the only remedy was the removal of the surplus population by means of emigration. Whether the population was excessive or not, it appears to us, that when the sudden, deep, and extensive distresses occurred in the Highlands, it was merciful to help those who had no means of making a living, and who were half starving, to remove to a land where there was plenty of well-paid work. Sir John believes that even although no pressure had been used by landlords, and no distresses had occurred, the changes which have been rapidly introduced into the Highlands, extending farms and diminishing population, would have happened all the same, but would have been brought about more gradually and with less inconvenience and suffering to the population. "The change which then (end of last century) affected only the parishes bordering on the Lowlands, has now extended to the remotest parts of the Highlands, and, whether for good or for evil, is steadily advancing. Every movement is in that direction, because the tendency must necessarily be to assimilate the more remote districts to the rest of the country, and to carry into them, along with the instruction, industry, and capital, the agricultural and commercial economy of the wealthier, more intelligent, and influential

majority of the nation. If it were desirable to resist this progress, it would probably be found impracticable. Every facility afforded to communication and intercourse must tend to hasten its march, and it is not to be conceived that any local organisation could resist, or even materially retard it. If nothing had occurred to disturb the ordinary course of events, this inevitable transition would probably have been effected without such an amount of suffering as to call for special intervention, though no such change is accomplished without suffering. The crofter would have yielded to the same power that has elsewhere converted the holdings of small tenants into farms for capitalists; but increased facilities of communication, and increased intercourse, might previously have done more to assimilate his language, habits, and modes of living and of thinking to those of men in that part of the country to which he is now a stranger, and in which he is a foreigner.

"There would thus have been opened up to him the same means of providing for his subsistence that were found by those of his class, who, during the last century, have ceased to cultivate land occupied by themselves. But the calamity that suddenly disabled him from producing his food by his own labour on his croft, has found him generally unprepared to provide by either means for his maintenance. All the various attempts that have yet been made in so many parishes to extricate the working classes from the difficulties against which they are unsuccessfully contending, have not only failed to accomplish that object, but have failed even to arrest the deterioration in their circumstances and condition that has been in progress for the last four years. In every parish, with one or two exceptions, men of all classes and denominations concur unanimously in declaring it to be impossible, by any application of the existing resources, or by any remunerative application of extraneous resources, to provide for the permanent subsistence of the whole of the present inhabitants; and state their conviction that the population cannot be made self-sustaining, unless a portion removes from the parish. . . . The working classes in many parishes are convinced that the emigration of a part of their number affords the only prospect of escape from a

position otherwise hopeless; and in many cases individuals have earnestly prayed for aid to emigrate. Petitions numerous signed by persons desirous to go to the North American colonies, and praying for assistance to enable them to do so, have been transmitted for presentation to Parliament. In some of the parishes where no desire for emigration had been publicly expressed, or was supposed to exist, that desire began to be announced as soon as the expectation of extraneous aid was abandoned. It has rarely happened that so many persons, between whom there was or could have been no previous concert or intercourse, and whose opinions on many important subjects are so much at variance, have concurred in considering any one measure indispensable to the welfare of the community; and there does not appear to be any good reason for supposing that this almost unanimous opinion is not well founded."⁶

These are the opinions of one who thoroughly examined into the matter, and are corroborated by nearly all the articles on the Highland parishes in the *New Statistical Account*. That it was and is still needful to take some plan to prevent the ever-recurring distress of the Western Highlands, and especially Islands, no one can doubt; that emigration is to some extent necessary, especially from the islands, we believe, but that it is the only remedy, we are inclined to doubt. There is no doubt that many proprietors, whose tenants though in possession of farms of no great size were yet very comfortable, have cleared their estate, and let it out in two or three large farms solely for sheep. Let emigration by all means be brought into play where it is necessary, but it is surely not necessary in all cases to go from one extreme to another, and replace thousands of men, women, and children by half-a-dozen shepherds and their dogs. Many districts may be suitable only for large farms, but many others, we think, could be divided into farms of moderate size, large enough to keep a farmer and his family comfortably after paying a fair rent. This system, we believe, has been pursued with success in some Highland districts,

especially in that part of Inverness-shire occupied by the Grants.

In Sir John McNeill's report there are some interesting and curious statements which, we think, tend to show that when the Highlanders are allowed to have moderate-sized farms, and are left alone to make what they can of them, they can maintain themselves in tolerable comfort. In the island of Lewis, where the average rent of the farms was £2, 12s., the farmer was able to obtain from his farm only so much produce as kept himself and family for six months in the year; his living for the rest of the year, his rent and other necessary expenses, requiring to be obtained from other sources, such as fishing, labour in the south, &c. So long as things went well, the people generally managed to struggle through the year without any great hardship; but in 1846, and after, when the potato crops failed, but for the interference of the proprietor and others, many must have perished for want of food. In six years after 1846, the proprietor expended upwards of £100,000 in providing work and in charity, to enable the people to live. Various experiments were tried to provide work for the inhabitants, and more money expended than there was rent received, with apparently no good result whatever. In 1850, besides regular paupers, there were above 11,000 inhabitants receiving charitable relief. Yet, notwithstanding every encouragement from the proprietor, who offered to cancel all arrears, provide a ship, furnish them with all necessaries, few of the people cared to emigrate. In the same way in Harris, immense sums were expended to help the people to live, with as little success as in Lewis; the number of those seeking relief seemed only to increase. As this plan seemed to lead to no good results, an attempt was made to improve the condition of the people by increasing the size of their farms, which in the best seasons sufficed to keep them in provisions for only six months. The following is the account of the experiment given by Mr Macdonald, the resident factor:—"At Whitsunday 1848 forty crofters were removed from the island of Bernera, then occupied by eighty-one; and the lands thus vacated were divided among the forty-one who remained. Those

⁶ *Sir John McNeill's Report*, pp. xxxiv.-xxxv.

who were removed, with two or three exceptions, were placed in crofts upon lands previously occupied by tacksmen. Six of the number who, with one exception, had occupied crofts of about five acres in Bernera, were settled in the Borves on crofts of ten acres of arable, and hill-grazing for four cows, and their followers till two years old, with forty sheep and a horse,—about double the amount of stock which, with one exception, they had in Bernera. The exceptional case referred to was that of a man who had a ten-acre croft in Bernera, with an amount of black cattle stock equal to that for which he got grazing in the Borves, but who had no sheep. They are all in arrear of rent, and, on an average, for upwards of two years. These six tenants were selected as the best in Bernera, in respect to their circumstances. I attribute their want of success to the depreciation in the price of black cattle, and to their not having sufficient capital to put upon their lands a full stock when they entered. Their stipulated rent in the Borves was, on an average, £12. Of the forty-one who remained, with enlarged crofts, in Bernera, the whole are now largely in arrear, and have increased their arrears since their holdings were enlarged. I attribute their want of success to the same causes as that of the people in the Borves. The result of his attempt to improve the condition of these crofters, by enlarging their crofts, while it has failed to accomplish that object, has at the same time entailed a considerable pecuniary loss upon the proprietor.

“An attempt was made, at the same time, to establish some unsuccessful agricultural crofters, practised in fishing, as fishermen, on lands previously occupied by tacksmen, where each fisherman got a croft of about two acres of arable land, with grazing for one or two cows, and from four to six sheep, at a rent of from £1 to £2 sterling. This experiment was equally unsuccessful. It is doubtful whether they were all adequately provided with suitable boats and tackle, or ‘gear;’ but many of them were; and some of those who were not originally well provided were supplied with what was wanted by the destitution fund. Of these fishermen Mr Macdonald says:—‘Not one of them, since entering on the fishing croft, has paid an amount equal to his rent. The

attempt to improve the condition of those men, who had previously been unsuccessful as agricultural crofters, by placing them in a position favourable for fishing, has also failed; and this experiment also has entailed a considerable pecuniary loss upon the proprietor, who is not now receiving from these fishermen one-fourth of the rent he formerly received from tacksmen for the same lands. I therefore state confidently, that in Harris the proprietor cannot convert lands held by tacksmen into small holdings, either for the purposes of agriculture or fishing, without a great pecuniary sacrifice; and that this will continue to be the case, unless potatoes should again be successfully cultivated. I cannot estimate the loss that would be entailed upon the proprietor by such a change at less than two-thirds of the rental paid by the tacksmen. The results of the experiments that have been made on this property would, in every case, fully bear out this estimate. It is my conscientious belief and firm conviction, that if this property were all divided into small holdings amongst the present occupants of land, the result would be, that in a few years the rent recoverable would not be sufficient to pay the public burdens, if the potatoes continue to fail, and the price of black cattle does not materially improve.’”⁷

Yet not one family in Harris would accept the proprietor’s offer to bear all the expense of their emigration.

The condition of Lewis and Harris, as above shown, may be taken as a fair specimen of the Western Islands at the time of Sir John McNeill’s inquiry in 1851.

An experiment, which if properly managed, might have succeeded, was tried in 1850 and the two following years; it also proved a failure. The following is the account given in the *Edinburgh Review* for October 1857. The reader must remember, however, that the article is written by an advocate of all the modern Highland innovations:—A number of people in the district of Sollas in North Uist had agreed to emigrate, but “a committee in the town of Perth, which had on hand £3000 collected for the Highland Destitution Relief Fund of 1847, resolved to form these people

⁷ *Sir John McNeill’s Report*, pp. xxii., xxiii.

into a 'settlement,' Lord Macdonald assenting, and giving them the choice of any land in the island not under lease. The tenants, about sixty in number, removed to the selected place in autumn 1850, provided by the committee with an agricultural overseer. In the following spring a large crop of oats and potatoes was laid down. The oats never advanced above a few inches in height, and ultimately withered and died, and the potatoes gave little or no return. A great part of the land so dealt with has never since been touched, and it is now even of less value than before, having ceased to produce even heather. This result, however, we are bound to mention, was at the time, and perhaps still, popularly ascribed, like all Highland failures, to the fault of those in authority. A new overseer was therefore sent, and remained about a year and a half; but in 1852 a third of the people, becoming painfully impressed with the truth of the matter, went off to Australia. In 1853 a third manager was sent 'to teach and encourage;' but as the money was now running short, he had little to give but advice, and as the people could not subsist on *that* any more than on the produce of their lots, they went off to seek employment elsewhere—and so ended what was called 'this interesting experiment,' but of which it seems to be now thought inexpedient to say anything at all. The results were to spend £3000 in making worse a piece of the worst possible land, and in prolonging the delusions and sufferings of the local population, but also in supplying one more proof of the extreme difficulty or impossibility of accomplishing, and the great mischief of attempting, what so many paper authorities in Highland matters assume as alike easy and beneficial."

It would almost seem, from the failure of the above and many other experiments which have been tried to improve the condition of the Highlanders, that any extraneous positive interference by way of assistance, experiments, charity, and such like, leading the people to depend more on others than on themselves, leads to nothing but disastrous results. This habit of depending on others, a habit many centuries old, was one which, instead of being encouraged, ought to have been by every possible means discouraged, as it was at the bottom of all the

evils which followed the abolition of the jurisdictions. They had been accustomed to look to their chiefs for generations to see that they were provided with houses, food, and clothing; and it could only be when they were thoroughly emancipated from this slavish and degrading habit that they could find scope for all their latent energies, have fair play, and feel the necessity for strenuous exertion.

As a contrast to the above accounts, and as showing that it is perfectly possible to carry out the small or moderate farm system, even on the old principle of runrig, both with comfort to the tenants and with profit to the proprietors; and also as showing what the Highlanders are capable of when left entirely to themselves, we give the following extract from Sir J. McNeill's Report, in reference to the prosperity of Applecross in Ross-shire:—

"The people have been left to depend on their own exertions, under a kind proprietor, who was always ready to assist individuals making proper efforts to improve their condition, but who attempted no new or specific measure for the general advancement of the people. Their rents are moderate, all feel secure of their tenure so long as they are not guilty of any delinquency, and a large proportion of those who hold land at rents of £6 and upwards, have leases renewable every seven years. During the fifteen years ending at Whitsunday 1850, they have paid an amount equal to fifteen years' rent. Many of the small crofters are owners, or part owners, of decked vessels, of which there are forty-five, owned by the crofters on the property; and a considerable number have deposits of money in the banks. The great majority of these men have not relied on agriculture, and no attempt has been made to direct their efforts to that occupation. Left to seek their livelihood in the manner in which they could best find it, and emancipated from tutelage and dependence on the aid and guidance of the proprietor, they have prospered more than their neighbours, apparently because they have relied less upon the crops they could raise on their lands, and have pursued other occupations with more energy and perseverance.

"Of the crofters or small tenants on this property who are not fishermen, and who are

dependent solely on the occupation of land, the most prosperous are those who have relied upon grazing, and who are still cultivating their arable land in 'runrig.' These club-farmers, as they are called, hold a farm in common, each having an equal share. They habitually purchase part of their food. They have paid their rents regularly, and several of them have deposits of money in bank. Mr. Mackinnon, who has for more than fifteen years been the factor on the property, gives the following account of the club-farmers of Lochcarron:—

“Of the lotters or crofters paying £6 and upwards, a large proportion have long had leases for seven years, which have been renewed from time to time. Those paying smaller rents have not leases. The lots which are occupied by tenants-at-will are much better cultivated than those which are held on leases. I don't, of course, attribute the better cultivation to the want of leases; all I infer from this fact is, that granting leases to the present occupants of lots has not made them better cultivators of their lots. The most successful of the small tenants are those who have taken farms in common, in which the grazings are chiefly stocked with sheep, and in which there happens to be a sufficient extent of arable land connected with a moderate extent of grazing to enable them to raise crops for their own subsistence. Since the failure of the potatoes, however, all the tenants of this class have been obliged to buy meal. On those farms which are held on lease, the land is still cultivated on the 'runrig' system. There are five such farms on Mr. Mackenzie's property in the parish of Lochcarron. One of these is let at £48, to six persons paying £8 each; another for £56, to seven men at £8 each; another for £72, to eight men at £9 each; another to eight men at £13, 10s., equal to £108; another to eight men at £15 each, equal to £120. The cultivation on all of these farms is on the 'runrig' system. Their sales of stock and wool are made in common,—that is, in one lot. Their stock, though not common property (each man having his own with a distinctive mark), are managed in common by a person employed for that purpose. The tenants of this class have paid their rents with great punctuality, and have never been in

arrear to any amount worth mentioning. A considerable number of them have money in bank. They have their lands at a moderate rent, which is no doubt one cause of their prosperity. Another cause is, that no one of the tenants can subdivide his share without the consent of his co-tenants and of the proprietor. The co-tenants are all opposed to such subdivision of a share by one of their number, and practically no sub-division has taken place. Their families, therefore, as they grow up, are sent out to shift for themselves. Some of the children find employment at home,—some emigrate to the colonies.’”⁸

Of course it is not maintained that this is the most profitable way for the proprietor to let his lands; it is not at all improbable that by adopting the large-farm system, his rent might be considerably increased; only it shows, that when the Highlanders are left to themselves, and have fair play and good opportunities, they are quite capable of looking after their own interests with success.

A comparatively recent Highland grievance is the clearance off of sheep, and the conversion of large districts, in one case extending for about 100 miles, into deer forests. Great complaint has been made that this was a wanton abuse of proprietorship, as it not only displaced large numbers of people, but substituted for such a useful animal as the sheep, an animal like the deer, maintained for mere sport. No doubt the proprietors find it more profitable to lay their lands under deer than under sheep, else they would not do it, and by all accounts⁹ it requires the same number of men to look after a tract of country covered with deer, as it would do if the same district were under sheep. But it certainly does seem a harsh, unjust, and very un-British proceeding to depopulate a whole district, as has sometimes been done, of poor but respectable and happy people, for the mere sake of providing sport for a few gentlemen. It is mere sophistry to justify the substitution of deer for sheep, by saying that one as well as the other is killed and eaten as food. For thousands whose daily food is mutton, there is not more than one who regards venison as anything else than

⁸ *Sir John M'Neill's Report*, xxvi. xxvii.

⁹ See *Edin. Rev.* for Oct. 1857.

a rarity ; and by many it is considered unpalatable. Landlords at present can no doubt do what they like with their lands ; but it seems to us that in the long-run it is profitable neither to them nor to the nation at large, that large tracts of ground, capable of maintaining such a universally useful animal as the sheep, or of being divided into farms of a moderate size, should be thrown away on deer, an animal of little value but for sport.

As we have more than once said already, the Highlands are in a state of transition, though, we think, near the end of it ; and we have no doubt that ere long both proprietors and tenants will find out the way to manage the land most profitable for both, and life there will be as comfortable, and quiet, and undisturbed by agitations of any kind, as it is in any other part of the country.

Since the date of the New Statistical Account and of Sir J. McNeill's Report, the same processes have been going on in the Highlands with the same results as during the previous half century. The old population have in many places been removed from their small crofts to make way for large sheep-farmers, sheep having in some districts been giving place to deer, and a large emigration has been going on. Much discontent and bitter writing have of course been caused by these proceedings, but there is no doubt that, as a whole, the Highlands are rapidly improving, although improvement has doubtless come through much tribulation. Except, perhaps, a few of the remoter districts, the Highlands generally are as far forward as the rest of the country. Agriculture is as good, the Highland sheep and cattle are famous, the people are about as comfortable as lowlanders in the same circumstances ; education is well diffused ; churches of all sects are plentiful, and ere long, doubtless, so far as outward circumstances are concerned, there will be no difference between the Highlands and Lowlands. How the universal improvement of the Highlands is mainly to be accomplished, we shall state in the words of Sir John McNeill. What he says refers to the state of the country during the distress of 1851, but they apply equally well at the present day.

"It is evident that, were the population reduced to the number that can live in tolerable

comfort, that change alone would not secure the future prosperity and independence of those who remain. It may be doubted whether any specific measures calculated to have a material influence on the result, could now be suggested that have not repeatedly been proposed. Increased and improved means of education would tend to enlighten the people, and to fit them for seeking their livelihood in distant places, as well as tend to break the bonds that now confine them to their native localities. But, to accomplish these objects, education must not be confined to reading, writing, and arithmetic. The object of all education is not less to excite the desire for knowledge, than to furnish the means of acquiring it ; and in this respect, education in the Highlands is greatly deficient. Instruction in agriculture and the management of stock would facilitate the production of the means of subsistence. A more secure tenure of the lands they occupy would tend to make industrious and respectable crofters more diligent and successful cultivators. But the effects of all such measures depends on the spirit and manner in which they are carried out, as well as on the general management with which they are connected throughout a series of years. It is, no doubt, in the power of every proprietor to promote or retard advancement, and he is justly responsible for the manner in which he uses that power ; but its extent appears to have been much overrated. The circumstances that determine the progress of such a people as the inhabitants of those districts, in the vicinity, and forming a part of a great nation far advanced in knowledge and in wealth, appear to be chiefly those which determine the amount of intercourse between them. Where that intercourse is easy and constant, the process of assimilation proceeds rapidly, and the result is as certain as that of opening the sluices in the ascending lock of a canal. Where that intercourse is impeded, or has not been established, it may perhaps be possible to institute a separate local civilization, an isolated social progress ; but an instance of its successful accomplishment is not to be found in those districts.

"Whatever tends to facilitate and promote intercourse between the distressed districts

and the more advanced parts of the country, tends to assimilate the habits and modes of life of their inhabitants, and, therefore, to promote education, industry, good management, and everything in which the great body excels the small portion that is to be assimilated to it."¹

Notwithstanding the immense number of people who have emigrated from the Highlands during the last 100 years, the population of the six chief Highland counties, including the Islands, was in 1861 upwards of 100,000 more than it was in 1755. In the latter year the number of inhabitants in Argyll, Inverness, Caithness, Perth, Ross, and Sutherland, was 332,332; in 1790-98 it was 392,263, which, by 1821, had increased to 447,307; in 1861 it had reached 449,875. Thus, although latterly, happily, the rate of increase has been small compared with what it was during last century, any fear of the depopulation of the Highlands is totally unfounded.

Until lately, the great majority of Highland emigrants preferred British America to any other colony, and at the present day Cape Breton, Prince Edward's Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and many other districts of British North America, contain a large Highland population, proud of their origin, and in many instances still maintaining their original Gaelic. One of the earliest Highland settlements was, however, in Georgia, where in 1738, a Captain Mackintosh settled along with a considerable number of followers from Inverness-shire. Hence the settlement was called New Inverness.² The favourite destination, however, of the earlier Highland emigrants was North Carolina, to which, from about 1760 till the breaking out of the American war, many hundreds removed from Skye and other of the Western Islands. During that war these colonists almost to a man adhered to the British Government, and formed themselves into the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, which did good service, as will be seen in the account of the Highland Regiments. At the conclusion of the war, many settled in Carolina, while others removed to Canada, where land

was allotted to them by Government. That the descendants of these early settlers still cherish the old Highland spirit, is testified to by all travellers; some interesting notices of their present condition may be seen in Mr David Macrae's *American Sketches* (1869). Till quite lately, Gaelic sermons were preached to them, and the language of their forefathers we believe has not yet fallen into disuse in the district, being spoken even by some of the negroes. Those who emigrated to this region seem mostly to have been tacksmen, while many of the farmers and cottars settled in British America. Although their fortunes do not seem to have come up to the expectations of themselves and those who sent them out, still there is no doubt that their condition after emigration was in almost every respect far better than it was before, and many of their descendants now occupy responsible and prominent positions in the colony, while all seem to be as comfortable as the most well-to-do Scottish farmers having the advantage of the latter in being proprietors of their own farms. According to the Earl of Selkirk, who himself took out and settled several bands of colonists, "the settlers had every incitement to vigorous exertion from the nature of their tenure. They were allowed to purchase in fee-simple, and to a certain extent on credit. From 50 to 100 acres were allotted to each family at a very moderate price, but none was given gratuitously. To accommodate those who had no superfluity of capital, they were not required to pay the price in full, till the third or fourth year of their possession; and in that time an industrious man may have it in his power to discharge his debt out of the produce of the land itself."³ Those who went out without capital at all, could, such was the high rate of wages, soon save as much as would enable them to undertake the management of land of their own. That the Highlanders were as capable of hand and good labour as the lowlanders, is proved by the way they set to work in these colonies, when they were entirely freed from oppression, and dependance, and charity, and had to depend entirely on their own exertions.

¹ *Sir John M'Neill's Report*, xxxviii. xxxix.

² *The American Gazetteer*. Lond. 1762. Art. *Inverness, New*.

³ Selkirk on *Emigration*, p. 212.

Besides the above settlements, the mass of the population in Caledonia County, State of New York, are of Highland extraction, and there are large settlements in the State of Ohio, besides numerous families and individual settlers in other parts of the United States. Highland names were numerous among the generals of the United States army on both sides in the late civil war.⁴

The fondness of these settlers for the old country, and all that is characteristic of it, is well shown by an anecdote told in Campbell's *Travels* in North America (1793). The spirit manifested here is, we believe, as strong even at the present day when hundreds will flock from many miles around to hear a Gaelic sermon by a Scotch minister. Campbell, in his travels in British America, mainly undertaken with the purpose of seeing how the new Highland colonists were succeeding, called at the house of a Mr Angus Mackintosh on the Nashwack. He was from Inverness-shire, and his wife told Campbell they had every necessary of life in abundance on their own property, but there was one thing which she wished much to have—that was heather. "And as she had heard there was an island in the Gulf of St Lawrence, opposite to the mouth of the Merimashee river, where it grew, and as she understood I was going that way, she earnestly entreated I would bring her two or three stalks, or cows as she called it, which she would plant on a barren brae behind her house where she supposed it would grow; that she made the same request to several going that way, but had not got any of it, which she knew would greatly beautify the place; for, said she, 'This is an ugly country that has no heather; I never yet saw any good or pleasant place without it.'" Latterly, very large numbers of Highlanders have settled in Australia and New Zealand, where, by all accounts, they are in every respect as successful as the most industrious lowland emigrants.

No doubt much immediate suffering and bitterness was caused when the Highlanders were compelled to leave their native land, which by no means treated them kindly; but whether emigration has been disastrous to the

Highlands or not, there can be no doubt of its ultimate unspeakable benefit to the Highland emigrants themselves, and to the colonies in which they have settled. Few, we believe, however tempting the offer, would care to quit their adopted home, and return to the bleak hills and rugged shores of their native land.

CHAPTER XLV.

GAELIC LITERATURE, LANGUAGE, AND MUSIC.

BY THE REV. THOMAS MACLAUCHLAN, LL.D., F.S.A.S.

Extent of Gaelic literature—Claims of Ireland—Circumstances adverse to preservation of Gaelic literature—"The Lament of Deirdre"—"The Children of Usnoth"—"The Book of Deer"—The Legend of Deer—The memoranda of grants—"The Albanic Duan"—"Muireadhach Albannach"—Gaelic charter of 1408—Manuscripts of the 15th century—"The Dean of Lismore's Book"—Macgregor, Dean of Lismore—"Ursgeul"—"Bas Dhiarmaid"—Ossian's Eulogy on Fingal—Macpherson's Ossian—"Fingal"—Cuchullin's chariot—"Temora"—Smith's *Sean Dana*—Ossianic collections—Fingal's address to Oscar—Ossian's address to the setting sun—John Knox's Liturgy—Kirk's Gaelic Psalter—Irish Bible—Shorter Catechism—Confession of Faith—Gaelic Bible—Translations from the English—Original prose writings—Campbell's *Ancient Highland Tales*—"Maol A Chliobain"—"The man in the tuft of wool"—Alexander Macdonald—Macintyre—Modern poetry—School-books—The Gaelic language—Gaelic music.

THE literature of the Highlands, although not extensive, is varied, and has excited not a little interest in the world of letters. The existing remains are of various ages, carrying us back, in the estimation of some writers, to the second century, while contributions are making to it still, and are likely to be made for several generations.

It has been often said that the literature of the Celts of Ireland was much more extensive than that of the Celts of Scotland—that the former were in fact a more literary people—that the ecclesiastics, and medical men, and historians (*seanachies*) of Scotland had less culture than those of the sister island, and that they must be held thus to have been a stage behind them in civilisation and progress. Judging by the remains which exist, there seems to be considerable ground for such

⁴ Dr M'Lachlan's paper in *Social Science Transactions* for 1863.

a conclusion. Scotland can produce nothing like the MS. collections in possession of Trinity College Dublin, or the Royal Irish Academy. There are numerous fragments of considerable value in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and in the hands of private parties throughout Scotland, but there is nothing to compare with the Book of Lecan, *Leabhar na h-uidhre*, and the other remains of the ancient literary culture of Ireland, which exist among the collections now brought together in Dublin; nor with such remains of what is called Irish scholarship as are to be found in Milan, Brussels, and other places on the continent of Europe.

At the same time there is room for questioning how far the claims of Ireland to the whole of that literature are good. Irish scholars are not backward in pressing the claims of their own country to everything of any interest that may be called Celtic. If we acquiesce in these claims, Scotland will be left without a shred of aught which she can call her own in the way of Celtic literature; and there is a class of Scottish scholars who, somewhat more generous than discriminating, have been disposed to acquiesce but too readily in those claims. We have our doubts as to Ireland having furnished Scotland with its Gaelic population, and we have still stronger doubts as to Ireland having been the source of all the Celtic literature which she claims. A certain class of writers are at once prepared to allow that the Bobbio MSS. and those other continental Gaelic MSS. of which Zeuss has made such admirable use in his *Grammatica Celtica*, are all Irish, and they are taken as illustrative alike of the zeal and culture of the early Irish Church. And yet there is no evidence of such being the case. The language certainly is not Irish, nor are the names of such of the writers as are usually associated with the writings. Columbanus, the founder of the Bobbio Institution, may have been an Irishman, but he may have been a Scotchman. He may have gone from Durrow, but he may have gone from Iona. The latter was no less famous than the former, and had a staff of men quite as remarkable. We have authentic information regarding its ancient history. It sent out Aidan to Northumberland, and numerous successors after him, and there is much

presumptive evidence that many of these early missionaries took their departure from Scotland, and carried with them their Scottish literature to the Continent of Europe. And the language of the writers is no evidence to the contrary. In so far as the Gaelic was written at this early period, the dialect used was common to Ireland and Scotland. To say that a work is Irish because written in what is called the Irish dialect is absurd. There was no such thing as an Irish dialect. The written language of the whole Gaelic race was long the same throughout, and it would have been impossible for any man to have said to which of the sections into which that race was divided any piece of writing belonged. This has long been evident to men who have made a study of the question, but recent relics of Scottish Gaelic which have come to light, and have been published, put the matter beyond a doubt. Mr Whitley Stokes, than whom there is no better authority, has said of a passage in the "Book of Deer" that the language of it is identical with that of the MSS. which form the basis of the learned grammar of Zeuss: and there can be no doubt that the "Book of Deer" is of Scottish authorship. It is difficult to convince Irish scholars of this, but it is no less true on that account. Indeed, what is called the Irish dialect has been employed for literary purposes in Scotland down to a recent period, the first book in the vernacular of the Scottish Highlands having been printed so lately as the middle of last century. And it is important to observe that this literary dialect, said to be Irish, is nearly as far apart from the ordinary Gaelic vernacular of Ireland as it is from that of Scotland.

But besides this possibility of having writings that are really Scottish counted as Irish from their being written in the same dialect, the Gaelic literature of Scotland has suffered from other causes. Among these were the changes in the ecclesiastical condition of the country which took place from time to time. First of all there was the change which took place under the government of Malcolm III. (Ceannmor) and his sons, which led to the downfall of the ancient Scottish Church, and the supplanting of it by the Roman Hierarchy. Any literature existing in the 12th century would have been of the older church, and

would have little interest for the institution which took its place. That there was such a literature is obvious from the "Book of Deer," and that it existed among all the institutions of a like kind in Scotland is a fair and reasonable inference from the existence and character of that book. Why this is the only fragment of such a literature remaining is a question of much interest, which may perhaps be solved by the fact that the clergy of the later church could have felt little interest in preserving the memorials of a period which they must have been glad to have seen passed away. Then the Scottish Reformation and the rise of the Protestant Church, however favourable to literature, would not have been favourable to the preservation of such literature. The old receptacles of such writings were broken up, and their contents probably destroyed or dispersed, as associated with what was now felt to be a superstitious worship. There is reason to believe that the Kilbride collection of MSS. now in the Advocates' Library, and obtained from the family of MacLachlan of Kilbride, was to some extent a portion of the old library of Iona, one of the last Abbots of which was a Ferquhard MacLachlan.

Besides these influences, unfavourable to the preservation of the ancient literature of the Scottish Highlands, we have the fierce raid of Edward I. of England into the country, and the carrying away of all the national muniments. Some of these were in all probability Gaelic. A Gaelic king and a Gaelic kingdom were then things not long past in Scotland; and seeing they are found elsewhere, is there not reason to believe that among them were lists of Scottish and Pictish kings, and other documents of historical importance, such as formed the basis of those Bardic addresses made by the royal bards to the kings on the occasion of their coronation? These might have been among the records afterwards intended to be returned to Scotland, and which perished in the miserable shipwreck of the vessel that bore them. These causes may account for the want of a more extensive ancient Celtic literature in Scotland, and for the more advantageous position occupied in this respect by Ireland. Ireland neither suf-

fered from the popular feeling evoked at the Reformation, nor from the spoliations of an Edward of England, as Scotland did. And hence the abundant remains still existing of a past literature there.

And yet Scotland does not altogether want an ancient Celtic literature, and the past few years have done much to bring it to light. It is not impossible that among our public libraries and private repositories relics may be still lying of high interest and historical value, and which more careful research may yet bring into view. The Dean of Lismore's book has only been given to the world within the last six years, and more recently still we have the "Book of Deer," a relic of the 11th or 12th century.

On taking a survey of this literature, it might be thought most natural to commence with the Ossianic remains, both on account of the prominence which they have received and the interest and controversy they have excited; and also because they are held by many to have a claim to the highest antiquity,—to be the offspring of an age not later than the 2d or 3d century. But it is usual to associate literature with writing, and as the Gaelic language has been a written one from a very early period, we think it best to keep up this association, and to take up the written remains of the language as nearly as may be in their chronological order. The first of these to which reference may be made is

THE LAMENT OF DEIRDRE.

This poem is found in a MS. given to the Highland Society by Lord Bannatyne, and now in the archives of the Advocates' Library. The date of the MS. is 1208, but there is every reason to believe that the poem is of much higher antiquity. The preserved copy bears to have been written at Glenmasan, a mountain valley in the parish of Dunoon, in Cowal. The MS. contains other fragments of tales in prose, but we shall refer only to the poetical story of Deirdre, or, as it is usually called in Gaelic, "*Dàn Chloinn Uisneachain.*" The tale is a famous one in the Highlands, and the heroes of it, the sons of Usnoth, have given name to Dun Mhac Uisneachain, or Dun Mac Sniochain, said to be the Roman *Bere-*

jonium, in the parish of Ardochattan in Argyleshire. We give the following version of the poem as it appears in the Report of the Highland Society on the Poems of Ossian (p. 298).

Do dech Deardir ar a héise ar crichibh Alban, agus ro chan an Laoidh —

Inmain tir in tir ud thoir,
Alba cona lingantaibh
Nocha tiefuinn eisd ille
Mana tisain le Naise.
Inmain Dun Fidhgha is Dun Finn
Inmain in Dnn os a cinn
Inmain Inis Draignde
Is inmain Dun Súibnei.
Caill cuan gar tigeadh Ainne mo nuar
Fagair lim ab bitan
Is Naise an oirear Alban.
Glend Laidh do chollain fan mboirmin caoinh
Iasg is sieng is saill bruich
Fa hi mo chuid an Glend laigh.
Glend masain ard a crimh geal a gasain
Do nimais colladh corrach
Os Inbhar mungach Masain.
Glend Eitichi ann do togbhus mo ched tigh
Alaind a fidh iar neirghe
Buaille grene Ghliud eitichi.
Mo chen Glend Urchaidh
Ba hedh in Glend direach dromchain
Ualleha feara aoisi ma Naise
An Glend Urchaidh.
Glend da ruadh
Mo chen gach fear da na dual
Is binn guth cuach
Ar craeib chruim
Ar in mbinn os Glenndaruadh
Inmain Draighen is tren traigh
Inmain Auichd in ghainimh glain
Nocha tiefuin eisd anoir
Mana tisuinn lem Inmain.

English Translation.

Deirdre looked back on the land of Alban, and sung this lay:—

Beloved is that eastern land,
Alba (Scotland), with its lakes.
Oh that I might not depart from it,
Unless I were to go with Naos!
Beloved is Dunfigha and Dunfin.
Beloved is the Dun above it.
Beloved is Inisdraiyen (Imstrynich?),
And beloved is Dun Sween.
The forest of the sea to which Ainne would come,
alas!
I leave for ever,
And Naos, on the seacoast of Alban.
Glen Lay (Glen Luy?), I would sleep by its gentle
murmur.
Fish and venison, and the fat of meat boiled,
Such would be my food in Glen Lay.
Glenmasan! High is its wild garlie, fair its
branches.
I would sleep wakefully
Over the shaggy Invermasan.
Glen Etive! in which I raised my first house,
Delightful were its groves on rising
When the sun struck on Glen Etive.
My delight was Glen Urchay;
It is the straight vale of many ridges.
Joyful were his fellows around Naos
In Glen Urchay.
Glendaruadh (Glendaruel?),
My delight in every man who belongs to it.
Sweet is the voice of the cuckoo
On the bending tree,
Sweet is it above Glendaruadh.
Beloved is Drayen of the sounding shore!
Beloved is Avich (Dalavich?) of the pure sand.
Oh that I might not leave the east
Unless it were to come along with me! Beloved—

There is some change in the translation as compared with that given in the Highland Society's Report, the meaning, however, being nearly identical in both. The tale to which this mournful lyric is attached,—the story of the children of Usnoth and their sad fate, bears that Conor was king of Ulster. Visiting on one occasion the house of Feilim, his *sean-achie*, Feilim's wife, was delivered of a daughter while the king was in the house. Cathbad the Druid, who was present, prophesied that many disasters should befall Ulster on account of the child then born. The king resolved to bring her up as his own future wife, and for this end enclosed her in a tower where she was excluded from all intercourse with men, except her tutor, her nurse, and an attendant called Lavarcam. It happened that in the course of time, by means of this Lavarcam, she came to see Naos, the son of Usnoth. She at once formed a warm affection for him; the affection

was reciprocated, and Naos and Deirdre, by which name the young woman was called, fled to Scotland, accompanied by Ainle and Ardan, the brothers of Naos. Here they were kindly received by the king, and had lands given them for their support. It is not unlikely that these lands were in the neighbourhood of Dun Mhac Uisneachain in Lorn. Here they lived long and happily. At length Conor desired their return, and sent a messenger to Scotland, promising them welcome and security in Ireland if they would but return. Deirdre strongly objected, fearing the treachery of Conor, but she was overruled by the urgency of her husband and his brothers. They left Scotland, Deirdre composing and singing the above mournful lay. In Ireland they were at first received with apparent kindness, but soon after the house in which they dwelt was surrounded by Conor and his men, and after deeds of matchless valour the three brothers were put

to death, in defiance of Conor's pledge. The broken hearted Deirdre cast herself on the grave of Naos and died, having first composed and sung a lament for his death. This is one of the most touching in the catalogue of Celtic tales; and it is interesting to observe the influence it exerted over the Celtic mind by its effect upon the topographical nomenclature of the country. There are several Dun Deirdres to be found still. One is prominent in the vale of the Nevis, near Fortwilliam, and another occupies the summit of a magnificent rock overhanging Loch Ness, in Stratherrick. Naos, too, has given his name to rocks, and woods, and lakes ranging from Ayrshire to Inverness-shire, but the most signal of all is the great lake which fills the eastern portion of the Caledonian valley, Loch Ness. The old Statistical Account of Inverness states that the name of this lake was understood to be derived from some mythical person among the old Celts; and there can be little doubt that the person was Naos. The lake of Naos (*Naise* in the genitive), lies below, and overhanging it is the Tower of Deirdre. The propinquity is natural, and the fact is evidence of the great antiquity of the tale.

There are other MSS. of high antiquity in existence said to be Scotch; but it is sufficient to refer for an account of these to the Appendix to the Report of the Highland Society on the Poems of Ossian, an account written by an admirable Celtic scholar, Dr Donald Smith, the brother of Dr John Smith of Campbeltown, so distinguished in the same field.

The next relic of Celtic literature to which we refer is

THE BOOK OF DEER.

This is a vellum MS. of eighty-six folios, about six inches long by three broad, discovered in the University Library of Cambridge, by Mr Bradshaw, the librarian of the University. It had belonged to a distinguished collector of books, Bishop Moore of Norwich, and afterwards of Ely, whose library was presented to the University more than a century ago. The chief portion of the book is in Latin, and is

said to be as old as the 9th century. This portion contains the Gospel of St John, and portions of the other three Gospels. The MS. also contains part of an Office for the visitation of the sick, and the Apostles' Creed. There is much interest in this portion of the book as indicative of the state of learning in the Celtic Church at the time. It shows that the ecclesiastics of that Church kept pace with the age in which they lived, that they knew their Bible, and could both write and read in Latin. The MS. belonged to a Culdee establishment, and is therefore a memorial of the ancient Celtic Church. It is a pity that we possess so few memorials of that Church, convinced as we are that, did we know the truth, many of the statements made regarding it by men of a different age, and belonging to a differently constituted ecclesiastical system, would be found to be unsupported by the evidence. It is strange that if the Culdee establishments were what many modern writers make them to have been, they should have had so many tokens of their popularity as this volume exhibits; and we know well that that Church did not fall before the assaults of a hostile population, but before those of a hostile king.

But the more interesting portion of the *Book of Deer*, in connection with our inquiry, will be found in the Gaelic entries on the margin and in the vacant spaces of the volume. These have all been given to the world in the recent publication of portions of the book by the Spalding Club, under the editorship of Dr John Stuart. Celtic scholars are deeply indebted to the Spalding Club for this admirable publication, and although many of them will differ from the editor in some of the views which he gives in his accompanying disquisitions, and even in some of the readings of the Gaelic, they cannot but feel indebted to him for the style in which he has furnished them with the original, for it is really so, in the plates which the volume contains. On these every man can comment for himself and form his own inferences. We have given us in this MS.

THE LEGEND OF DEER.

English Translation.

Columcille acusdrostán mac cosgreg adálta tangator áhi marroalseg día doib gonic abbordobóir acus-béde cruthnec robomormær búchan aragin acusessé rothídnaig dóib ingathráig sáin insaere gobraith ómormær acusóthóséc. tangator asááthle sen incathráig ele acusdoráten ricolumcille sl iárfallán dórath dé acusdorodloeg arinmormær i bédé gondas tabrád dó acus-nithárat acusrogab mac dó galár iarnéré naglerec acus-robomaréb act mádbec iarsén dochuid inmormær dattac naglerec gondendæc ernacde les inmac gondisád slánté dó acusdorát inedbairt doib uácloic intiprat gonice chlóic petti mic garnáit doronsat innernacde acustanic slante dó; iarsén dorat collumcille dódrostán inchadráig sén acusrosbenact acusforacaib imbrether gebe tisaid ris nabad blienec buadace tangator deara drostán arseartháin fri collumcille rolaboir columcille bedear ánim ó búnn imácé.

Such is the legend of the foundation of the old monastery of Deer, as preserved in this book, and written probably in the twelfth century. It was in all probability handed down from the close of the sixth or from a later period, but it must not be forgotten that a period of six hundred years had elapsed between the events here recorded and the record itself as it appears. It is hard to say whether Columba ever made this expedition to Buchan, or whether Drostan, whose name is in all likelihood British, lived in the time of Columba. The Aberdeen Breviary makes him nephew of the saint, but there is no mention of him in this or any other connection by early ecclesiastical writers, and there is every reason to believe that he belonged to a later period. It was of some consequence at this time to connect any such establishment as that at Deer with the name of Columba. There is nothing improbable in its having been founded by Drostan.

It is interesting to observe several things which are brought to light by this legend of the twelfth century. It teaches us what the men of the period believed regarding the sixth. The ecclesiastics of Deer believed that their own institution had been founded so early as the sixth century, and clearly that they were the successors of the founders. If this be true, gospel light shone among the Picts of Buchan almost as soon as among the people of Iona. It has been maintained that previous to Columba's coming to Scotland the country had felt

Columcille and Drostan, son of Cosgreg, his pupil, came from I as God revealed to them to Aberdour, and Bede the Pict was Mormaor of Buchan before them, and it was he who gifted to them that town in freedom for ever from mormaor and toiseach. After that they came to another town, and it pleased Columcille, for it was full of the grace of God, and he asked it of the Mormaor, that is Bede, that he would give it to him, and he would not give it, and a son of his took a sickness after refusing the clerics, and he was dead but a little. After that the Mormaor went to entreat of the clerics that they would make prayer for the son that health might come to him, and he gave as an offering to them from Cloch an tiprat (the stone of the well) as far as Cloch Pit mac Garnad (the stone of Pitmacgarnad). They made the prayer, and health came to him. After that Collumcille gave that town to Drostan, and he blessed it, and left the word, Whosoever comes against it, let him not be long-lived or successful. Drostan's tears came (Deara) on separating from Collumcille. Collumcille said, Let Deer (Teir) be its name from hence forward.

powerfully the influence of Christianity,¹ and the legend of Deer would seem to corroborate the statement. From the palace of Brude the king, in the neighbourhood of Inverness, on to the dwelling of the Mormaor, or Governor of Buchan, Christianity occupied the country so early as the age of Columba. But this is a legend, and must not be made more of than it is worth. Then this legend gives us some view of the civil policy of the sixth century, as the men of the twelfth viewed it. The chief governor of Buchan was Bede, the same name with that of the venerable Northumbrian historian of the eighth century. He is simply designated as Cruthnec (Cruithneach) or the Pict. Was this because there were other inhabitants in the country besides Picts at the time, or because they were Picts in contrast with the people of that day? The probability is, that these writers of the twelfth century designated Bede as a Pict, in contradistinction to themselves, who were probably of Scotie origin. Then the names in this document are of interest. Besides that of Bede, we have Drostan and Cosgreg, his father, and Garnaid. Bede, Drostan, Cosgreg, and Garnaid, are names not known in the Gaelic nomenclature of Scotland or Ireland. And there are names of places, Aberdohoir, known as Aberdour to this day, Buchan also in daily use, Cloch in tiprat not known now, and Pit mac garnaid also

¹ *Early Scottish Church*, p. 146.

become obsolete. Aberdubhoir (Aberdwfr) is purely a British name; Buchan, derived from the British *Buch*, a cow, is also British; Pit mac garnaid, with the exception of the Mac, is not Gaelic, so that the only Gaelic name in the legend is Cloch in tiprat, a merely descriptive term. This goes far to show what the character of the early topography of Scotland really is.

Then there is light thrown upon the civil arrangements of the Celtic state. We read nothing of chiefs and clans, but we have Mormaors (great officers), and Toiseachs (leaders), the next officer in point of rank, understood to be connected with the military arrangements of the country, the one being the head of the civil and the other of the military organisation. At this time there was a Celtic kingdom in Scotland, with a well established and well organised government, entirely different from what appears afterwards under the feudal system of the Anglo-Saxons, when the people became divided into clans, each under their separate chiefs, waging perpetual war with each other. Of all this the Book of Deer cannot and does not speak authoritatively, but it indicates the belief of the twelfth century with regard to the state of the sixth.

The farther Gaelic contents of the Book of Deer are notices of grants of land conferred by the friends of the institution. None of these are real charters, but the age of charters had come, and it was important that persons holding lands should have some formal title to them. Hence the notices of grants inscribed on the margin of this book, all without date, save that there is a copy of a Latin charter of David I., who began his reign in the year 1124.

The *memoranda* of grants to the monastery are in one case headed with the following blessing—*Acus bennact inchomded arcecmormar acusarcectosech chomallfas acusdansil daneis*. "And the blessing of the one God on every governor and every leader who keeps this, and to their seed afterwards." The first grant recorded follows immediately after the legend given above. It narrates that Comgeall mac eda gave from Orti to Furene to Columba and to Drostan; that Moridach M'Morcunn gave Pit mac Garnait and Achal

toche temni, the former being Mormaor and the latter Toiseach. Matain M'Cærill gave a Mormaor's share in Altin (not Altere, as in the Spalding Club's edition), and Culn (not Culii) M'Batin gave the share of a Toiseach. Domnall M'Giric and Maelbrigte M'Cathail gave Pett in muilenn to Drostan. Cathal M'Morcunt gave Achad naglerech to Drostan. Domnall M'Ruadri and Malcolm M'Culeon gave Bidbin to God and to Drostan. Malcolm M'Cinatha (Malcolm the Second) gave a king's share in Bidbin and in Pett M'Gobroig, and two davachs above Rosabard. Malcolm M'Mailbrigte gave the Delere. Malsnechte M'Luloig gave Pett Malduib to Drostan. Domnall M'Meic Dubhacain sacrificed every offering to Drostan. Cathal sacrificed in the same manner his Toiseach's share, and gave the food of a hundred every Christmas, and every Pasch to God and to Drostan. Kenneth Mac meie Dobareon and Cathal gave Alterin alla from Te (Tigh) na Camon as far as the birch tree between the two Alterins. Domnall and Cathal gave Etdanin to God and to Drostan. Cainneach and Domnall and Cathal sacrificed all these offerings to God and to Drostan from beginning to end free, from Mormaors and from Toiseachs to the day of judgment.

It will be observed that some of the words in this translation are different from those given in the edition of the Spalding Club. Some of the readings in that edition, notwithstanding its general accuracy, are doubtful. In the case of *uethe na camone*, unless the *ue* is understood as standing for *from*, there is no starting point at all in the passage describing the grant. Besides, we read Altin allend, as the name of Altin or Alterin in another grant. This seems to have escaped the notice of the learned translator.

These grants are of interest for various reasons. We have first of all the names of the grantees and others, as the names common during the twelfth and previous centuries, for these grants go back to a period earlier than the reign of Malcolm the Second, when the first change began to take place in the old Celtic system of polity. We have such names as *Comgeall Mac Eda*, probably *Mac Aoidh*, or, as spelt now in English, Mackay; *Moridach M'Mor-*

cunn (*Morgan*), or, as now spelt, *M'Morran*; *Matain M'Caerill*, Matthew M'Kerroll; *Culn M'Batin*, Colin M'Bean; *Domhnall M'Girig*, Donald M'Erig (Gregor or Eric?); *Malbrigte M'Cathail*, Gilbert M'Kail; *Cathal M'Morcunt*, Cathal M'Morran; *Domhnall M'Ruadri*, Donald M'Rory; *Malcolm M'Culeon*, Malcolm M'Colin; *Malcolm M'Cinnatha*, Malcolm M'Kenneth, now M'Kenzie. This was king Malcolm the Second, whose Celtic designation is of the same character with that of the other parties in the notice. *Malcolm M'Mailbrigte*, Malcolm M'Malbride; the nearest approach to the latter name in present use is Gilbert. *Malsnecte M'Luloig*, *Malsnechta M'Lulaich*. The former of these names is obsolete, but M'Lulich is known as a surname to this day. *Domnall M'Meic Dubhacin* (not *Dubbacin*), the latter name not known now. The name *Dobharcon* is the genitive of *Dobharcu*, an otter. The names of animals were frequently applied to men at the time among the Celts. The father of King Brude was *Mialchu*, a greyhound. *Loilgheach* (*Lulach*), a man's name, is in reality a milch cow.

The next set of grants entered on the margin of this remarkable record are as follows:—*Donchad M'Meic Bead mec Hidid* (probably the same with *Eda*, and therefore *Aoidh*), gave *Aechad Madchor* to Christ and to *Drostan* and to *Columcille*; *Malechi* and *Comgell* and *Gillecriosd M'Fingun* witnesses, and *Malcoluim M'Molini*. *Cormac M'Cennedig* gave as far as *Scali merlec*. *Comgell M'Caennaig*, the *Toiseach* of *Clan Canan*, gave to Christ and to *Drostan* and to *Columcille* as far as the *Gortlie mor*, at the part nearest to *Aldin Alenn*, from *Dubuei* to *Lurchara*, both hill and field free from *Toiseachs* for ever, and a blessing on those who observe, and a curse on those who oppose this.

The names here are different from those in the former entry, with few exceptions. They are *Duncan*, son of *Macbeth*, son of *Hugh* or *Ay*, *Malachi*, *Comgall*, *Gilchrist M'Kinnon*, and *Malcolm M'Millan*, *Comgall M'Caennaig* (*M'Coinnich* or *M'Kenzie*?) In this entry we have the place which is read *Altere* and *Alterin* by Mr Whitley Stokes. It is here entered as *Aldin Alenn*, as it is in a former grant entered as *Altin*. In no case is the

er written in full, so that *Alterin* is a guess. But there is no doubt that *Aldin Alenn* and *Alterin alla* are the same place. If it be *Alterin* the *Alla* may mean rough, stony, as opposed to a more level and smooth place of the same name. It will be observed that in this entry the name of a clan appears *Clande Canan* (*Clann Chanain*). There was such a clan in Argyleshire who were treasurers of the Argyle family, and derived their name from the Gaelic *Càin*, a Tax. It is not improbable that the name in Buchan might have been applied to a family of hereditary tax-gatherers.

The next series of grants entered on the margin of the "Book of Deer" are as follows:—*Colbain Mormaor* of Buchan, and *Eva*, daughter of *Gartnait*, his wife, and *Donnalie M'Sithig*, the *Toiseach* of *Clenni Morgainn*, sacrificed all the offerings to God and to *Drostan*, and to *Columcilli*, and to *Peter* the Apostle, from all the exactions made on a portion of four *davachs*, from the high monasteries of Scotland generally and the high churches. The witnesses are *Brocein* and *Cormac*, Abbot of *Turbruid*, and *Morgann M'Donnchaid*, and *Gilli Petair M'Donnchaid*, and *Malachin*, and the two *M'Matni*, and the chief men of Buchan, all as witnesses in *Elain* (*Ellon*).

The names in this entry are *Colban*, the mormaor, a name obsolete now—although it would seem to appear in *M'Cubbin*—*Eva*, and *Gartnait*. The former seems to have been the Gaelic form of *Eve*, and the latter, the name of *Eva's* father, is gone out of use, unless it appear in *M'Carthy*—*Donnalie* (it is *Donnachac*, as transcribed in the edition of the *Spalding Club*), *M'Sithig* or *Donnalie M'Keich*, the surname well known still in the Highlands—*Brocein*, the little badger, *Cormac*, *Morgan*, *Gillepedair*, *Malachin*, the servant of *Eachainn* or *Hector*, and *M'Matni* or *M'Mahon*, the English *Matheson*. There is another instance here of a clan, the clan *Morgan*.

The most of these names must be understood merely as patronymic, the son called, according to the Celtic custom, after the name of his father. There is no reason to think that these were clan names in the usual sense. King Malcolm II. is called *Malcolm M'Cinnatha*,

or Malcolm the son of Kenneth, but it would be sufficiently absurd to conclude that Malcolm was a Mackenzie. And yet there are two clans referred to in these remarkable records, the clan Canan and the clan Morgan. There is no reason to believe that either the Buchanans of Stirlingshire or of Argyleshire had any connection with the tribe of Canan mentioned here; but it is possible that the Mackays of the Reay country, whose ancient name was Clan Morgan, may have derived their origin from Buchan. It is interesting to observe that the Toiseachs are associated with these clans, *Comgell Mac Cuennaig* being called the *Toiseach* of Clan Canan, and *Donnalic M'Sithig* the *Toiseach* of Clan Morgan, although neither of the men are designated by the clan name. It would seem that under the *Mormaors* the family system existed and was acknowledged, the *Mormaor* being the representative of the king, and the *Toiseach* the head of the sept, who led his followers to battle when called upon to do so. At the same time the clan system would seem to have been in an entirely different condition from that to which it attained after the introduction of the feudal system, when the chiefs for the first time got feudal titles to their lands.

Many other inferences might be made from these interesting records. It is enough, however, to say that they prove beyond a question the existence of a literary culture and a social organisation among the ancient Celts for which they do not always get credit; and if such a book existed at Deer, what reason is there to doubt that similar books were numerously dispersed over the other ecclesiastical institutions of the country?

A eolcha Alban uile,
A shluagh feuta foltbhuidhe,
Cia ceud ghabhail, an eòl duibh,
Ro ghabhasdair Albanbruigh.

Albanus ro ghabh, lià a shlogh,
Mac sen oirdere Isicon,
Brathair is Briutus gan brath,
O raitear Alba eathrach.

Ro ionnarb a brathair bras,
Briotus tar muir n-Icht-n-amhnas,
Ro gabh Briutus Albain ain,
Go rinn fhiadhnach Fotudain.

Fota iar m-Briutus m-blaith, m-bil,
Ro ghabhsad Clanna Nemhidh,
Erglan iar teacht as a loing,
Do aithle thoghla thuir Conuing.

There is one curious entry towards the close of the MS.—“*Forchubus caichduini imbia arrath in lebran colli. aratardda bendacht foranmain in truagan rodscribai 7,*” which is thus translated by Mr Whitley Stokes:—“Be it on the conscience of every one in whom shall be for grace the booklet with splendour: that he give a blessing on the soul of the wretch who wrote it.”

This is probably the true meaning of the Gaelic. But the original might be rendered in English by the following translation:—“Let it be on the conscience of each man in whom shall be for good fortune the booklet with colour, that he give a blessing on the soul of the poor one who wrote it.” *Rath* is good fortune, and *li* is colour, referring probably to the coloured portions of the writing, and *Truaghan* is the Gaelic synonym of the “miserus” or “miserimus” of the old Celtic church. Mr Whitley Stokes, as quoted by Dr Stuart, says (p. lx), “In point of language this is identical with the oldest Irish glosses in Zeuss’ *Grammatica Celtica*.”

THE ALBANIC DUAN.

This relic of Celtic literature might have been taken as chronologically preceding the Book of Deer, but while portions of the latter are looked upon as having been written previous to the ninth century, the former, so far as we know, is of the age of Malcolm III. It is said to have been sung by the Gaelic bard of the royal house at the coronation of Malcolm. It is transcribed here as it appears in the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, where it is given as copied from the M’Firbis MS. in the Royal Irish Academy:—

English Translation.

Ye learned of Alban altogether
Ye people shy, yellow-haired
Which was the first invasion, do ye know
That took the land of Alban?

Albanus took it, active his men,
That famous son of Isacon,
The brother of Briutus without guile
From whom Alba of the ships is said.

Briutus banished his bold brother
Over the stormy sea of Icht.
Briutus took the beautiful Alban
To the tempestuous promontory of Fotudan.

Long after Briutus the noble, the good,
The race of Neimhidh took it,
Erglan, after coming out of his ship
After the destruction of the tower of Conaing.

Cruithnigh ros gabhsad iarttain,
Tar ttiachtain a h-Erean-mhuigh,
.X.righ tri fichid righ ran,
Gabhsad diobh an Cruithean-chlar.

Cathluan an ced righ diobh-soin,
Aisnedhfead daoibh go cumair,
Rob e an righ degheanach dhibh
An cur calma Cusaintin.

Clanna Eathach ina n-diaigh,
Gabhsad Albain iar n-airdghliaidh,
Clanna Conaire an chaonhfluir,
Toghaidhe na treun Ghaoidhil.

Tri mec Erc mec Eachdach ait,
Triar fuair beannachtair Patraice,
Ghabhsad Albain, ard a n-gus,
Loarn, Fearghus, is Aonghus.

Dech m-bliadhna Loarn, ler bladh,
I flaitheas Oirir Alban,
Tar es Loarn fhel go n-gus,
Seacht m-bliadhna ficheat Fearghus.

Domhangart mac d'Fheargus ard,
Aireamh euig m bliadhna m-biothgarg,
A .XXXIIII. gan troid,
Do Comghall mac Domhangoint.

Da bhliadhan Conaing gan tair,
Tar es Comghaill do Gobhran,
Ti bliadhna fo euig gan roinn
Ba ri Conall mac Comghoill.

Cethre bliadhna ficheat tall
Ba ri Aodhan na n-iol-rann,
Dech m-bliadhna fo seacht seol n-gle,
I flaitheas Eathach buidhe.

Connchadh Cearr raithe, rel bladh,
A .XVI. dia mac Fearchar,
Tar es Ferchair, feaghaidh rainn,
.XIIII. bliadhna Domhnaill.

Tar es Domhnaill bric na m-bla,
Conall, Dughall .X. m-bliadhna,
.XIII. bliadhna Domhnaill duinn
Tar es Dughail is Chonail.

Maolduin mac Conaill na ccreach
A .XVII. do go dlightheach,
Fearchair fadd, feagha leat,
Do chaith bliadhain thar .XX.

Da bliadhain Eachdach na-n-each,
Ro ba calma an ri rightheach,
Aoin bhliadhain ba flaith iarttain,
Ainceallach maith mac Fearchair.

Seachd m-bliadhna Dughail dein,
Acus a ceither do Ailpen,
Tri bliadhna Muireadhghigh mhaith,
.XXX. do Aodh na ardflaith.

A ceathair ficheat, nir fhann,
Do bhliadhnaibh do chaith Domhnall,
Da bhliadhain Conaill, cem n-gle,
Is a ceathair Chonall ele.

Naoi m-bliadhna Cusaintin chain,
A naoi Aongusa ar Albain,
Cethre bliadhna Aodha ain,
Is a tri deng Eoghanain.

Triochoa bliadhain Cionaoith chruaidh,
A ceathair Domhnall drechruaidh,
.XXX. bliadhain co na bhrigh,
Don churadh do Cusaintin.

The Cruithne took it after that
On coming out of Erin of the plain,
Seventy noble kings of them
Took the Cruithnean plain.

Cathluan was the first king of them,
I tell it you in order,
The last king of them was
The brave hero Constantine.

The children of Eochy after them
Seized Alban after a great fight,
The children of Conair, the gentle man,
The choice of the brave Gael.

Three sons of Erc the son of Eochy the joyous,
Three who got the blessing of Patrick,
Seized Alban ; great was their courage,
Lorn, Fergus, and Angus.

Ten years to Lorn, by which was renown,
In the sovereignty of Oirir Alban,
After Lorn the generous and strong
Seven and twenty years to Fergus.

Domangart, son of the great Fergus,
Had the number of five terrible years.
Twenty-four years without a fight
Were to Comghall son of Domangart.

Two years of success without contempt
After Comghall to Gobhran.
Three years with five without division
Was king Conall son of Comghall.

Four and twenty peaceful years
Was king Aodhan of many songs.
Ten years with seven, a true tale,
In sovereignty Eochy buy.

Connchadh Cearr a quarter, star of renown,
Sixteen years to his son Ferchar,
After Ferchar, see the poems,
Thirteen years to Donald.

After Donald breac of the shouts,
Was Conall, Dungal ten years,
Thirteen years Donald Donn
After Dungal and Conall.

Maolduin, son of Conall of spoils,
Seventeen years to him rightfully.
Ferchar fadd, see you it
Spent one year over twenty.

Two years was Eochy of steeds,
Bold was the king of palaces.
One year was king after that
Ainceallach the good, son of Ferchar.

Seven years was Dungal the impetuous,
And four to Ailpin.
Three years Murdoch the good,
Thirty to Aodh as high chief.

Eighty, not feeble
Years did Donald spend.
Two years Conall, a noble course,
And four another Conall.

Nine years Constantine the mild,
Nine Angus over Alban,
Four years the excellent Aodh,
And thirteen Eoghanan.

Thirty years Kenneth the harly,
Four Donald of ruddy face,
Thirty years with effect
To the hero, to Constantine.

Da bhliadhain, ba daor a dath,
Da brathair do Aodh fhionnseothach,
Domhnall mac Cusaintin chain,
Ro chaith bliadhain fa cheathair.

Cusaintin ba calma a ghleac,
Ro chaith a se is da fhicheat,
Maolcoluim cethre bliadhna,
Iondolbh a h-ocht airdriagla.

Seacht m-bliadhna Dubhod der.
Acus a ceathair Cuilen,
A .XXVII, os gach cloinn
Do Cionaoth mac Maolcholuim.

Seacht m-bliadhna Cusaintin cluin
Acus a ceathair Macdhuibh
Trìochadh bliadhain, breacaid rainn
Ba ri Monaidh Maolcholuim.

Se bliadhna Donnchaid glain gaoith
.XVII. bliadhna mac Fionnlaoidh
Tar es Mecbeathaigh go m-blaidh
.vii mis i fflaithios Lughlaigh.

Maolcholuim anosa as ri,
Mac Donnchaidh dhata dhrechbhi,
A re noch a n-fidir neach,
Acht an t-eolach as eolach
A eolcha

Da rìgh for chaogad, chuine,
Go mac Donnchaidh drech ruire,
Do shìol Ere ardhglain anoir,
Gabhaidh Albain, a eolagha.

Although this poem is given in Gaelic as it appears in the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*,² the English translation differs in some places. At p. 60 *Tri bliadhna fo cuig*³ is translated by Mr Skene "three years five times," while in the same page *dech m-bliadhna fo seacht* is translated "ten years and seven." There is no apparent ground for such a distinction. So in p. 61 *ceathar fheach*, eighty, is translated "four and twenty," which is at variance with the usus of the Gaelic language. The above translation seems the true one.

This poem is manifestly of great antiquity and of deep historical interest. Of the authorship little is known. It has been suggested that it is of Irish origin.⁴ This is possible, for judging by the synchronisms of Flann Mainistreach, the Irish seanachies were well informed on Scottish matters. But whether Irish or not, the whole poem refers to Scotland, and is entitled to a place among the Celtic remains of the country. It is our oldest and most authentic record of the Scottish kings, and in

Two years, sad their complexion,
To his brother Aodh the youthfully fair,
Donald, son of Constantine the mild,
Spent a year above four.

Constantine, bold was his conflict
Spent forty and six.
Malcolm four years.
Indulged eight in high sovereignty.

Seven years Dubhoda the impetuous,
And four Cuilen.
And twenty-seven over all the tribes
To Kenneth the son of Malcolm.

Seven years Constantine, listen,
And four to Macduff,
Thirty years, the verses mark it,
Was king of Monaidh, Malcolm.

Six years was Duncan of pure wisdom,
Seventeen years the son of Finlay,
After him Macbeth with renown,
Seven months in sovereignty Lulach.

Malcolm is now the king,
Son of Duncan the yellow-coloured,
His time knoweth no one
But the knowing one who is knowing,
Ye learned.

Two kings over fifty, listen,
To the son of Duncan of coloured face,
Of the seed of Ere the noble, in the east,
Possessed Alban, ye learned.

this respect commended itself to the regard of Pinkerton, who was no friend of anything that was creditable to the Celts or helped to establish their claims.

MUIREADHACH ALBANNACH.

The name of Muireadhach Albannach is well known among the literary traditions of Celtic Scotland. In a curious genealogy by Lachlan Mac Mhuireadhaich or Vuirich, usually called Lachlan M'Pherson, given in the Report of the Highland Society of Scotland on Ossian,⁵ the said Lachlan traces his own genealogy back through eighteen generations to this Muireadhach or Murdoch of Scotland, and states that his ancestors were bards to M'Donald of Clanronald during the period. The original Murdoch was an ecclesiastic, and has probably given their name to the whole M'Pherson clan. There is a curious poetical dialogue given in the Dean of Lismore's Book between him and Cathal Cròdhearg, King of Connaught, who flourished in the close of the 12th century, upon their entering at the same time on a monastic life. The poem would seem to show Murdoch to have been a man of

² P. 57.

³ *Fo* here and elsewhere in the poem seems to represent *fa*, upon, rather than *ar*, as Mr Skene supposes.

⁴ *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, Int. p. xxxvii.

⁵ P. 275.

high birth, while his own compositions are evidence both of his religious earnestness and his poetical talent. Until the publication of the Dean of Lismore's book, it was not known that there were any remains of his composi-

tions in existence, but that collection contains several, all on religious subjects. The following is a specimen of his composition, and of the Gaelic poetry of the 12th or 13th century :—

English Translation.

Mithich domh triall gu tigh Pharaiss,
'N nair a' ghluin gun e soirbh.
Cosnaim an tigh treun gun choire,
Gun sgeul aig neach 'eil oirn.
Dean do sriuth ri do shagairt
'S coir cuimhne ach gu dlù umad ole.
Na beir do thigh rìgh gun agh
Sgeul a's prìomh ri agradh ort.
Na dean folchaint a'd pheacadh,
Ge grain ri innscadh a h-ole ;
Leigeadh de'd chuid an cleith diomhar,
Mur be angair a gabhail ort.
Dean do shith ris an luchd-dreuchd,
Ge dona, ge annhuinn le'd chor,
Sguir ri'd lochd, do ghul dean domhain,
Mu'm bi ole ri fhaighinn ort.
Mairg a threigeadh tigh an Ardrigh,
Aig ghràdh peacaidh, turagh an ni,
An t-ole ni duine gu diomhair
Iomadh an sin fiachan mu'n ghniomh.
Aig so searmoin do shìol an Adhaimh,
Mar shaoilim nach bheil se an bhreug,
Fulang a bhais seal gu seachainn
An fear nach domh gu'n teid.
Fhir a cheannaich sìol an Adhaimh
D'fhuil, a cholla, 'us da chridhe,
Air a reir gu'n deanadh sealga,
Ger ge dian ri 'm pheacadh mi.

'Tis time for me to go to the house of Paradise
While this wound is not easily borne,
Let me win this house, famous, faultless,
While others can tell nought else of us.
Confess thyself now to thy priest,
Remember clearly all thy sins ;
Carry not to the house of the spotless King
Aught that may thee expose to charge.
Conceal not any of thy sins
However hateful its evil to tell ;
Confess what has been done in secret,
Lest thou expose thyself to wrath ;
Make thy peace now with the clergy
That thou mayst be safe as to thy state ;
Give up thy sin, deeply repent,
Lest its guilt be found in thee.
Woe to him forsook the great King's house
For love of sin, sad is the deed ;
The sin a man commits in secret
Much is the debt his sin incurs.
This is a sermon for Adam's race,
I think I've nothing said that's false,
Though men may death for a time avoid,
'Tis true they can't at length escape.
Thou who hast purchased Adam's race,
Their blood, their body, and their heart,
The things we cherish thou dost assail
However I may sin pursue.^c

It is not necessary to give farther specimens of Murdoch of Scotland's poetry here, as those existing are very similar to the above ; but several specimens will be found in the Dean of Lismore's Book, from which the above is taken. The original has been difficult to read, and in consequence to render accurately, but there is little doubt that the real meaning of the poem is given. If the Book of Deer be a specimen of the Gaelic at the close of the 12th century in the east of Scotland, the above is a specimen of the same language from the west, probably from the Hebrides.

GAELIC CHARTER.

In 1408, Donald, Lord of the Isles, the hero of Harlaw, made a grant of lands in Islay to Brian Vicar Mackay, one of the old Mackays of the island. The charter conveying these lands still exists, and is written in the Gaelic language. As it is now published by the Record Commission, it is not necessary to give it here, but it is a document of much interest, written by Fergus M'Beth or Beaton, one of

the famous Beaton's who were physicians to the Lord of the Isles, and signed with the holograph of the great island chief himself. The lands conveyed are in the eastern part of the island, north of the Mull of Ou, and embrace such well-known places as Baile-Vicar, Cornabus, Tocamol, Cracobus, &c. The style of the charter is that of the usual feudal charters written in Latin, but the remarkable thing is to find a document of the kind written in Gaelic at a time when such a thing was almost unknown in the Saxon dialects of either Scotland or England.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE 15TH CENTURY.

The Highlands seem to have had a large number of men of letters during the 15th century, and most of our existing manuscript materials seem to be of that age. These materials are of various kinds. They consist of short theological treatises, with traditional anecdotes of saints and others which seem to

^c From *Dean of Lismore's Book*, with a few verbal alterations, p. 157.

have been prevalent in the church at the time. One of the theological treatises now in the library of the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh, has reference to the Sacrament of the Supper, and maintains the purely Protestant doctrine that the sacrament can only profit those who receive it in faith. There are anecdotes of priests, often called by the Gaelic name of *maighistir*, which would indicate that the priests of the period had wives, and that the doctrine of celibacy had not then entered the Scottish church.

Some of the manuscripts are genealogical, and as such are of much value to the Scottish historian. They show what the ideas of the *seanachies* of the thirteenth century were regarding the origin of the Highland clans. Some of these genealogical records have been published by the Iona Club, and are in this way accessible to the general reader. They are indicative of the care taken at the period to preserve memorials of family history, and were of value not only as conducing to the gratification of family pride, but to the preservation of family property, inasmuch as these were the only means in accordance with which succession to property could be determined. The consequence is, that they are not always very reliable, favour being apt to bias the recorder on one side, just as enmity and ill-will were apt to bias him on the other. It is remarkable how ready the *seanachy* of a hostile clan was to proclaim the line of the rival race illegitimate. This affects the value of these records, but they are valuable notwithstanding, and are to a considerable extent reliable, especially within the period where authentic information could be obtained by the writer.

A portion of these manuscripts deals with medical and metaphysical subjects, the two being often combined. We are hardly prepared to learn to how great an extent these subjects were studied at an early period in the Highlands. We are apt to think that the region was a barbarous one without either art or science. A sight of the sculptures which distinguished the 14th and 15th centuries is prone to remove this impression. We find a style of sculpture still remaining in ancient crosses and gravestones that is characteristic of the Highlands; elaborate ornaments of a

distinct character, rich and well executed tracery, figures well designed and finished. Such sculptures, following upon those of the prehistoric period found still within the ancient Pictish territory, exist chiefly throughout the West Highlands, and indicate that one art, at least, of native growth, distinguished the Gaelic Celts of the Middle Ages.

The medical manuscripts existing are chiefly the productions of the famous Macbeths or Beaton, the hereditary physicians of the Lords of the Isles for a long series of years. The charter of lands in Islay, already referred to, drawn out by Fergus Beaton, is of a date as early as 1408, and three hundred years after, men of the same race are found occupying the same position. Hereditary physicians might seem to offer but poor prospects to their patients, and that especially at a time when schools of medicine were almost if not altogether unknown in the country; but the fact is, that this was the only mode in which medical knowledge could be maintained at all. If such knowledge were not transmitted from father to son, the probability was that it would perish, just as was the case with the genealogical knowledge of the *seanachies*. This transmission, however, was provided for in the Celtic system, and while there was no doubt a considerable difference between individuals in the succession in point of mental endowments, they would all possess a certain measure of skill and acquirement as the result of family experience. These men were students of their science as it existed at the time. The Moors were then the chief writers on medicine. Averroes and Avicenna were men whose names were distinguished, and whose works, although little known now, extended to folios. Along with their real and substantial scientific acquirements, they dived deep into the secrets of Astrology, and our Celtic students, while ready disciples of them in the former study, followed them most faithfully and zealously in the latter likewise. There are numerous medical and astrological treatises still existing written in the Gaelic language, and taken chiefly from the works of Moorish and Arabian writers. How these works reached the Scottish Highlands it is hard to say, nor is it easier to understand how the ingredients of the medical prescriptions of these practitioners could be

obtained in a region so inaccessible at the time. The following specimen of the written Gaelic of medical manuscripts, is taken from Dr O'Donovan's grammar :—⁷

English Translation.

“Labhrum anois do leighes na h-eslainti so oir is eigin nethi imda d'fhagbhail d'a leighes ; ocus is é céd leighes is ferr do dhénamh dhi. 1. na lenna tru-aillighthi do glanad maille caterfusia ; óir a deir Avicenna 's an 4 Cán. co n-déin in folmhughadh na leanna loisgi d'inarbad. An 2.ní oilemhain bidh ocus dighi d'ordughadh dóibh ; an tres ní, an t-adhbhar do dhileaghadh ; an 4.ní a n-innarbadh go h-imlán ; an 5.ní, fothraieithi do dhénum dóibh ; an 6.ní, is eigin lictuber comhfhurtachta do thobhairt dóib. An 7.ní, is eigin neithi noch aentuighius riu do thobhairt dóib muna roib an corp linta do droch-leannaibh.”

“Let me now speak of the cure of this disease (scurvy), for many things must be got for its cure ; the first cure which is best to be made is to clean the corrupt humours with caterfusia ; for Avicenna says in the fourth Canon that evacuation causes an expulsion of the burnt humours. The second thing, to order the patients a proper regimen of meat and drink ; the third thing, to digest the matter ; the fourth thing, to expel them completely ; the fifth thing, to prepare a bath for them ; the sixth, it is necessary to give them strengthening lictub. The seventh, it is necessary to give them such things as agree with them, unless the body be full of bad humours.”

This extract is taken from an Irish manuscript, but the language is identical with that in use in the writings of the Beaton. Celtic Scotland and Celtic Ireland followed the same system in medicine as in theology and poetry.

The metaphysical discussions, if they may be so called, are very curious, being characterised by the features which distinguished the science of metaphysics at the time. The most remarkable thing is that there are Gaelic terms to express the most abstract ideas in metaphysics ;—terms which are now obsolete, and would not be understood by any ordinary Gaelic speaker. A perusal of these ancient writings shows how much the language has declined, and to what an extent it was cultivated at an early period. So with astrology, its terms are translated and the science is fully set forth. Tables are furnished of the position of the stars by means of which to foretell the character of future events. Whatever literature existed in Europe in the 14th and 15th centuries, extended its influence to the Scottish Highlands. The nation was by no means in such a state of barbarism as some writers would lead us to expect. They had legal forms, for we have a formal legal charter of lands written in Gaelic ; they had medical men of skill and acquirement ; they had writers on law and theology, and they had men skilled in architecture and sculpture.

THE DEAN OF LISMORE'S BOOK.

When the Highland Society of Scotland were engaged in preparing their report on the poems of Ossian, they thought it important to search with all possible diligence after such sources of ancient Gaelic poetry as might have

been open to Macpherson, and especially for such written remains as might still be found in the country. Among others they applied to the Highland Society of London, whose secretary at the time, Mr John Mackenzie, was an enthusiastic Highlander, and an excellent Gaelic scholar. The Society furnished several interesting manuscripts which they had succeeded in collecting, and among these an ancient paper book which has since been called the “Book of the Dean of Lismore.” This book, which now lies in the library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh, is a small quarto very much defaced, of about seven inches square, and one inch and a quarter in thickness. It is bound in a piece of coarse sheepskin, and seems to have been much tossed about. The manuscript is written in what may be called phonetic Gaelic, the words being spelled on the same principle as the Welsh and Manx, although the application of the principle is very different. “Athair,” *father*, is “Ayr ;” “Saor,” *free*, is “Seyr ;” “Fhuair,” *found*, is “Hoar ;” “Leodhas,” *Lewis*, is “Looyss ;” “inchair,” *a key*, is “ewthir ;” “ghràdh,” *love*, is “Zrau.” This principle of phonetic spelling, with a partial admission of the Irish eclipsis and the Irish dot in aspiration, distinguishes the whole manuscript, and has made it very difficult to interpret. The letter used is the English letter of the 15th and 16th centuries, and the MS. was transcribed by the late Mr Ewen McLachlan of Aberdeen, an admirable Gaelic scholar. But no attempt was made to transfer its contents into modern Gaelic, or to interpret them, save in the case of a few fragments which

⁷ *Irish Grammar*, p. 449.

were transferred and interpreted by Dr Smith for the Highland Society. Recently, however, the whole manuscript, with few exceptions, has been transcribed, presented in a modern Gaelic dress, translated and annotated, by the writer; and a historical introduction and additional notes have been furnished by Dr W. F. Skene.

The volume is full of interest, as presenting a view of the native literature of the Highlands in the 15th and 16th centuries, while it contains productions of a much earlier age. The fragments which it contains are both Scottish and Irish, showing how familiar the bardic schools were with the productions of both countries. Much of the contents consists of fragments of what is usually called Ossianic poetry—compositions by Ossian, by Fergus filidh his brother, by Conall Mac-Edirseeoil, by Caoilte M'Ronan, and by poets of a later age, who imitated these ancient bards, such as Allan MacRorie, Gilliecallum Mac an Olla, and others. The collection bears on one of its pages the name "Jacobus M'Gregor decanus Lismorensis," *James M'Gregor, Dean of Lismore*, and it has been conjectured from this fact and the resemblance of the writing in the signature to that of the body of the manuscript, that this was the compiler of the work. That the manuscript was the work of a M'Gregor is pretty evident. It contains a series of obits of important men, most of them chiefs and other men of note of the clan Gregor, and there are among the poetical pieces of a date later than the

Ossianic, numerous songs in praise of that clan. It seems, however, that M'Gregor had a brother called Dougal, who designates himself *daoroglach*, or "apprentice," who had some share in making the compilation. These M'Gregors belonged to Fortingall in Perthshire, although James held office in the diocese of Argyll. He was vicar of the parish of Fortingall, and it is presumed usually resided there.

In giving specimens from M'Gregor's collection, it may be desirable to treat of the whole of what is called the Ossianic poetry. It is in this collection that we find the earliest written specimens of it, and although Macpherson's Ossian did not appear for two centuries later, it seems better to group the whole together in this portion of our notice. The word "ursgeul" was applied by the Highlanders to these poetical tales. This word has been translated "a new tale," as if the *ur* here meant "new" in contradistinction to older tales. But the word *ur* meant "noble" or "great," as well as "new," and the word as so used must be understood as meaning a "noble tale" in contradistinction to the *sgeulachd*, or other tale of less note. From what source M'Gregor derived his materials is not said, but the probability is that he was indebted both to manuscripts and to oral tradition for them. We shall here give a specimen of the Dean's collection as it appears in the original, with a version in regular Gaelic spelling, and an English translation. It is the poem usually called "Bàs Dhiarmaid," or *the Death of Diarmid*.

Modern Gaelic.

A HOUDIR SO ALLANE M'ROYREE.

Gleannschee in glenn so rame heive
A binn feig agus lon
Menik redeis in nane
Ar on trath so in deyr agon
A glen so fa wenn Zwlbin zwrm
Is haald tulchi fa zran
Ner wanew a roytlai gi dark
In deyr helga o inn na vane
Estith beg ma zalew leith
A chuddycht cheive so woym
Er wenn Zulbin is er inn fail
Is er M'ezoyun skayl troyg
Gur lai finn fa troyg in shelga
Er V'ezwn is derk lei
Zwll di wenn Zwlbin di helga
In turkgi nach fadin erm zai
Lai M'ezwun narm ay
Da bay gin dorchirre in tork
Gillir royth ba zoill finn
Is sche assne rin do locht

A N ÒGHDAIR SO AILEAN M'RUADHRAIDH.

Gleannsith an gleann so ri'u thaobh,
'S am binn feidh agus loin,
Is minig a rachas an Fheinn
Air an t-srath so an deigh an cou.
An gleann so fa Bheinn Ghulbainn ghuirm,
Is aillidh tulcha fo'n ghréin,
Na sruthana a ruith gu dearg,
An deigh shealg o Fhionn na Feinn.
Eisdibh beag mar dh'fhalbh laoch,
A chuideachd chaoimh so uam,
Air Bheinn Ghulbainn 'us air Fionn fal,
'Us air M' O'Dhuinn, sgeul truagh :
Gur le Fionn fa truagh an t-sealg
Air Mhac O'Dhuinn a's deirge lith,
Dhol do Bheinn Ghulbainn do shealg
An tui're nach faodainn airm dhith.
Le Mac O'Dhuinn an airm aigh,
Do'm b'e gu'n torchradh an torc,
Geilllear roimhe, bu dh'fhoill Fhinn,
Is e esan a rinn do locht.

Er fa harlow a zail
 M'ozunn graw nin sgoll
 Ach so in skayll fa tursych mnaan
 Gavv less di layve an tork
 Zingywal di lach ni wane
 Da gurri ea assi gnok
 In schenn tork schee bi garv
 Di vag ballerych na helve mok
 Soeyth finn is derk dreach
 Fa wenn zwlbm zlass in telga
 Di fre dinnit less in tork
 Mor in tolga a rin a shelga
 Di elastich cozar ni wane
 Nor si narm teach fa a cann
 Ersi in a vest o swoyn
 Is glossis woith er a glenn
 Curris ri faggin nin leich
 In shen tork schee er freich borb
 Bi geyr no ganytl sleygh
 Bi transeygh na gath bolga
 M'ozwun ni narm geyr
 Frager less in na vest olk
 Wa teive reyll trom navynyth gay
 Currir sleygh in dayl in turk
 Brissir in cran less fa thre
 Si chran fa reir er in mwk
 In sleygh o wasi waryerka vlaye
 Rait less nochchar hay na corp
 Targir in tan lann o troyle
 Di chossin mor loye in narm
 Marviss M'ozunn fest
 Di hanyth feyn de hess slane
 Tuttis sprocht er Inn ne wane
 Is soyis sea si gnok
 Makozunn nar dult dayve
 Olk less a hecht slane o tork
 Er weith zoith faddi no host
 A durt gar wolga ri ray
 Tothiss a zermi o hocht
 Ga maid try sin tork so id taa
 Char zult ay a chonyth finn
 Olk leinn gin a heacht da hygh
 Toissi tork er a zrum
 M'ozunn nach tromie trygh
 Toiss na ye reiss
 A zermi gi meine a tore
 Fa lattis troygh ya chinu
 A zil nin narm rim gort
 Ymbeis bi hurrus goye
 Agus toissi zayve in tork
 Gunne i freich neive garve
 Boonn in leich bi zarg in drod
 Tuttis in sin er in rein
 M' O'Zwne nar eyve fealle
 Na la di heive in turk
 Ach sen ayd zut gi dorve
 A la schai in swa fa creay
 M' O'Zwne keawe in gleacht
 Invakane fullch ni wane
 Sin tullis so chayme fa art
 Saywic swlzorne essroye
 Far la berrit boye gi ayr
 In dey a horchirt la tork
 Fa hulchin a chnokso a taa
 Dermi M' O'Zwne oyill
 Huttom tra ead nin noor
 Bi gil a wrai no grane
 Bu derk a wail no blai k . . .
 Fa boe innis a alt
 Fadda rosk barglan fa lesga
 Gurme agus glassi na hwle
 Maissi is cassi gowl ni gleacht
 Binnis is grinnis na zloyr
 Gil no zoid varzerk vlaa
 Mayd agis evycht sin leich

Fear fa tharladh an gaol,
 Mac O'Dhuinn gràdh nan sgoll,
 Ach so an sgeul fa tursach mnathan,
 Gabhar leis do laimh an tore.
 Dìongal do laoch na Feinn
 Do chuireadh e as a chnoc,
 An seann tore Sìthe bu ghairbhe,
 Do fhac ballardaich na h-alla-muic.
 Suidhidh Fionn is deirge dreach,
 Fa Bheinn Ghulbainn ghlais an t-seilg,
 Do frith dh' imich leis an tore,
 Mòr an t-olc a rinn a shealg.
 Rì clàisdeachd co-ghair na Feinn
 'N uair 's an arm a teachd fa 'ceann
 Eireas a bheisd o shuain,
 'Us ghluaiseas uath' air a ghleann.
 Cuireas rì fàgail nan laoch,
 An seann tore 'us e air friodh borb,
 Bu gheire no gath nan sleagh,
 Bu treine a shaigh no gath bolga.
 Mac O'Dhuinn nan arm geur,
 Freagras leis a' bheisd ole,
 O' thaobh thriall trom, nimhneach, gath,
 Cuirear sleagh an dail an tuirc.
 Brisear a crann leis fa thri,
 Is i a crann fa rèir air a' mhuc,
 An t-sleagh o bhos bhar-dhearg, bhlàth,
 Raitleis noch char e' na corp.
 Tairngear an tan lann o' truail,
 Do choisinn mòr luaidh an arm,
 Marbhas Mac O'Dhuinn a' bheisd,
 Do thainig e féin as slàn.
 Tuiteas sprocht air Fionn na Feinn,
 'Us suidheas e 's a chnoc,
 Mac O' Dhuinn nach do dhiult daimh
 Ole leis a thighinn slàn o'n tore.
 Air bhith dha fada 'n a thosd,
 A dubhairt, ged a b' ole ri ràdh,
 Tomhais, a Dhiarmaid o' shoc,
 Cia meud troidh 's an tore a ta.
 Char dhiult e athluinge Fhinn,
 Ole leinn gun e theachd d'a thigh.
 Tomhaisidh an tore air a dhruim,
 Mac O'Dhuinn nach trom troidh.
 Tomhais 'n a aghaidh a ris,
 A Dhiarmaid gu mion an tore;
 Fa leat is truagh dha chinu,
 A ghille nan arm roinn ghoirt.
 Imicheas, bu thurus goimh,
 Agus tomhaisidh dhoibh an tore.
 Guinidh a fhriogh nimh, garbh
 Bonn an laoch bu gharbh an trod.
 Tuiteas an sin air an raon,
 Mac O'Dhuinn nìor aoibh feall;
 'N a luidhe do thaobh an tuirc,
 Ach sin e dhuit gu doirbh.
 A ta se an sin fa chreuchd
 Mac O'Dhuinn caomh an gleachd;
 Aon mhacan fulangach nam Fiann
 'S an tulach so chitheam fa fheart.
 Seabhag sùilghorm Easruaidh,
 Fear le'm beireadh buaidh gach àir,
 An deigh a thorchairt le tore
 Fa thulchain a chnuic so a ta.
 Diarmad Mac O'Dhuinn aibheil,
 A thuiteam troimh eud; no nuar!
 Bu ghile a bhràgh'd no grian,
 Bu dheirge a bheul no blàth caora.
 Fa buidhe innis a fhalt,
 Fada rosg barglan fa liosg,
 Guirme agus glaise 'n a shùil,
 Maise 'us caise cùl nan cleachd.
 Binneas 'us grinneas 'n a ghlòir,
 Gile 'n a dhoid bhar-dhearg bhlàth,
 Meud agus éifeachd 's an laoch

Seng is ser no kness bayn
 Coythtyc is maaltor ban
 M' O'Zwne bi vor boye
 In turri char hog swle
 O chorreich wr er a zroy
 Immin deit cyde is each
 Fer in neygin creach nar charre
 Gilli a bar gasga is seith
 Ach troyg mir a teich so glenn
 Glennschee.

English Translation.

THE AUTHOR OF THIS IS ALLAN M'RORIE.

Glenshee the vale that close beside me lies
 Where sweetest sounds are heard of deer and elk,
 And where the Feinn did oft pursue the chase
 Following their hounds along the lengthening vale.
 Below the great Ben Gulbin's grassy height,
 Of fairest knolls that lie beneath the sun
 The valley winds. Its streams did oft run red,
 After a hunt by Finn and by the Feinn.
 Listen now while I detail the loss
 Of one a hero in this gentle band ;
 'Tis of Ben Gulbin and of generous Finn
 And Mac O'Duine, in truth a piteous tale.
 A mournful hunt indeed it was for Finn
 When Mac O'Duine, he of the ruddiest hue,
 Up to Ben Gulbin went, resolved to hunt
 The boar, whom arms had never yet subdued.
 Though Mac O'Duine of brightest burnished arms,
 Did bravely slay the fierce, and furious boar,
 Yet Finn's deceit did him induce to yield,
 And this it was that did his grievous hurt.
 Who among men was so belov'd as he ?
 Brave Mac O'Duine, beloved of the schools ;
 Women all mourn this sad and piteous tale
 Of him who firmly grasped the murderous spear.
 Then bravely did the hero of the Feinn
 Rouse from his cover in the mountain side
 The great old boar, him so well known in Shee,
 The greatest in the wild boar's haunt e'er seen.
 Finn sat him down, the man of ruddiest hue,
 Beneath Ben Gulbin's soft and grassy side ;
 For swift the boar now coursed along the heath ;
 Great was the ill came of that dreadful hunt.
 'Twas when he heard the Feinn's loud ringing shout,
 And saw approach the glittering of their arms,
 The monster wakened from his heavy sleep
 And stately moved before them down the vale.
 First, to distance them he makes attempt
 The great old boar, his bristles stiff on end,
 These bristles sharper than a pointed spear,
 Their point more piercing than the quiver's shaft.
 Then Mac O'Duine, with arms well pointed too,
 Answers the horrid beast with ready hand ;
 Away from his side then rushed the heavy spear,
 Hard following on the course the boar pursued.
 The javelin's shaft fell shivered into three,
 The shaft recoiling from the boar's tough hide.
 The spear hurl'd by his warm red-fingered hand,
 Ne'er penetrated the body of the boar.
 Then from its sheath he drew his thin-leav'd sword,
 Of all the arms most crowned with victory.
 Mac O'Duine did then the monster kill
 While he himself escaped without a wound.
 Then on Finn of the Feinn did sadness fall,
 And on the mountain side he sat him down ;
 It grieved his soul that generous Mac O'Duine
 Should have escaped unwounded by the boar.
 For long he sat, and never spake a word,
 Then thus he spake, although't be sad to tell ;
 " Measure, Diarmad, the boar down from the snout,
 And tell how many feet 's the brute in length ;"
 What Finn did ask he never yet refused ;
 Alas ! that he should never see his home.

Seang 'us saor 'n a chneas ban.
 Cothaich 'us mealltair bhan,
 Mac O'Dhuinn bu mhòr buaidh,
 'S an t-suiridh cha thog stùil.
 O chuireadh ùir air a ghruaidh.
 Immirdich fhaoghaid 'us each,
 Fear an éigin chreach nar char,
 Gille b'fhearr gaisge 'us sitheadh,
 Ach is truagh mar a theich 's a ghleann.
 Gleann Sith.

Along the back he measures now the boar,
 Light-footed Mac O'Duine of active step.
 " Measure it the other way against the hair,
 And measure, Diarmad, carefully the boar.
 It was indeed for thee a mournful deed,
 Furth of the sharply-pointed, piercing arms,
 He went, the errand grievous was and sad,
 And measured for them once again the boar.
 The envenomed pointed bristle sharply pierced
 The soul of him the bravest in the field.
 Then fell and lay upon the grassy plain
 The noble Mac O'Duine, whose look spoke truth ;
 He fell and lay along beside the boar
 And then you have my mournful saddening tale.
 There does he lie now wounded to the death,
 Brave Mac O'Duine so skilful in the fight,
 The most enduring even among the Feinn,
 Up there where I see his grave.
 The blue-eyed hawk that dwelt at Essaroy
 The conqueror in every sore-fought field
 Slain by the poisoned bristle of the boar.
 Now does he lie full-stretched upon the hill,
 Brave, noble Diarmad Mac O'Duine
 Slain, it is shame ! victim of jealousy.
 Whiter his body than the sun's bright light,
 Redder his lips than blossoms tinged with red ;
 Long yellow locks did rest upon his head,
 His eye was clear beneath the covering brow,
 Its colour mingled was of blue and gray ;
 Waving and graceful were his locks behind,
 His speech was elegant and sweetly soft ;
 His hands the whitest, fingers tipped with red ;
 Elegance and power were in his form,
 His fair soft skin covering a faultless shape,
 No woman saw him but he won her love.
 Mac O'Duine crowned with his countless victories,
 Ne'er shall he raise his eye in courtship more ;
 Or warrior's wrath give colour to his cheek ;
 The following of the chase, the prancing steed,
 Will never move him, nor the search for spoil.
 He who could bear him well in wary fight,
 Has now sadly left in that wild vale.
 Glenshee.

This is, in every way, a fair specimen of the Dean's MS., and of the story of the death of Diarmad as it existed in Scotland in the year 1512. The story is entirely a Scottish one, Glenshee being a well-known locality in the county of Perth, and Ben Gulbin a well-known hill in Glenshee. This has been called an Ossianic poem, but, according to Dean M'Gregor, it was not composed by Ossian, but by a poet obviously of more recent times ;—Allan Mac-Rorie, who was probably a composer of the 15th century. The resemblance of Diarmad to Achilles will occur at once to the classical reader, and there is no reason to doubt that

there were large classes in the Highlands in the middle ages well acquainted with classical literature.

Another specimen of the Dean's poems may

be given as one which the compiler attributes to Ossian. It is Ossian's eulogy on his father Finn, or Fingal, as he is called by M'Pherson:—

Modern Gaelic.

AUCTOR HUIUS OISIAN MAC FHINN.

[illegible]

22.

English Translation.

THE AUTHOR OF THIS IS OSSIAN, THE SON OF FINN.

'Twas yesterday week I last saw Finn,
Ne'er did I feel six days so long;
Teige's daughter's son, a powerful king;
My teacher, my luck, my mind, and my light,
Both poet and chief, as brave as a king,
Finn, chief of the Feine, lord of all lands,
Leviathan at sea, as great on land,
Hawk of the air, foremost in arts,
Courteous, just, a rider bold,
Of vigorous deeds, the first in song,
A righteous judge, firm his rule,
Polished his mein, who knew but victory.
Who is like him in fight or song?
Resists the foe in house or field,
Marble his skin, the rose his cheek.
Blue was his eye, his hair like gold,
All men's trust, of noble mind.
Of ready deeds, to women mild,
A giant he, the field's delight,
Best polished spears, no wood like their shafts.
Rich was the king, his great green bottle
Full of sharp wine, of substance rich.
Excellent he, of noble form,
His people's head, his step so firm,
Who often warred, in beauteous banva,
There thirty battles he bravely fought.
With miser's mind from none withheld,
Anything false his lips ne'er spoke.
He never grudged, no, never, Finn;
The sun ne'er saw king who him excelled,
The monsters in lakes, the serpent by land,
In Erin of saints, the hero slew.
Ne'er could I tell, though always I lived,
Ne'er could I tell the third of his praise.
But sad am I now, after Finn of the Feinn;
Away with the chief, my joy is all fled.
No friends 'mong the great, no courtesy;
No gold, no queen, no princes and chiefs;
Sad am I now, our head ta'en away!
I'm a shaking tree, my leaves all gone;
An empty nut, a reainless horse.
Sad, sad am I, a feeble kern,
Ossian I, the son of Finn, strengthless indeed.
When Finn did live all things were mine;
Seven sides had the house of Cumhal's son,
Seven score shields on every side;
Fifty robes of wool around the king;
Fifty warriors filled the robes.
Ten bright cups for drink in his hall,
Ten blue flagons, ten horns of gold.
A noble house was that of Finn.
No grudge nor lust, babbling nor sham;
No man despised among the Feinn;
The first himself, all else like him.
Finn was our chief, easy's his praise;
Noblest of kings, Finn ne'er refused
To any man, howe'er unknown;
Ne'er from his house sent those who came.
Good man was Finn, good man was he;
No gifts e'er given like his so free.
'Twas yesterday week.

'Twas yesterday week.

This is a specimen of a peculiar kind of music, and has a remarkable resemblance to ancient Celtic poetry. It was usually sung to some of the hymns of the early Latin Church.

There is another composition of the same kind in praise of Gaul, called usually "Rosg Ghuill," or the War-Song of Gaul.

It is unnecessary to give further specimens of these remains of the ancient heroic poetry of the Highlands here, nor is it necessary to quote any of the more modern compositions with which the Dean of Lismore's MS. abounds. It is enough to remark how great an amount of poetry was composed in the Highlands in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries. That was indeed an age of bards when poetical genius was amply rewarded by great and liberal chiefs. It is of interest further to observe how ample the answer furnished by the Lismore MS. is to the ill-natured remarks of Dr Johnson, who maintained that there was not a word of written Gaelic in the Highlands more than a hundred years old. We shall now dismiss the Dean's MS., but we shall exhaust the subject of Ossian's poems by a cursory view of the other and later collections of those poems, and especially the collection of Macpherson.

MACPHERSON'S OSSIAN.

It is quite unnecessary here to enter on the question of the authenticity of the poems of Ossian, as edited by Macpherson.⁸ The subject has been so largely treated in numerous publications, that we consider it better to give a short historical sketch of the publication, with such specimens as may serve to show the character of the work.

The first of Macpherson's publications appeared in the year 1760. It is entitled, "Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Gaelic or Erse Language." The first edition of this volume was immediately followed by a second, and the deepest interest was excited in the subject of Celtic literature among literary men. The work originally consisted of fifteen fragments, to which a sixteenth was added in the second edition. These are all in English, there not being one word of Gaelic in the

book. Not that there is any reason to doubt that the fragments are genuine, and that Macpherson spoke what was perfectly consistent with truth when he said, as he does at the beginning of his preface, "The public may depend on the following fragments as genuine remains of ancient Scottish poetry." Still it is to be regretted that the original Gaelic of these compositions was not given. It would have enabled the public, in the Highlands at least, to have judged for themselves on the question of their authenticity, and it would have afforded a guarantee for the accuracy of the translation. This, however, was not done, and there are none of the fragments contained in this little volume, the original of which can now be found anywhere.

In his preface to these "Fragments," Macpherson gives the first intimation of the existence of the poem of "Fingal." He says:—"It is believed that, by a careful inquiry, many more remains of ancient genius, no less valuable than those now given to the world, might be found in the same country where these have been collected. In particular, there is reason to hope that one work of considerable length, and which deserved to be styled an heroic poem, might be recovered and translated, if encouragement were given to such an undertaking. The subject is an invasion of Ireland by Swarthan, king of Lochlyn, which is the name of Denmark in the Erse language. Cuchulaid, the general or chief of the Irish tribes, upon intelligence of the invasion, assembles his forces; councils are held, and battles fought; but after several unsuccessful engagements the Irish are forced to submit. At length Fingal, king of Scotland, called in this poem 'The Desert of the Hills,' arrives with his ships to assist Cuchulaid. He expels the Danes from the country, and returns home victorious. This poem is held to be of greater antiquity than any of the rest that are preserved; and the author speaks of himself as present in the expedition of Fingal." In the "Fragments" the opening of this poem is given, but whether from tradition or MS. is not said. It proceeds:—"Cuchulaid sat by the wall, by the tree of the rustling leaf. His spear leaned against the mossy rock. His shield lay by him on the grass. Whilst he thought on

⁸ This question has been recently discussed by the Rev. Archibald Clerk of Kilmallie, in his elegant edition of the *Poems of Ossian*, published since the above was written, under the auspices of the Marquis of Bute. We refer our readers to Mr Clerk's treatise for a great deal of varied and interesting information on this subject.

the mighty Carbre, whom he slew in battle, the scout of the ocean came, Moran the son of Fithil." In 1762 there appeared a quarto volume, edited by Macpherson, containing the poem of "Fingal" and several other compositions. The poem commences, "Cuchullin sat by Tura's walls; by the tree of the rustling leaf. His spear leaned against the mossy rock. His shield lay by him on the grass. As he thought of mighty Carbar, a hero whom he slew in war, the scout of the ocean came, Moran the son of Fithil." It will be seen that there are several variations in the two versions, and as we proceed these will appear to be more numerous and more marked. It is somewhat remarkable that the Garve of the earlier version should become Swaran in the second. The whole comparison is interesting, and sheds some light on the progress of the poems in the hand of the editor. It may be interesting, in juxtaposition with the above extracts, to give the Gaelic, as furnished at a later period, by the executors of Macpherson. It is as follows:—

"Shuidh Cuchullin aig balla Thura,
Fo dhùbhra craoibh dhuille na fuaim;
Dh'aom a shleagh ri carraig nan còs,
A sgiath mhòr r'a thaobh air an thear.
Bha smaointean an fhir air Cairbre,
Laogh a thuit leis an garbh-chòmhrag,
'N uair a thàinig fear-coimhid a' chuain,
Luath mhac Flithil nan ceum àrd."

The English in both the versions—that of 1760 and that of 1762—is a pretty accurate rendering of this. In some cases the Gaelic expletive is wanting, as in "garbh-chòmhrag," and the name Moran is, in the last line, substituted for the Gaelic description, "The swift son of Fithil, of bounding steps." These, however, are allowable liberties in such a case. The variations are, however, more considerable as the several versions proceed, but that of 1760 turns out to be a mere fragment of the first book of the great epic of 1762. The other fragments have also their representatives in the larger work. Some of them appear in the poem called "Carrickthura," and some of them in the epic of "Fingal," but in all these cases the later compositions are great expansions of the shorter poems given in the earlier work. A comparison of these versions is full of interest, and in the hands of fair and acute criticism, is capable, as already said, of shedding

much light on the whole question of Macpherson's Ossian. One thing is beyond question, that the names of Ossian's heroes were familiar to the Scottish Highlanders from the earliest period; that they knew more of their deeds, and spoke more of them than of those of Wallace and Bruce; that the country was teeming with poetical compositions bearing to have these deeds as their subjects; that the topography of the country was in every quarter enriched with names drawn from Fingal and his men; and that to say that the whole of this was the invention of Macpherson, is nothing but what the bitterest national prejudice could alone receive as truth.

There are many of the pieces in Macpherson's Ossian of marvellous power. The description of Cuchullin's chariot in the first book of Fingal is equal to any similar composition among the great classical epics. It proceeds:—

"Carbad! carbad garbh a' chòmhraig,
'Gluasad thar 'chomhnard le bàs;
Carbad cuimir, luath, Chuchullin,
Sàr-mhac Sheuma nan cruaidh chàs.
Tha 'earr a' lùbadh sìos mar thonn,
No ceò mu thom nan carragh geur,
Solus chlocha-buadh mu'n cuairt,
Mar chuan mu eathar 's an oidheche.
Dh'iubhar failensach an crann;
Suidhear ann air chnàmhaibh caoin;
'S e tuineas nan sleagh a th'ann,
Nan sgiath, nan lann, 's nan laoch.
Ri taobh deas a' mhòr-charbaid
Chithear an t-each meanmnach, séidear,
Mac ard-mhuingeach, cliabh-fharsuing, dorcha,
Ard-leumach, talmhaidh, na beinne;
'S farumach, fuaimear, a chos;
Tha sgaoileadh a dhosain shuas,
Mar cheathach air àros nan os;
Bu shoilleir a dhreach, 's bu luath
'Shiubhal, Sithfada b'e 'ainm.
Ri taobh eile a charbaid thall
Tha each fìarasach nan srann,
Caol-mhuingeach, aigineach, brògach,
Luath-chosach, srònach, nam beann.
Dubh-sròn-gheal a b'ainm air an steud-each.
Làn mhile dh'iallaibh tana
'Ceangal a' charbaid gu h-àrd;
Cruaidh chabstar shoilleir nan srian
'Nan giallaibh fo chobhar bàn;
Tha clochan-boillsge le buaidh
'Cromadh sìos mu mhuing nan each,
Nan each tha mar cheò air sliabh,
A' giùlan an triath gu chliù.
Is fiadhaiche na fiadh an colg,
Co làidir ri iolair an neart;
Tha 'm fuaim mar an geamhradh borb
Air Gorm-mheall mùchta fo shneachd.
'Sa charbad chithear an triath,
Sàr mhac treun nan geur lann,
Cuchullin nan gorm-bhallach sgiath,
Mac Sheuma mu'n éireadh dan.
A ghruaidh mar an t-iubhair caoin,
A shuil nach b'fhaoin a' sgaoileadh àrd,
Fo mhala chruim, dhorchà, chaoil;

A chiabh bhuidhe 'n a caoir m'a cheann,
 'Taomadh mu ghnuis aluinn an fhuir,
 'S e 'tarruing a shleagh o 'chùil.
 Teich-sa, shàr cheannard nan long,
 Teich o'n t-sonn 's e 'tighinn a nall,
 Mar ghaillinn o ghleann nan sruth."

It is difficult to give an English rendering of the above passage that would convey the elegance and force of the original. The admirer of Gaelic poetry cannot but regret that the English reader cannot peruse the Gaelic version, assured, as he feels, that his doing so would raise considerably his estimate of the Gaelic muse. There is not, perhaps, in any language a richer piece of poetical description than the above. Macpherson's English version of it is as follows:—

"The car, the car of battle comes, like the flame of death; the rapid car of Cuchullin, the noble son of Semo. It bends behind like a wave near a rock; like the golden mist of the heath. Its sides are embossed with stones, and sparkle like the sea round the boat of night. Of polished yew is its beam, and its seat of the smoothest bone. The sides are replenished with spears; and the bottom is the footstool of heroes. Before the right side of the car is seen the snorting horse, the high-maned, broad-breasted, proud, high-leaping, strong steed of the hill. Loud and resounding is his hoof; the spreading of his mane above is like that stream of smoke on the heath. Bright are the sides of the steed, and his name is Sulin-sifadda. Before the left side of the car is seen the snorting horse; the thin-maned, high-headed, strong-hoofed, fleet, bounding son of the hill; his name is Dusronnal among the stormy sons of the sword. A thousand thongs bind the car on high. Hard polished bits shine in a wreath of foam. Thin thongs, bright-studded with gems, bend on the stately necks of the steeds—the steeds that, like wreaths of mist, fly over the streamy vales. The wildness of deer is in their course, the strength of the eagle descending on her prey. Their noise is like the blast of winter on the sides of the snow-headed Gormal.

"Within the car is seen the chief, the strong, stormy son of the sword; the hero's name is Cuchullin, son of Semo, king of shells. His red cheek is like my polished yew. The look of his blue rolling eye is wide beneath the dark

arch of his brow. His hair flies from his head like a flame, as, bending forward, he wields the spear. Fly, king of ocean, fly; he comes like a storm along the streamy vale."

The Gaelic scholar will at once observe that the above is a free but a fair translation of the original Gaelic, and the character of the translation is such as to give no idea of imposition. It is just such a translation as a man of poetic temperament and talent would give of the passage.

In 1763 Macpherson published a second quarto containing the poem of Temora in eight books, along with several other pieces. The first book of the former had appeared in the collection of 1762, the editor saying that it was merely the opening of the poem; but the great interest about the publication of 1763 is that here for the first time we are presented with the Gaelic original of one of the books of the poem. It is not true that Macpherson never offered to publish any portion of the original until he was obliged to do so by the pressure of public opinion, for in this case he published the Gaelic original of a part of the work altogether of his own accord. In a short introductory paragraph to the Gaelic, he says that he chooses the seventh book of Temora, "not from any other superior merit than the variety of its versification. To print any part of the former collection," he adds, "was unnecessary, as a copy of the originals lay for many months in the bookseller's hands for the inspection of the curious." Of this new publication, however, he sees it right to furnish a portion "for the satisfaction of those who doubt the authenticity of Ossian's poems." The editor adds that "though the erroneous orthography of the bards is departed from in many instances in the following specimen, yet several quiescent consonants are retained, to show the derivation of the words." He accounts for the uncouth appearance of the language by the use of the Roman letters, which are incapable of expressing the sounds of the Gaelic. What kind of orthography Macpherson would have selected he does not say. He could not be unacquainted with the phonetic orthography of the Dean of Lismore's book, and may, perhaps, have had it in view in the above remarks. But the orthography which he himself uses is neither the bardie nor

the phonetic, and is more uncouth than any orthography which the bards were in the habit of using. One thing is clear, that the Gaelic of the seventh book of Temora was never copied from any manuscript written by a bard. The book opens as follows :—

“O linna doir-choille na *Leigo*
 Air uair, eri' ceo taobh-ghorm nan tón;
 Nuair dhunas dorsa na h'oicha
 Air iulluir shuil-greina nan speur.
 Tomhail, mo Lara nan sruth
 Thaomas du'-nial, as doricha cruaim;
 Mar ghlas-scia', roi taoma nan nial
 Snamh seachad, ta Gellach na h'oicha.
 Le so edi' taisin o-shean
 An dlù-ghleus, a meac na gaoith,
 'S iad leumach o osna gn osna
 Air du'-aghai' oicha nan sian.
 An taobh oitaig, gu palin nan seoid
 Taomas iad cèach nan speur
 Gorm-thalla do thannais nach beo
 Gu am eri' fón marbh-rán nan tend.”

Translated by Macpherson thus :—

“From the wood-skirted waters of Lego ascend at times grey-bosomed mists; when the gates of the west are closed, on the sun's eagle eye. Wide over Lara's stream is poured the vapour dark and deep; the moon like a dim shield, is swimming through its folds. With this, clothe the spirits of old their sudden gestures on the wind when they stride from blast to blast along the dusky night. Often, blended with the gale, to some warrior's grave, they roll the mist, a grey dwelling to his ghost until the songs arise.”

Any reader who understands the Gaelic must allow, without hesitation, that while this is a free it is a fair rendering of the original; while he will be constrained to add that in point of force and elegance the Gaelic is superior to the English version. Many of the expletives in Gaelic are not rendered in English at all, and these add largely to the poetic force and beauty of the former. The orthography of the Gaelic will be seen to be most uncouth and unphilosophical. “Linna” for “Linne” has no principle to warrant it; so with “oicha” for “oidhche,” “Gellach” for “gealach,” “cruaim” for “gruaim,” “taisin” for “taibh-sean.” Then there are no accents to guide the reader except that the acute accent is used in such extraordinary words as “tón,” “fón,” which are written for “tonn,” “fonn.” Altogether it would appear that the writer of the Gaelic of this book of Temora was to a large extent unacquainted with Gaelic orthography, and was unable to write the Gaelic language accurately. The orthography is, indeed, a mere jumble. Still the fact is an interesting and significant one as connected with the whole

history of the Ossianic poetry that, at so early a period, Macpherson should have given, as a debt which he felt to be due to the public, a large specimen of the original of one of his poems. If there is any cause of regret connected with the matter, it is that he did not let the country know where he found these poems, and refer others to the sources whence he derived them himself. These have never been discovered by any body else, although numerous pieces of Ossianic poetry are well known in the Highlands to the present day.

There were various versions of Macpherson's collection, but the most interesting of all was the Gaelic original of the whole poems published in 1807. In this edition a Latin translation was furnished by Mr Robert M'Farlane. The book is a very handsome one, and in every way creditable to its editors. Mr M'Lachlan of Aberdeen revised the Gaelic, and no man was more competent for such a duty. The introduction to the edition of 1818 is understood to have been written by an excellent Gaelic scholar, the late Rev. Dr Ross of Lochbroom, and is an eloquent and powerful composition. Several translations of Ossian's poems have appeared, but the interest of the work is mainly associated with the name and labours of James Macpherson.

SMITH'S SEAN DANA.

In 1780 appeared a volume of Ossian's Poems, translated and edited by the Rev. John Smith of Kilbrandon, afterwards the Rev. Dr Smith of Campbeltown. The volume is entitled “Gaelic Antiquities, &c.,” containing, among other things, “A Collection of Ancient Poems, translated from the Gaelic of Ullin, Ossian, &c.” Dr Smith was an admirable Gaelic scholar, as was evidenced by his translation of a portion of the Scriptures into that language, and his metrical version of the Gaelic Psalms. The work before us is a work highly creditable to Dr. Smith's talents and industry, and although he complains of the reception which his efforts on behalf of Gaelic literature met with, it is still prized by Gaelic scholars.

In the year 1787 appeared the Gaelic version of the same poems in an octavo volume, entitled, “Sean Dana le Oisian, Orran, Ullann,

&c." It is a pity that the two versions did not appear simultaneously, as there have not been wanting those who have charged Dr. Smith, as was done in the case of Macpherson, with composing himself much of the poetry which he gives as Ossian's. The same has been said of another collector of the name of Kennedy, who collected a large number of poems which now lie in MS. in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh; but it is a curious fact that some of the pieces which Kennedy is said to have acknowledged having composed, can be shown to be ancient.

Dr. Smith's collection begins with the poem called "Dan an Deirg," *the Song of Dargo, or the Red Man*. It is a famous song in the Highlands, as is indicated by the proverbial saying, "Gach dàn gu dàn an Deirg," *Every song yields to the song of Dargo*. It was sung to a simple, touching air, which is still known. This poem is given by Dr. Smith in two sections, entitled severally, "A' cheud chuid," and "An dara cuid." The song is given by the M'Callums (referred to below), but it is most perplexing that not one word of their version agrees with Dr. Smith's. Their version is manifestly of the ancient form and rhythm, with the usual summary at the head of it given by Gaelic reciters ere beginning one of their songs. None of this is found in Dr. Smith's version, which is cast very much in the mould of Macpherson's Gaelic Ossian. Mr. J. A. Campbell, in his *Popular Tales of the Highlands* (vol. iii., p. 51), gives a few lines of the lament of the wife of Dargo for her husband, but they do not correspond in one line with the version of Dr. Smith. The same may be said of Dr. Smith's "Diarmad," which is entirely different from all the existing versions of the same poem. The versions of the Dean of Lismore and of Gillies (mentioned below) are identical, and so are to a large extent other existing versions taken down from oral recitation, but Dr. Smith's differs largely from them in locality, matter, and rhythm. It removes the story of the death of this Fingalian hero from Glenshee to Sliabh Ghaothail, in Kintyre. At the same time, it is quite possible that different poems existed bearing the same name; and Dr. Smith's poems are compositions of decided excellence. They add much to the stores of

the Gaelic scholar, and the English translation is done with a skill little inferior to that of Macpherson himself

OTHER COLLECTIONS OF OSSIANIC POEMS.

The earliest collector and publisher of the poems of Ossian was Mr. Jerome Stone at Dunkeld, who furnished the *Scots Magazine* in 1756 with a translation in rhyme of "Bàs Fhraoich," or the Death of Fraoch. Stone did not give the Gaelic original of this or of any other of his collections, but they were found after his death, and a selection of them is printed in the Report of the Highland Society on Ossian. A Mr Hill, an English gentleman, made some collections in Argyleshire in 1780; and several pieces were published by a bookseller of the name of Gillies at Perth, who published an excellent volume of Gaelic poetry in 1786.

Gillies's pieces have the true ring of the ancient poetry of the Highlands, and are in many cases to be found floating still among the traditional poetry of the people. The Ossianic pieces are numerous. They are—"Suiridh Oisein air Eamhair àluinn," *the Courtship of Ossian and Eivralin*; "Comhrag Fhinn agus Mhanuis," *the Conflict of Fingal and Manus*; "Marbhadh Chonlaoich le Cuchullain," *the Slaughter of Conlach by Cuchullin*; "Aisling Mhailmhèine," *Malvina's Dream*; "Briathran Fhinn ri Oscar," *Fingal's Address to Oscar*; "Rosg Ghuill," *the War-song of Gaul*; "Dàn na h-Inghin," *the Song of the Maiden*, usually called "Fainesoluis"; "Conn mac an Deirg," *Conn, son of Dargo*; "Duan Fhraoich," *the Song of Fraoch*; "Cath rìgh Sorcha," *the Battle of the King of Sorcha*; "Marbh-rann Oscair," *the Death-song of Oscar*; "Ceardach Mhic Luinn," *the Smithy of the Son of Linn*; "Duan a Mhuireartaich," *the Song of Muireartach*; "Caoidh Dheirdir," *Deirdre's Lament*, in which the poem given already from the old MS. of 1268 appears as a part of it. It is most interesting in this case to compare the written with the traditional poem; "Bàs Dhiarmaid," *the Death of Diarmad*; "Dearg mac Deirg," *the Song of Dargo*; "Teanntachd mòr na Feinn," *the great trial of the Fingalians*; "Laoidh Laomuinn mhic an Uaimh-fhir," *the Song of Laomuinn*;

"Eairagan," *Earragon*; "Na Brataichean," *the Banners*; "Bàs Osaìr," *the Death of Oscar*; in all twenty-one fragments or whole pieces, some of them of considerable length, and almost all, if not all, taken down from oral recitation. This list is given in full, in order to show what pieces of professed Ossianic poetry could be found in the Highlands soon

after the publication of Macpherson's work by other and independent compilers. A comparison of those pieces with Macpherson's Ossian is interesting to the inquirer in this field. The following specimen of one of Gillies's alleged compositions of Ossian may be given here:—

English Translation.

BRIATHRAN FHINN RI OSCAR.

A mhic mo mhic 's e thubhairt an rìgh,
Osaìr, a rìgh nan òg fhìlath,
Chunnaic mi dealradh do lann 's b'e m' naill
'Bhì 'g amharc do bhuaidh 's a chath.
Lean gu dlù ri cliù do shìnsireachd
'S na dìbir a bhì mar iadsan.
'N uair bu bheò Treunmhor nan rath,
'Us Trathull athair nan treun laoch,
Chuir iad gach cath le buaidh,
'Us bhuannaich iad cliù gach teughbail.
'Us mairidh an iomradh 's an dàn
Air chuimhn' aig na baird an déigh so.
O! Osaìr, claidh thus' an treun-armach,
'S thoir tearmunnd do'n lag-lamhach, fheumach;
Bì mar bhuinne-shruth reothairt geamhraidh
Thoirt gleachd do naimhdibh na Feinn,
Ach mar fhann-ghaath sheimh, thlàth, shamhraidh,
Bì dhoibhsan a shìreas do chabhar.
Mar sin bha Treunmhor nam buadh,
'S bha Trathull nan ruag 'n a dheigh ann,
'S bha Fionn 'na thaic do 'n fhann
'G a dhion o ainneart luchd-eucoir.
'N a aobhar shìnninn mo lamh,
Le failte rachainn 'n a choinnimh,
'Us gheibheadh e fàgath 'us caird,
Fo sgàil dhrithlinneach mo loinne.

The above is a true relic of the ancient Ossianic poetry, full of power and full of life, and indicates the existence of a refinement among the ancient Celts for which the opponents of Macpherson would not give them credit. Gillies tells us that his collection was made from gentlemen in every part of the Highlands. It is perhaps the most interesting collection of Highland song which we possess.

In 1816 there appeared a collection of Gaelic poetry by Hugh and John M'Callum. It was printed at Montrose, and the original Gaelic version and an English translation were published simultaneously. The work is called "An Original Collection of the Poems of Ossian, Orann, Ulin, and other bards who flourished in the same age." There are twenty-six pieces altogether, and the editors give the sources whence they were all derived. These are such as Duncan Matheson in Snizort, Isle of Skye; Hector M'Phail in Torasay, Mull;

ADDRESS OF FINGAL TO OSCAR.

Son of my son, so said the king,
Oscar, prince of youthful heroes,
I have seen the glitter of thy blade, and 'twas my pride
To see thy triumph in the conflict.
Cleave thou fast to the fame of thine ancestors,
And do not neglect to be like them.
When Treunmor the fortunate lived,
And Trathull the father of warriors,
They fought each field triumphantly,
And won the fame in every fight.
And their names shall flourish in the song
Commemorated henceforth by the bards.
Oh! Oscar, crush thou the armed hero,
But spare the feeble and the needy;
Be as the rushing winter, spring-tide, stream,
Giving battle to the foes of the Fingalians,
But as the gentle, soothing, summer breeze
To such as seek for thy help.
Such was Treunmor of victories,
And Trathull of pursuits, thereafter,
And Fingal was a help to the weak,
To save him from the power of the oppressor.
In his cause I would stretch out my hand,
With a welcome I would go to meet him,
And he should find shelter and friendship
Beneath the glittering shade of my sword.

Donald M'Innes, teacher, Gribun, Mull; Dr. M'Donald of Killeen, from whom "Teanntachd mòr na Feinn" was obtained—the Doctor maintaining, it appears, that his version was a better one than that given by Gillies; Archibald M'Callum in Killeen; and others who furnish "Laoidh nan ceann," a poem found in the collection of the Dean of Lismore, as are several others of the M'Callums' collection.

This collection is a very admirable one, perfectly honest, and presents us with some compositions of high poetic merit. The addresses of Ossian to the sun, which Macpherson declines to give in Gaelic, substituting for one of them a series of asterisks, although he gives it in English, are here given in both languages; and the Gaelic versions are perhaps the finest compositions in the book. The address to the setting sun is here given as a specimen of the M'Callums' collection:—

OISSIAN DO 'N GHREIN AN AM LUIDH.

An d' fhàg tha gorm astar nan speur,
 A mhic gun bheud a's òr bhuidh ciabh?
 Tha dorsa na h-oidheche dhuit féin,
 Agus pàilliun do ehlos 's an Iar,
 Thig na tonna mu'n cuairt gu mall
 'Choinhead an fhir a 's gloire gruaidh,
 A' togail fo eagal an ceann
 Ri 'd fhaicinn cho àillidh a'd shnain;
 Theich iadsan gun tuar o'd thaobh.
 Gabh-sa codal ann ad uaimh
 A ghrian, 'us pill an tùs le h-aobhneas.
 Mar bhoillsge grein' 's a gheamhradh
 'S e ruith 'n a dheann le raon Lena
 Is amhuil laithe nam Fiann.
 Mar ghrian eadar frasaibh a' tréigsinn
 Dh' aom neoil chlar-dhubh nan speur,
 'Us bhuin iad an deò aoibhinn o 'n t-sealgair,
 Tha lom gheugan na coill' a' caoidh,
 Is maoth lusrach an t-sleibh' a' seargadh;
 Ach pillidh fathasd a' ghrian
 Ri dòire sgiamhach nan geug ùra,
 'Us nì gach crann 's a Chéitean gaire
 Ag amharc an àird ri mac an speura.

The collection of the M'Callums was a real addition to the stores of Gaelic poetry, and is most helpful in bringing to a satisfactory conclusion the whole question of the ancient Gaelic poetry of Scotland. Were there no other Gaelic compositions in existence save those pieces which this volume contains, they would be sufficient to prove the high character of the heroic poetry of the Scottish Gael for everything that constitutes true poetic power.

It would be wrong in such a sketch as this to overlook the interesting and ingenious contribution made to the discussion of the Ossianic question in the third and fourth volumes of Mr. J. Campbell's *Tales of the West Highlands*. The whole four volumes are full of interesting materials for the student of Gaelic literature and antiquities, but the third and fourth volumes are those in which a place is given to the ancient Ossianic poems. Mr. Campbell, the representative of a distinguished Highland family, and unlike many of the class to which he belongs, an excellent Gaelic scholar, made collections on his own account all over the Highlands. He had as his chief coadjutor in the work Mr. Hector M'Lean, teacher in Islay, and he could not have had a better—Mr M'Lean being possessed of scholarship, enthusiasm, and sound judgment. The result is a very remarkable collection of the oral literature of the Highlands, including selections from a large amount of poetry attributed to Ossian. This book is a truly honest book, giving the

English Translation.

OSSIAN'S ADDRESS TO THE SETTING SUN.

Hast thou left the blue course of the sky?
 Faultless son of golden locks?
 The gates of the night are for thee,
 And thy place of repose is in the west.
 The waves gather slowly around
 To see him of fairest countenance;
 Raising their heads in fear.
 As they witness thy beauty in repose,
 They fled pale from thy side.
 Take thou rest in thy cave,
 O sun, and return with rejoicing.
 As the sunbeam in the winter time
 Descending quick on the slope of Lena,
 So are the days of the Fingalians.
 As the sun becoming darkened among showers,
 The dark clouds of the sky descended
 And bore away the joyous light from the huntsman.
 The bare branches of the wood weep,
 And the soft herbage of the mountain withers.
 But the sun shall return again
 To the beautiful forest of the fresh-clothed branch,
 And each bough shall smile in the early summer,
 Looking up to the son of the sky.

compositions collected just as they were found among the native Highlanders. We shall take occasion again to refer to the Sgeulachds, or tales, and shall only refer at present to the Ossianic remains presented to us by Mr. Campbell.

Mr. Campbell's collections include most of the pieces that have been brought together in the same way, with such variations, of course, as must be looked for in the circumstances. He furnishes us with a version of the Lay of Diarmad (vol. iii., 50), having peculiar features of its own, but to a large extent identical with the versions of the Dean of Lismore and of Gillies. It is of much interest to compare this version, taken down within the last few years, with one taken down one hundred years ago, and another taken down three hundred and fifty years ago. The retentive power of human memory for generations is remarkably illustrated by the comparison. Mr Campbell also gives us "The Lay of Oscar," "The Praise of Gaul," "The Poem of Oscar," and several other minor compositions, some of which had never before been printed. These, with Mr. Campbell's own disquisitions, are full of interest; but for the details we must refer the reader to Mr. Campbell's volumes.

From all that has been written on the subject of these ancient Gaelic poems of Ossian, it is perfectly clear that Ossian himself is no creation of James Macpherson. His name has been familiar to the people both of the High-

lands and Ireland, for a thousand years and more. "Oisian an deigh na Feinn," *Ossian after the Fingalians*, has been a proverbial saying among them for numberless generations. Nor did Macpherson invent Ossian's poems. There were poems reputed to be Ossian's in the Highlands for centuries before he was born, and poems, too, which for poetic power and interest are unsurpassed; which speak home to the heart of every man who can sympathise with popular poetry marked by the richest felicities of diction; and which entitles them justly to all the commendation bestowed upon the poems edited by Macpherson.

MODERN GAELIC LITERATURE.

It will be seen that a large proportion of the existing Gaelic literature of the early period is poetical. Not that it is so altogether, by any means; and if any large amount of it had come down to us, there is no reason for believing that so large a share of it would be poetical. But the prose MS. writings of the ancient Gael have, with the few exceptions already referred to, perished; and have left us with such poetical compositions as adhered to the national memory.

As we enter upon the era of printing, we are disposed to look for a more extensive literature, and no doubt we find it. But with the era of printing came the use of another language, and the Gaelic ceased to be the vehicle for carrying abroad the thoughts of the learned. Religion still continued to make use of its services, but it ceased to be the handmaid of science and philosophy.

The first printed Gaelic book which we find is Bishop Carsewell's Gaelic translation of the Liturgy of John Knox. It is well known that Knox compiled a prayer-book for the use of the Scottish Reformed Church, and that it was thought desirable that this prayer-book should be translated into the Gaelic language for the use of the Highlanders. The translation was undertaken by Mr. John Carsewell, who was appointed superintendent of the ancient diocese of Argyle, which office he filled for many years. The book was printed at Edinburgh, in 1567. The language is what is in modern times called Irish, but might in Carsewell's time be called Scotch, for none other was

written in Scotland in so far as Gaelic was written at all. There are but three copies of this book known to exist—an entire copy in the library of the Duke of Argyle, and two imperfect copies, one in the library of the University of Edinburgh, and one in the British Museum. This book was printed before one line of Irish Gaelic was printed. Extracts from the volume will be found in the *Highland Society's Report upon Ossian*, and in M'Lauchlan's *Celtic Gleanings*. The former extract is made to show that the names of Fingal and the Fingalians were well known in the Highlands at the period of the Reformation. In 1631 a translation of Calvin's Catechism appeared, probably executed by Carsewell.

In 1659 appeared the first fifty of the Psalms of David in metre by the Synod of Argyle. It is called "An ceud chaogad do Shalmaibh Dhaibhidh a meadrachd Gaoidhilg," *the first Fifty of the Psalms of David in Gaelic Metre*. The language of the original here is what is called Irish, although it is, as is the Gaelic or Carsewell, the ordinary written Gaelic of the period. This translation forms the groundwork of all the editions of the Psalms that have been used since in the Scottish Church. The rest of the Psalms followed the first fifty in 1694, and the Psalter of the Argyle Synod became then complete. The introduction to the little volume of 1659 details the difficulties which the authors met in converting the Psalms into Gaelic metre, one of which, they say, was the necessity of adapting them to the structure of the English Psalm tunes. How Gaelic congregational singing was conducted in the Highlands previous to this little book appearing, it is hard to say. The introduction concludes with the words, "Anois, a Legthora, dense dithcheall ann sann obair bhigse bhui-linghadh gu maith, agus guidh ar an Tigh-earna é fein do bheannughadh an tshoisgeil ann sna tirthaibh gaoidhlachsa, agus lasair shoilleir lán teasa do dheanamh don tsraid bhig do lasadh cheana ionta. Grasa maille roit."

English Translation.

"And now, reader, strive to use this little work, and pray the Lord that He himself would bless the gospel in these Gaelic lands,

and that He would make a bright flame full of heat of this little spark which has been now lighted in it."

This little volume is now scarce, but full of interest to the Gaelic student.

Alongside of the Synod of Argyle, another indefatigable labourer in the same field was at work. This was Mr Robert Kirk, minister at Balquhiddy. There seems to have been no Rob Roy in the district at the time, and Mr. Kirk appears to have had a quiet life in his Highland parish; more so, indeed, than other Scottish ministers of the time, for he seems to have been engaged in his translation during the heat of the persecution of the Covenanters, and it was published in 1684, four years before the Revolution. Kirk is said to have been so anxious to have precedence of the Synod of Argyle, that he invented a machine for awakening him in the morning by means of water made to fall upon his face at a certain hour. His Psalter preceded that of the Synod by a period of ten years.

Mr Kirk dedicates his volume, which is published with the sanction of the Privy Council, and with the approbation of "the Lords of the Clergy, and some reverend ministers who best understand the Irish language," to the Marquis of Athole, &c., of whom he says that his "Lordship has been of undoubted courage and loyalty for the king, and still amongst inflexible to the persuasions or threats of frozen neutralists or flaming incendiaries in Church or State." Kirk further states that the work was "done by such as attained not the tongue (which he calls Scottish-Irish) without indefatigable industry," manifestly pointing to himself as one who had so acquired it.

This little volume of the minister of Balquhiddy is a most interesting contribution to our Gaelic literature. The language is what many writers call Irish, although there is no reason to believe that Mr Kirk ever was in Ireland, or conversed with speakers of Irish Gaelic. He knew and used the dialect which writers of the Gaelic language had used for centuries, and used at the time. No Irish writer could use a dialect more purely Irish than that found in Kirk's Gaelic preface. Kirk concludes his preface with the following lines:—

Imthigh a Dhuilleachain gu dàn,
Le Dan glan diagha duisg iad thall.
Cuir failte air Fonn fial na bFionn,
Ar garbh-chriocha, 's Indseadh gall.

English Translation.

Go, little leaflet, boldly,
With pure holy songs wake them yonder,
Salute the hospitable land of the Fingalians,
The rugged borders, and the Isles of the strangers.

"The land of the Fingalians" was the Highlands generally; "the rugged borders" was the west coast of Inverness-shire and Ross-shire; and "the Isles of the Strangers" were the Hebrides, so called from being long in possession of the Norsemen.

In 1690 Mr Kirk edited in Roman letters an edition of Bedel's Irish Bible, with O'Donnell's New Testament, for the use of the Highlanders. Kirk says in the title-page of the work, "Nocha ta anois chum maithreas coit-cheann na nGaidheil Albanach athruighe go hair-each as an litir Eireandha chum na mion-litir shoileighidh Romhanta" *which is now for the common good of the Highlanders changed carefully from the Irish letter to the small readable Roman letter.* At the close of the book there is a vocabulary of Irish words with their Gaelic equivalents. Many of the equivalents are as difficult to understand as the original Irish.

In 1694 the completed Psalm-book of the Synod of Argyle appeared. It was very generally accepted, and although some editions of Kirk's Psalter appeared, the Synod's Psalter became the Psalter of the Church, and was the basis of all the metrical versions of the Gaelic Psalms that have appeared since.

The Shorter Catechism was published in Gaelic by the Synod of Argyle about the same time with their first fifty Psalms. Numerous editions have been printed since, and perhaps there is no better specimen of the Gaelic language in existence than what is to be found in the common versions of it. The earlier versions are in the dialect so often referred to, called Irish. The title of the book is "Foirceadul aithghearr cheasnuighe, an dus ar na ordughadh le coimhthional na Ndiaghairleadh ag Niarmanister an Sasgan, &c." That may be called Irish, but it was a Scottish book written by Scottish men.

In 1725 the Synod of Argyle, who cannot be too highly commended for their anxiety to

promote the spiritual good of their countrymen in the Highlands, published a translation of the Confession of Faith into Gaelic. It is a small duodecimo volume printed at Edinburgh. The Larger and Shorter Catechisms, with the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed follow the Confession. The book is well printed, and the language is still the so-called Irish. The title runs:—"Admhail an Chreidimh, air an do reitigh air ttus coimh-thionol na nDiaghairleadh aig Niarmhoinister an Sasgan; &c. . . ar na chur a Ngaidheilg le Seanadh Earraghaidheal." *The Confession of Faith, &c., translated into Gaelic by the Synod of Argyle.*

It is interesting with respect to the dialect in which all the works referred to appear, to inquire whence the writers obtained it, if it be simply Irish. Carsewell's Prayer-book appeared before any work in Irish Gaelic was printed. The ministers of the Synod of Argyle were surely Scottish Highlanders and not Irishmen. Mr Kirk of Balquidder was a lowland Scot who acquired the Gaelic tongue. Now these men, so far as we know, were never in Ireland, and there were no Irish-Gaelic books from which they could acquire the tongue. There might be manuscripts, but it is not very probable that men would inspect manuscripts in order to enable them to write in a dialect that was foreign to the people whom they intended to benefit. Yet these all write in the same dialect, and with the identical same orthography. Surely this proves that the Scottish Gael were perfectly familiar with that dialect as the language of their literature, that its orthography among them was fixed, that the practice of writing it was common, as much so as among the Irish, and that the people readily understood it. It is well known that the reading of the Irish Bible was common in Highland churches down to the beginning of this century, and that the letter was, from the abbreviations used, called "A' chorra litir," and was familiar to the people. At the same time, the language was uniformly called Irish, as the people of the Highlands were called Irish, although there never was a greater misnomer. Such a designation was never employed by the people themselves, and was only used by those who wrote and spoke English. In the title of

the Confession of Faith published in Gaelic in 1725, it is said to be translated into the Irish language by the Synod of Argyle.

GAELIC BIBLE.

Religious works formed the staple of the literature issued from the Gaelic press from the period now spoken of to the present day. The great want for many years was the Bible. For a long time the clergy used the Irish edition reprinted for the use of the Highlands by Mr Kirk; but this was not satisfactory, from the difference of the dialect; many in consequence preferred translating from the English. This habit pervaded all classes, and it is not improbable that there are in the Highlands still persons who prefer translating the Scriptures for their own use to the common version. Certain traditional forms of translation were at one time in general use, and occasionally the translations given bordered on the ludicrous. A worthy man was once translating the phrase "And they were astonished," and he made it "Bha iad air an clachadh," *They were stoned*. It was in every way desirable that a correct translation of the Gaelic Bible should be provided for the use of the Highlands, and this was finally undertaken by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. The person employed to perform the work was the Rev. James Stewart of Killin, a man fully qualified for it, and although his translation retained too much of the Irish dialect of O'Donnell's Irish New Testament, it was welcomed as a highly creditable work, and as a great boon to the Highlands. Many minor changes have been made in the Gaelic New Testament of 1767, but it has been the basis of all subsequent editions which have sought merely to render certain portions of the work more idiomatic and pleasing to a Scottish ear. The publishing of this version of the New Testament proved a great benefit to the Highlands.

Soon after the publication of the New Testament, it was resolved that the Old Testament should be translated into Gaelic also. This work, like the former, was undertaken by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, assisted by a collection made throughout the congregations of the Church of Scotland

amounting to £1483. The principal translator employed was the Rev. Dr John Stewart of Luss, son of the translator of the New Testament, who translated three portions of the work, while a fourth portion, including the Prophets, was executed by the Rev. Dr Smith, of Campbellton, the accomplished editor of the *Seann Dana*. The whole work was completed and published in the year 1801. This work has been of incalculable service to the Highlands, and is one of the many benefits conferred upon that portion of the country by the excellent Society who undertook it. Objections have been taken to the many Irish idioms introduced into the language, and to the extent to which the Irish orthography was followed, but these are minor faults, and the work itself is entitled to all commendation.

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE ENGLISH.

Much of our modern Gaelic prose literature consists of translations from the English. In this the Gaelic differs from the Welsh, in which is to be found a large amount of original prose writing on various subjects. This has arisen from the demand for such a literature being less among the Highlanders, among whom the English language has made greater progress, so much so, that when a desire for extensive reading exists, it is generally attended with a sufficient knowledge of English. Translations of religious works, however, have been relished, and pretty ample provision has been made to meet the demand. The first book printed in modern Scottish Gaelic was a translation of Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, executed by the Rev. Alex. M'Farlane, of Kilninver, and published in 1750. There is much of the Irish orthography and idiom retained in this work, but it is a near approach to the modern spoken language of the Highlands. Since then many of the works of well-known religious authors have been translated and published, among which may be mentioned works by Boston, Bunyan, Brookes, Colquhoun, and Doddridge. These are much prized and read throughout the Highlands. The translations are of various excellence; some of them accurate and elegant, while others are deficient in both these qualities. Dr Smith's version of

Alleine's *Alarm* is an admirable specimen of translation, and is altogether worthy of the fame of Dr Smith. The same may be said of Mr M'Farlane's translation of *The History of Joseph*, which is an excellent specimen of Gaelic writing. The *Monthly Visitor* tract has been translated by the writer for the last twelve years, and it has a large circulation.

ORIGINAL PROSE WRITINGS.

Of these Mr Reid, in his *Bibliotheca Scotto-Celtica*, gives but a scanty catalogue. He gives but a list of ten, most of them single sermons. There are several other such writings, however, which have been added since Reid's list was made up. Among these appears M'Kenzie's *Bliadhna Thearlaich*, "Charles's year," a vigorous well-written account of the rebellion of 1745-6. M'Kenzie was the compiler of a volume of Gaelic poetry in which the best specimens of the works of the bards are generally given, and although having ideas of his own on the subject of orthography, few men knew the Gaelic language better. We have also a volume on astronomy by the Rev. D. Connell; and a *History of Scotland* by the Rev. Angus Mackenzie, both of them creditable performances. It is doubtful how far these works have been patronised by the public, and how far they have been of pecuniary benefit to their authors, but they are deserving works, and if they have not proved a remunerative investment, it is from want of interest on the part of the readers more than from want of ability on the part of the writers. In addition to these have been several magazines, the contents of which have in some instances been collected into a volume and published separately. Of these are *An teachdaire Gaidhealach*, "The Gaelic Messenger," edited by the late Rev. Dr M'Leod of Glasgow, and a Free Church magazine *An Fhianuis*, "The Witness," edited by the Rev. Dr Mackay, now of Harris. "The Gaelic Messenger," *An Teachdaire Gaidhealach*, contained a large proportion of papers furnished by the editor, Dr M'Leod. These have been since that time collected into a volume by his son-in-law the Rev. Archibald Clerk of Kilmallie, and published under the title of *Caraid nan Gaidheal*, "The Friend of the Highlanders." This is an admirable volume, containing, as it does, our best

specimens of racy, idiomatic Gaelic, of which Dr M'Leod was a master. It is a most interesting addition to our Gaelic literature. Besides this, Dr M'Leod produced *Leabhar nan Cnoc*, "The Book of the Knowes," a school collection of prose and poetry, and several other lesser works. The *Leabhar nan Cnoc* is an admirable collection of fragments, well adapted for school use, and at the same time interesting to the general reader,

But the most remarkable addition that has recently been made to Gaelic prose literature is Mr J. F. Campbell's collection of "Sgeulachdan" or ancient Highland tales. It was long known that a large amount of this kind of literature existed in the Highlands; that it formed the treasure of the reciter, a character recognised and appreciated in every small community; and that it was the staple fireside amusement of many a winter evening. Specimens of this literature appeared occasionally in print, and one of great interest, and remarkably well given, called *Spiorad na h-aoise*, "The Spirit of Age," appears in *Leabhar nan Cnoc*, the collection already spoken of. Mr Campbell set himself to collect this literature from the traditions of the people, and he has embodied the result in four goodly volumes, which every lover of the language and literature of the Celt must prize. Many coadjutors aided Mr Campbell in his undertaking, and he was happy in finding, as has been already said, in Mr Hector M'Lean, teacher, Islay, a most efficient collector and transcriber of the tales. These tales were known among the Highlanders as "Sgeulachdan" Tales, or "Ursgeulan" Noble Tales, the latter having reference usually to stories of the Fingalian heroes. They are chiefly "Folk lore" of the kinds which are now known to pervade the world amongst a certain class as their oral literature. The Tales themselves are of various degrees of merit, and are manifestly derived from various sources. Some of them took their origin in the fertile imagination

of the Celt, while others are obviously of classical origin, and are an adaptation of ancient Greek and Latin stories to the taste of the Celt of Scotland. Mr Campbell, in his disquisitions accompanying the tales, which are often as amusing and instructive as the tales themselves, traces numerous bonds of connection between them and similar legends common to almost all the European nations. He shows where they meet and where they diverge, and makes it very clear that most of them must have had a common origin. It has been maintained that many of these legends were brought to Scotland by returning Crusaders; that they were often the amusement of the camp among these soldiers of the ancient Church; and that, related among hearers of all nations, they became dispersed among those nations, and that thus Scotland came to obtain and to retain her share of them.

That Scotland felt largely the influence of the Crusades cannot be denied by any observant student of her history. Her whole political and social system was modified by them, while to them is largely due the place and power which the mediæval Church obtained under the government of David I. That Scottish literature should have felt their influence is more than likely, and it is possible, although it is hardly safe to go further, that some of these tales of the Scottish Highlands owe their existence to the wanderings of Scottish Crusaders. Be their origin, however, what it may, they afford a deeply interesting field of enquiry to the student of the popular literature of the country. In our own view, they are of great value, as presenting us with admirable specimens of idiomatic Gaelic. We transcribe one tale, making use of the ordinary orthography of the Gaelic, Mr Campbell having used forms of spelling which might serve to express the peculiarities of the dialect in which he found them couched.

MAOL A CHLIOBAIN.

Bha bantrach ann roimhe so, 'us bha trì nigheanan aice, 'us thubhairt iad rithe, gu'n rachadh iad a dh'iarraidh an fhortain. Dheasaich i trì bonnach. Thubhairt i ris an té mhòir, "Cò aca is fhearr leat an leth bheag 'us mo bheannachd, no'n leth mhòr 's mo mhallachd?" "Is fhearr leam, ars' ise, an leth mhòr 'us do mhallachd." Thubhairt i ris an té mheadhonaich,

English Translation.

There was a widow once of a time, and she had three daughters, and they said to her that they were going to seek their fortunes. She prepared three bannocks. She said to the big daughter, "Whether do you like best the little half with my blessing, or the big half with my curse?" "I like best," said she, "the big half with your curse." She said to the

"Co aca's fhearr leat an leth bheag 'us mo bheannachd, no'n leth mhòr 'us mo mhallachd." "Is fhearr leam an leth mhòr 'us do mhallachd," 'ars' ise. Thubhairt i ris an té bhigh, Co aca's fhearr leat an leth mhòr 'us mo mhallachd, no'n leth bheag 's mo bheannachd?" "Is fhearr leam an leth bheag 'us do bheannachd." Chord so r'a màthair, 'us thug i dhì an leth eile cuid-eachd.

Dh' fhalbh iad, ach cha robh toil aig an dithis 'bu shine an té 'b'òige 'bhi leo, 'us cheangail iad i ri carragh cloiche. Ghabh iad air an aghaidh, 's 'n uair a dh'amhaire iad as an déigh, co a chunnaic iad ach ise 'us a' chreig air a muin. Leig iad leatha car treis gus an d'ràinig iad crauch mhòine, 'us cheangail iad ris a chruaich mhòine i. Ghabh iad air an aghaidh treis, 'us dh'amhaire iad 'n an déigh, 'us cò a chunnaic iad ach ise a' tighinn, 's a' chruaich mhòine air a muin. Leig iad leatha car tacan gus an d'ràinig iad craobh, 'us cheangail iad ris a' chraoibh i. Ghabh iad air an aghaidh treis, 'us 'n uair a dh'amhaire iad 'n an déigh, cò a chunnaic iad ach ise a' tighinn, 's a' chraobh air a muin. Chunnaic iad nach robh maith bhi rithe. Dh'fhuasgail iad i 'us leig iad leo i. Bha iad a' falbh gus an d'thàinig an oidhche orra. Chunnaic iad solus fada uatha, 'us na b'fhada uatha, cha b'fhada bha iadsan 'g a ruigheachd. Chaidh iad a stigh. Ciod e bha so ach tigh fhaimh. Dh'iarr iad fuireach 's an oidhche. Fhuair iad sin 'us chuireadh a luidhe iad le trì nigheanan an fhaimh.

Bha caran de chneapan òmbair mu mhuinealan nigheanan an fhaimh, agus sreangan gaosaid mu'm muinealan-san. Choidil iad air fad, ach cha do choidil Maol a' chliobain. Feadh na h-oidhche thàinig path-adh air an fhaimh. Ghlaodh e r'a ghille maol carrach uisge 'thoirt d'a ionnsuidh. Thubhairt an gille maol carrach nach robh deur a stigh. "Marbh, ars' esan, té de na nigheanan coimheach, 'us thoir a'm ionnsuidh-se a fuil." "Ciamar a dh' aithnìcheas mi eatorra?" 'ars' an gille maol carrach. "Tha caran de chneapan mu mhuinealan mo nigheanan-sa, agus caran gaosaid mu mhuinealan chàich." Chuala Maol a' chliobain am fhamhar, 'us cho elis 's a 'b'urrainn i, chuir i na sreangan gaosaid a bha m'a muineal féin agus mu mhuinealan a peathraichean mu mhuinealan nigheanan an fhaimh, agus na cneapan a bha mu mhuinealan nigheanan an fhaimh in'a muineal féin agus mu mhuinealan a peathraichean, 'us luidh i sìos gu samhach. Thàinig an gille maol carrach, 'us mharbh e té de nigheanan an fhaimh, 'us thug e an fhuil d'a ionnsuidh. Dh'iarr e tuilleadh a thoirt d'a ionnsuidh. Mharbh e an ath thé. Dh'iarr e tuilleadh 'us mharbh e an treas té. Dh'uisg Maol a' chliobain a' peathraichean, 'us thug i air a muin iad, 'us ghabh i air falbh. Mhothaich am fhamhar dith 'us lean e i.

Na spreadan teine a bha ise 'cur as na clachan le a sàiltean, bha iad a' bualadh an fhaimh 's an smigead; agus na spreadan teine a bha am fhamhar 'toirt as na clachan le barraibh a chos, bha iad a' bualadh Mhaol a' chliobain an cùl a' chinn. Is e so 'bu dual doibh gus an d'ràinig iad amhainn. Leum Maol a' chliobain an amhainn 'us cha 'b'urrainn am fhamhar an amhainn a leum. "Tha thu thall, a Mhaol a' chliobain." "Tha, ma's oil leat." "Mharbh thu mo thrì nigheanan maola, ruagha." "Mharbh, ma 's oil leat." "Us c'uine thig thu ris?" "Thig, 'n uair bheir mo ghnothuch ann mi."

Ghabh iad air an aghaidh gus an d'ràinig iad tigh tuathanaich. Bha aig an tuathanach trì mic. Dh'innis iad mar a thachair dhoibh. Ars' an tuatha ach ri Maol a' chliobain, "Bheir mi mo mhac a's sine do'd phìuthair a's sine, 'us faigh dhomh eir mhin òir, 'us eir gharbh airgid, a th'aig an fhaimh." "Cha chosd e tuilleadh dhuit," ars' Maol a' chliobain. Dh'fhalbh i 'us ràinig i tigh an fhaimh. Fhuair i stigh gun fhios. Thug i leatha na cirean 'us dhalbh i mach.

middle one, "Whether do you like best the big half with my curse, or the little half with my blessing?" "I like best," said she, "the big half with your curse." She said to the little one, "Whether do you like best the big half with my curse, or the little half with my blessing?" "I like best the little half with your blessing." This pleased her mother, and she gave her the other half likewise.

They left, but the two older ones did not wish to have the younger one with them, and they tied her to a stone. They held on, and when they looked behind them, whom did they see coming but her with the rock on her back. They let her alone for a while until they reached a stack of peats, and they tied her to the peat-stack. They held on for a while, when whom did they see coming but her with the stack of peats on her back. They let her alone for a while until they reached a tree, and they tied her to the tree. They held on, and whom did they see coming but her with the tree on her back. They saw that there was no use in meddling with her. They loosed her, and they let her come with them. They were travelling until night overtook them. They saw a light far from them, and if it was far from them they were not long reaching it. They went in. What was this but the house of a giant. They asked to remain overnight. They got that, and they were set to bed with the three daughters of the giant.

There were turns of amber beads around the necks of the giant's daughters, and strings of hair around their necks. They all slept, but Maol a' chliobain kept awake. During the night the giant got thirsty. He called to his bald rough-skinned lad to bring him water. The bald rough-skinned lad said that there was not a drop within. "Kill," said he, "one of the strange girls, and bring me her blood." "How will I know them?" said the bald rough-skinned lad. "There are turns of beads about the necks of my daughters, and turns of hair about the necks of the rest." Maol a' chliobain heard the giant, and as quickly as she could she put the strings of hair that were about her own neck and the necks of her sisters about the necks of the giant's daughters, and the beads that were about the necks of the giant's daughters about her own neck and the necks of her sisters, and laid herself quietly down. The bald rough-skinned lad came and killed one of the daughters of the giant, and brought him her blood. He bade him bring him more. He killed the second one. He bade him bring him more, and he killed the third. Maol a' chliobain awakened her sisters, and she took them on her back and went away. The giant observed her, and he followed her.

The sparks of fire which she was driving out of the stones with her heels were striking the giant in the chin, and the sparks of fire that the giant was taking out of the stones with the points of his feet, they were striking Maol a' chliobain in the back of her head. It was thus with them until they reached a river. Maol a' chliobain leaped the river, and the giant could not leap the river. "You are over, Maol a' chliobain." "Yes, if it vex you." "You killed my three bald red-skinned daughters." "Yes, if it vex you." "And when will you come again?" "I will come when my business brings me."

They went on till they reached a farmer's house. The farmer had three sons. They told what happened to them. Says the farmer to Maol a' chliobain, "I will give my eldest son to your eldest sister, and get for me the smooth golden comb and the rough silver comb that the giant has." "It won't cost you more," said Maol a' chliobain. She left and reached the giant's house. She got in without being seen. She took the combs and hastened out. The giant observed her, and

Mhothaich am famhar dhùth; 'us as a deigh a bha e gus an d'ràinig e an amhainn. Leum ise an amhainn 'us cha b'urrainn an famhar an amhainn a leum. "Tha thu thall, a Mhaol a' chliobain." "Tha, ma 's oil leat." "Mharbh, thu mo thri nigheanan maola, ruagha." "Mharbh, ma 's oil leat." "Ghoid thu mo chlr mhin òir, 'us mo chlr gharbh airgid." "Ghoid, ma 's oil leat." "C' uine thig thu ris?" "Thig, 'n uair bheir mo ghnothuch ann mi."

Thug i na crean thun an tuathanaich, 'us phòs a piuthair mhòr-sa mac mòr an tuathanaich.

"Bheir mi mo mhac meadhonach do'd phiuthair mheadhonaich, 'us faigh dhomh claidheamh soluis an fhamhair." "Cha chosd e tuilleadh dhuit," ars' Maol a' chliobain. Ghabh i air falbh, 'us ràinig i tigh an fhamhair. Chaidh i suas ann an barr craoibhe 'bha os cionn tobair an fhamhair. Anns an oidhche thainig an gille maol carrach, 'us an claidheamh soluis leis, a dh'iarraidh uisge. An uair a chroin e a thogail an uisge, thainig Maol a' chliobain a nuas, 'us phut i sìos 's an tobar e 'us bhàth i e, 'us thug i leatha an claidheamh soluis. Lean am famhar i gus an d'ràinig i an amhainn. Leum i an amhainn, 'us cha b'urrainn am famhar a leantuinn. "Tha thu thall, a Mhaol a' chliobain." "Tha, ma 's oil leat." "Mharbh thu mo thri nigheanan maola, ruagha." "Mharbh ma 's oil leat." "Ghoid thu mo chlr mhin òir, 's mo chlr gharbh airgid." "Ghoid, ma 's oil leat." "Mharbh thu mo ghille maol carrach." "Mharbh ma 's oil leat." "Ghoid thu mo chlaideamh soluis." "Ghoid, ma 's oil leat." "C' uine thig thu ris." "Thig, 'n uair bheir mo ghnothuch ann mi." Ràinig i tigh an tuathanaich leis a' chlaideamh soluis, 'us phòs a piuthair mheadhonaich 'us mac meadhonaich an tuathanaich.

"Bheir mi dhuit féin mo mhac a's òige," ars' an tuathanach, "'us thoir a'm ionnsuidh boc a th'aig an fhamhar." "Cha chosd e tuilleadh dhuit," ars' Maol a' chliobain. Dh'fhalbh i 'us ràinig i tigh an fhamhair, ach an uair a bha greim aice air a bhoc, rug am famhar, oirre. "Ciod e" ars' am famhar, "a dheanadh tus' orna, nan deanainn nibhir a choire ort 's a rinn thus' ormsa." "Bheirinn ort gu'n sgàineadh tu thu fhéin le brochan bainne; chuirinn an sin ann am poc thu; chrochann thu ri druim an tighe; chuirinn teine fothad; 'us ghabhainn duit le cabar gus an tuiteadh thu 'n ad chual chrichaich air an ùrlar. Rinn am famhar brochan bainne 'us thugar dhith ri òl e. Chuir ise am brochan bainne m' a beul 'us m' a h-eudainn, 'us luidh i seachad mar gu'm bitheadh i marbh. Chuir am famhar ann am poc i, 'us chroch e i ri druim an tighe, 'us dh'fhalbh e fhéin 'us a dhaoine a dh'iarraidh fiodha do'n choille. Bha màthair an fhamhair a stigh. Their-eadh Maol a' chliobain 'n uair a dh'fhalbh am famhar, "Is mise 'tha 's an t-sòlas, is mise 'tha 's a chaithir òir." "An leig thu mise ann?" ars' a' chailleach. "Cha leig, gu dearbh." Mu dheireadh, leig i nuas am poca; chuir i stigh a' chailleach, 'us cat, 'us laogh, 'us soitheach uachdair; thug i leatha am boc, 'us dh'fhalbh i. An uair a thainig am famhar, thoisich e fhéin 'us a dhaoine air a' phoca leis na cabair. Eha a' chailleach a' glaothaich, "'S mi fhéin a th' ann." "Tha fios agam gur tu fhéin a th' ann," theireadh am famhar, 'us e ag éiridh air a' phoca. Thainig am poc a nuas 'n a chual chrichaich 'us ciod e bha ann ach a màthair. An uair a chunnaic am famhar mar a bha, thug e as an deigh Mhaol a' chliobain. Lean e i gus an d'ràinig i an amhainn. Leum Maol a' chliobain an amhainn 'us cha b'urrainn am famhar a leum. "Tha thu thall, a Mhaol a' chliobain." "Tha, ma 's oil leat." "Mharbh thu mo thri nigheanan maola, ruagha." "Mharbh, ma 's oil leat." "Ghoid thu mo chlr mhin òir, 'us mo chlr gharbh airgid." "Ghoid, ma 's oil leat." "Mharbh thu mo ghille maol, carrach." "Mharbh, ma 's oil leat." "Ghoid

after her he went until they reached the river. She leaped the river, and the giant could not leap the river. "You are over, Maol a' chliobain." "Yes, if it vex you." "You killed my three bald red-skinned daughters." "Yes, if it vex you." "You stole my smooth golden comb and my rough silver comb." "Yes, if it vex you." "When will you come again?" "When my business brings me."

She brought the combs to the farmer, and the big sister married the big son of the farmer.

"I will give my middle son to your middle sister, and get for me the giant's sword of light." "It won't cost you more," says Maol a' chliobain." She went away, and reached the giant's house. She went up in the top of a tree that was above the giant's well. In the night the bald, rough-skinned lad came for water, having the sword of light with him. When he bent over to raise the water, Maol a' chliobain came down and pushed him into the well and drowned him, and took away the sword of light. The giant followed her till she reached the river. She leaped the river, and the giant could not follow her. "You are over, Maol a' chliobain." "Yes, if it vex you." "You killed my three bald red-haired daughters." "Yes, if it vex you." "You stole my smooth golden comb and my rough silver comb." "Yes, if it vex you." "You killed my bald rough-skinned lad." "Yes, if it vex you." "You stole my sword of light." "Yes, if it vex you." "When will you come again?" "When my business brings me." She reached the farmer's house with the sword of light, and her middle sister married the middle son of the farmer.

"I will give yourself my youngest son," said the farmer, "and bring me the buck that the giant has." "It won't cost you more," said Maol a' chliobain. She went and she reached the giant's house, but as she got hold of the buck, the giant laid hands upon her. "What," said the giant, "would you do to me if I had done to you as much harm as you have done to me?" "I would make you burst yourself with milk porridge. I would then put you in a bag; I would hang you to the roof of the house; I would place fire under you; and I would beat you with sticks until you fell a bundle of dry sticks on the floor." The giant made milk porridge, and gave it her to drink. She spread the milk porridge over her mouth and her face, and lay down as if she had been dead. The giant put her in a bag which he hung to the roof of the house, and he and his men went to the wood to get sticks. The mother of the giant was in. When the giant went away, Maol a' chliobain cried, "It is I that am in comfort; it is I that am in the golden seat." "Will you let me there?" said the hag. "No, indeed." At length she let down the bag; she put the hag inside, and a cat, and a calf, and a dish of cream; she took away the buck, and she left. When the giant came, he and his men fell upon the bag with the sticks. The hag was crying out, "It's myself that's here." "I know it is yourself that's there," the giant would say, striking the bag. The bag fell down a bundle of dry sticks, and what was there but his mother. When the giant saw how it was, he set off after Maol a' chliobain. He followed her till she reached the river. Maol a' chliobain leaped the river, but the giant could not leap the river. "You are over, Maol a' chliobain." "Yes, if it vex you." "You killed my three bald red-skinned daughters." "Yes, if it vex you." "You stole my smooth golden comb and my rough silver comb." "Yes, if it vex you." "You killed my bald, rough-skinned lad." "Yes, if it vex you." "You stole my sword of light." "Yes, if it vex

thu mo chlaidheamh soluis." "Ghoid, ma's oil leat." "Mharbh thu mo mhàthair." "Mharbh, ma's oil leat." "Ghoid thu mo bhoc." "Ghoid, ma's oil leat." "C'ùine a thig thu ris?" "Thig 'n nair bheir mo ghnòthuch ann mi." "Nam bitheadh tusa bhos 'us mise thall" ars' ain fannhar, "Cìod e dheanadh tu airson mo leantuinne?" "Stopainn mi fhéin, agus dh'olainn gus an traoghainn, an amhainn." Stop am fannhar e fhéin, 'us dh'òl e gus an do sgàin e. Phòs Maol a' chliobain Mac òg an tuathanaich.

The above is a fair specimen of these tales with which the story-tellers of the Highlands were wont to entertain their listeners, and pass agreeably a long winter evening. The versions of such tales are various, but the general line of the narrative is always the same. Scores of these tales may still be picked up in the West Highlands, although Mr Campbell has sifted them most carefully and skilfully, and given to the public those which are undoubtedly best. The following is a specimen

you." "You killed my mother." "Yes, if it vex you." "You stole my buck." "Yes, if it vex you." "When will you come again?" "When my business brings me." "If you were over here and I over there, what would you do to follow me?" "I would stop myself up, and I would drink until I dried the river." The giant stopped himself up, and drunk until he burst. Maol a' chliobain married the young son of the farmer.

referring to the famous Tom na h-iùbhraich, in the neighbourhood of Inverness. It was taken down by the writer from the recital of an Ardnamurchan man in Edinburgh, and has never been printed before. The resemblance of a portion of it to what is told of Thomas the Rhymer and the Eildon Hills, is too close to escape observation. These tales are valuable as preserving admirable specimens of the idioms of the Gaelic language.

English Translation.

THE FINGALIANS.

THE MAN IN THE TUFT OF WOOL.

Bha fear air astar naireigin mu thuath, a réir coslais, mu Shiorramachd Inbhirnis. Bha e a' coiseachd là, 'us chunnaic e fear a' buain sgrath leis an làr-chaiphe. Thàinig e far an robh an duine. Thubhairt e ris, "Oh, nach sean sibhse, 'dhuine, ris an obair sin." Thubhairt an duine ris, "Oh, nam faicheadh tu m'athair, is e a' s' sine na mise." "D'athair" ars' an duine, "am bheil d'athair beò 's an t-saoghal fhathasd?" "Oh, tha" ars' esan. "C'aite am bheil d'athair" ars' esan, "am b'urrainn mi 'fhaicinn?" "Uh, is urrainn" ars' esan, "tha e a' tarruing dhathigh nan sgrath." Dh'innis e an rathad a ghabhadh e ach am faicheadh e 'athair. Thàinig e far an robh e. Thubhairt e ris, "Nach sean sibhse, 'dhuine, ris an obair sin." "Uh," ars' esan, "nam faicheadh tu m'athair, is e a' s' sine na mise." "Oh, am bheil d'athair 's an t-saoghal fhathasd?" "Uh, tha," ars' esan. "C'aite am bheil e" ars' esan, "an urrainn mi 'fhaicinn?" "Uh, is urrainn," ars' esan, "tha e a' tilgeadh nan sgrath air an tigh." Ràinig e am fear a bha 'tilgeadh nan sgrath. "Oh, nach sean sibhse, 'dhuine, ris an obair sin," ars' esan. "Uh, nam faicheadh tu m'athair," ars' esan, "tha e mòran na 's sine na mise." "Am bheil d'athair agam r'a fhaicinn?" "Uh, tha," ars' esan, "rach timchioll, 'us chi thu e a' cur nan sgrath." Thàinig e 'us chunnaic e am fear a bha 'cur nan sgrath. "Oh, a dhuine" ars' esan, "is mòr an aois a dh'fheumas sibse a bhi." "Oh," ars' esan, "nam faicheadh tu m'athair." "An urrainn mi d'athair fhaicinn?" ars' esan, "C'aite am bheil e?" "Mata" ars' an duine, is òlach tapaidh coltach thu, tha mi 'creidsinn gu'm faod mi m'athair a shealltainn duit. "Tha e," ars' esan, "stigh ann an geadan clòimhe an ceann eile an tìghe." Chaidh e stigh leis 'g a fhaicinn. Bha na h-uile gin diùbsan ro mhòr, nach 'eil an leithid a nis r'a fhaotainn. "Tha duine beag an so," ars' esan, 'athair, "air am bheil coslas òlach thapaidh, Albannach, 'us toil aige 'ur faicinn." Bhruidhinn e ris, 'us thubhairt e, "Co as a thàinig thu? Thoir dhomh do làmh, 'Albannaich." Thug a mhac làmh air seann choltair eòin a bha 'na luidhe làimh ri u. Shnaim e eodach uime. "Thoir dha sin," ars' esan ris an Albannach, "'us na toir dha do làmh." Rug

There was a man once on a journey in the north, according to all appearance in the sheriffdom of Inverness. He was travelling one day, and he saw a man casting divots with the slaughter-spade. He came to where the man was. He said to him, "Oh, you are very old to be employed in such work." The man said to him, "Oh, if you saw my father, he is much older than I am." "Your father," said the man, "is your father alive in the world still?" "Oh, yes," said he. "Where is your father?" said he; "could I see him?" "Oh, yes," said he, "he is leading home the divots." He told him what way he should take in order to see his father. He came where he was. He said to him "You are old to be engaged in such work." "Oh," said he, "if you saw my father, he is older than I." "Oh, is your father still in the world?" "Oh, yes," said he. "Where is your father?" said he; "can I see him?" "Oh, yes," said he, "he is reaching the divots at the house." He came to the man who was reaching the divots. "Oh, you are old," said he, "to be employed in such work." "Oh, if you saw my father," said he, "he is much older than I." "Is your father to be seen?" said he. "Oh, yes, go round the house and you will see him laying the divots on the roof." He came and he saw the man who was laying the divots on the roof. "Oh, man," said he, "you must be a great age." "Oh, if you saw my father." "Oh, can I see your father; where is he?" "Well," said the man, "you look like a clever fellow; I daresay I may show you my father." "He is," said he, "inside in a tuft of wool in the further end of the house." He went in with him to show him to him. Every one of these men was very big, so much so that their like is not to be found now. "There is a little man here," said he to his father, "who looks like a clever fellow, a Scotchman, and he is wishful to see you." He spoke to him, and said, "Where did you come from? Give me your hand, Scotchman." His son laid hold of the old coulter of a plough that lay there. He knotted a cloth around it. "Give him that," said he to the Scotchman, "and don't give him your hand." The old man laid hold of the coulter, while the man held

an seann duine air a' choltair, 'us a' cheann eile aig an duine eile 'na làimh. An àite an coltair a bhi leathann, rinn e cruinn e, 'us dh'fhàg e làrach nan cuig meur ann, mar gu'm bitheadh uibe taois ann. "Nach cruadalach an làmh a th'agad, 'Albannaich," ars' esan, "Nam bitheadh do chridhe cho cruadalach, tapaidh, dh'iarrainnse rud ort nach d'iarr mi' air fear roimhe." "Cìod e sin, a dhuine?" ars' esan, "ma tha nì ann a's urrainn mise 'dheanamh, nì mi e." "Bheirinnse dhuit" ars' esan, "fìdeag a tha an so, agus fiosaichidh tu far am bheil Tòrn na h-ìbhraich, làmh ri Inbhirnis, agus an uair a theid thu ann, chì thu creag bheag, ghlas, air an dara taobh dheth. An uair a' theid thu a dh'ionnsuidh na creige, chì thu mu mheudachd doruis, 'us air cumadh doruis bhige air a' chreig. Buail sròn do chois air trì nairean, 'us air an uair mu dheireadh fosgailidh e. Dh'fhalbh e, 'us ràinig e 'us fhuair e an dorus. Thubhairt an seann duine ris, "An uair a dh'fhosgaileas tu an dorus, seirmidh tu an fhìdeag, bheir thu trì seirmean oirre 'us air an t-seirm mu dheireadh," ars' esan, "eiridh leat na bhitheas stigh, 'us ma bhitheas tu cho tapaidh 'us gun dean thu sin, is fheairrd thu fhéin e 'us do mhac, 'us d'ogha, 'us d'iar-ogha. Thug e a' cheud sheirm air an fhìdeag. Sheall e 'us stad e. Shìn na coin a bha 'n an luidhe làthair ris na daoinibh an cosan, 'us charaich na daoine uile. Thug e an ath sheirm oirre. Dh'éirich na daoine air an uilnibh 'us dh'éirich na coin 'n an suidhe. Thionndaidh am fear ris an dorus, 'us ghabh e eagal. Tharruing e an dorus 'n a dheigh. Ghlaodh iadsan uile gu léir, "Is miosa 'dh'fhàg na fhuair, is miosa 'dh'fhàg na fhuair." Dh'fhalbh e 'n a ruithe. Thàinig e gu lochan uisge, a bha an sin, 'us thilg e an fhìdeag anns an lochan. Dhealaich mise riu.

These specimens give a good idea of the popular prose literature of the Highlands. Whence it was derived it is difficult to say. It may have originated with the people themselves, but many portions of it bear the marks of having been derived even, as has been said, from an Eastern source, while the last tale which has been transcribed above gives the Highland version of an old Scottish tradition.

POETRY.

Gaelic poetry is voluminous. Exclusive of the Ossianic poetry which has been referred to already, there is a long catalogue of modern poetical works of various merit. Fragments exist of poems written early in the 17th century, such as those prefixed to the edition of Calvin's Catechism, printed in 1631. One of these, *Faosid Eoin Steuart Tighearn na Hap-pen*, "The Confession of John Stewart, laird of Appin," savours more of the Church of Rome than of the Protestant faith. To this century belongs also the poetry of John Macdonell, usually called Eoin Lom, and said to have been poet-laureate to Charles II. for Scotland. Other pieces exist of the same period, but little would

the other end in his hand. Instead of the coultar being broad, he made it round, and left the mark of his five fingers in it as if it were a lump of leaven. "You have a brave hand, Scotchman," said he. "If your heart were as brave and clever, I would ask something of you that I never asked of another." "What is that, man?" said he; "if there is anything that I can do, I shall do it." "I would give you," said he, "a whistle that I have here, and you will find out where Tomnahurich is near Inverness, and when you find it you will see a little grey rock on one side of it. When you go to the rock you will see about the size of a door, and the shape of a little door in the rock. Strike the point of your foot three times, and at the third time it will open." He went away, and he reached and found the door. "When you open the door," the old man said, "you will sound the whistle; you will sound it thrice. At the third sounding all that are within will rise along with you; and if you be clever enough to do that, you, and your son, and your grandson, and your great-grandson, will be the better of it." He gave the first sound on the whistle. He looked, and he stopped. The dogs that lay near the men stretched their legs, and all the men moved. He gave the second sound. The men rose on their elbows, and the dogs sat up. The man turned to the door and became frightened. He drew the door after him. They all cried out, "Left us worse than he found us; left us worse than he found us." He went away running. He came to a little fresh water loch that was there, and he threw the whistle into the loch. I left them.

seem to have been handed down to us of the poetry of this century.

We have fragments belonging to the early part of the 17th century in the introduction to "Lhuyd's Archæologia." These are of much interest to the Gaelic student. In 1751 appeared the first edition of Songs by Alexander Macdonald, usually called Mac Mhaighistir Alasdair. These songs are admirable specimens of Gaelic versification, giving the highest idea of the author's poetical powers. Many editions of them have appeared, and they are very popular in the Highlands. Macintyre's poems appeared in 1768. Macdonald and he stand at the very top of the list of Gaelic poets. They are both distinguished by the power and the smoothness of their composition. Macdonald's highest gifts are represented in his *Biorluinn Chloinn Raonuill*, "Clan Ranald's Galley," and Macintyre's in his *Beinn Dobhrain*, "Ben Douran."

Later than Macintyre, Ronald M'Donald, commonly called Raonull Dubh, or Black Ranald, published an excellent collection of Gaelic songs. This Ranald was son to Alexander already referred to, and was a school-master in the island of Eigg. His collection

is largely made up of his father's compositions, but there are songs of his own and of several other composers included. Many of the songs of this period are Jacobite, and indicate intense disloyalty to the Hanoverian royal family.

Gillies's Collection in 1786 is an admirable one, containing many of the genuine Ossianic fragments. This collection is of real value to the Gaelic scholar, although it is now difficult to be had.

In addition to these, and at a later period, we have Turner's Collection and Stewart's Collection, both of them containing many excellent compositions. We have, later still, M'Kenzie's Beauties of Gaelic Poetry, and we have, besides these, separate volumes of various sizes; by the admirable religious bard, Dugald Buchanan; by Rob donn, the Reay bard; William Ross, the Gairloch bard; and many others, who would form a long catalogue. As might be supposed, the pieces included in these collections are of various merit, but there is much really good poetry worthy of the country which has cultivated the poetic art from the earliest period of its history, and a country which, while it gave to Gaelic poetry such a name as Ossian, gave to the poetry of England the names of Thomas Campbell and Lord Macaulay.

GRAMMARS.

There are no early treatises on the structure and composition of the Gaelic language, such as the ancient MS. writings which still exist on Irish Grammar. Still, so early as the middle of last century, the subject had excited notice, and demands began to exist for a grammatical treatise on the Gaelic language. The first attempt to meet this demand was made by the Rev. William Shaw, at one time minister of Ardelach, in Nairnshire, and afterwards a resident in England; the author of a Gaelic dictionary, and an associate of Johnson's in opposing M'Pherson and his Ossian, as it was called by adversaries. Shaw's Grammar is made of no account by Dr Stewart, in the reference which he makes to it in his excellent grammar; but the work is interesting as the first attempt made to reduce Gaelic grammar to shape at all, and as showing several indications of a fair, if not a profound

scholarship. That the volume, however, is to be held in any way as a correct analysis of the Gaelic language, is out of the question. Mr Shaw presents his readers, at the end of his volume, with specimens of Gaelic writing, which he intends to settle the orthography of the language. Anything more imperfect than the orthography of these specimens can hardly be conceived—at least it is of a kind that makes the language in many of the words unintelligible to any ordinary reader. Mr Shaw's Grammar reached a second edition, showing the interest that was taken in the subject at the time.

An abler scholar, in the person of the Rev. Dr Stewart, of Moulin, Dingwall, and the Canongate, Edinburgh, successively, took up the subject of Gaelic grammar after Mr Shaw. Mr Stewart was an eminent minister of the Scottish Church. Few ministers stood higher than he did as a preacher, and few laboured more assiduously in their pastoral work; still he found time for literary studies, and to none did he direct more of his care than to that of his native Gaelic. A native of Perthshire himself, he made himself acquainted with all the dialects of the tongue, and gives an admirable analysis of the language as it appears in the Gaelic Bible. Few works of the kind are more truly philosophical. The modesty which is ever characteristic of genius distinguishes every portion of it, while the work is of a kind that does not admit of much emendation. If it be defective in any part, it is in the part that treats of syntax. There the rules laid down comprehend but few of those principles which govern the structure of the language, and it is necessary to have recourse to other sources for information regarding many of the most important of these.

A third grammar was published about thirty years ago by Mr James Munro, at the time parish schoolmaster of Kilmonivaig. This volume is highly creditable to Mr Munro's scholarship, and in many respects supplied a want that was felt by learners of the language. The numerous exercises with which the work abounds are of very great value, and must aid the student much in its acquisition.

A double grammar, in both Gaelic and English, by the Rev. Mr Forbes, latterly

minister of Sleat, presents a very fair view of the structure of the Gaelic language, while grammars appear attached to several of the existing dictionaries. There is a grammar prefixed to the dictionary of the Highland Society, another to that of Mr Armstrong, and a third to that of Mr M'Alpine. All these are creditable performances, and worthy of perusal. In fact, if the grammar of the Gaelic language be not understood, it is not for want of grammatical treatises. There are seven or eight of them in existence.

Mr Shaw, in the introduction to his grammar, says:—"It was not the mercenary consideration of interest, nor, perhaps, the expectation of fame among my countrymen, in whose esteem its beauties are too much faded, but a taste for the beauties of the original speech of a now learned nation, that induced me either to begin, or encouraged me to persevere in reducing to grammatical principles a language spoken only by imitation; while, perhaps, I might be more profitably employed in tasting the various productions of men, ornaments of human nature, afforded in a language now teeming with books. I beheld with astonishment the learned in Scotland, since the revival of letters, neglect the Gaelic as if it was not worthy of any pen to give a rational account of a speech used upwards of 2000 years by the inhabitants of more than one kingdom. I saw with regret, a language once famous in the western world, ready to perish, without any memorial; a language by the use of which Galgacus having assembled his chiefs, rendered the Grampian hills impassable to legions that had conquered the world, and by means of which Fingal inspired his warriors with the desire of immortal fame."

That the Gaelic language is worthy of being studied, the researches of modern philologists have amply proved. For comparative philology it is of the highest value, being manifestly one of the great links in the chain of Aryan languages. Its close relation to the classical languages gives it a place almost peculiar to itself. In like manner its study throws light on national history. Old words appear in charters and similar documents which a knowledge of Gaelic can alone interpret, while for the study of Scottish topography the

knowledge of it is essential. From the Tweed to the Pentland Frith words appear in every part of the country which can only be analysed by the Gaelic scholar. In this view the study of the language is important, and good grammars are of essential value for its prosecution.

DICTIONARIES.

At an early period vocabularies of Gaelic words began to be compiled for the benefit of readers of the language. The first of these appears attached to Mr Kirk's edition of Bedell's Irish Bible, to which reference has been made already. The list of words is not very extensive, and, as has been said, the equivalents of the words given are in many cases as difficult to understand as the words themselves. Mr Kirk's object in his vocabulary is to explain Irish words in Bedell's Bible to Scottish readers.

In 1707 Lhuyd's *Archæologia Britannica* appeared. It contains a grammar of the Ibero-Scottish Gaelic, and a vocabulary which is in a large measure a vocabulary of the Gaelic of Scotland. All that this learned writer did was done in a manner worthy of a scholar. His vocabulary, although defective, is accurate so far as it goes, and presents us with a very interesting and instructive view of the state of the language in his day. Lhuyd's volume is one which should be carefully studied by every Celtic scholar.

In 1738 the Rev. David Malcolm, minister at Duddingstone, published an essay on the antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland, with the view of showing the affinity betwixt "the languages of the ancient Britons and the Americans of the Isthmus of Darien." In this essay there is a list of Gaelic words beginning with the letter A, extending to sixteen pages, and a list of English words with their Gaelic equivalents, extending to eight pages. Mr Malcolm brought the project of compiling a Gaelic dictionary before the General Assembly of the Scottish Church, and he seems to have had many conferences with Highland ministers friendly to his object. The Assembly appointed a committee on the subject, and they reported most favourably of Mr Malcolm's design. Still the work never seems to have gone farther; and beyond the

lists referred to, we have no fruits of Mr Malcolm's labours. Mr Malcolm calls the language Irish, as was uniformly done by English writers at the time, and spells the words after the Irish manner.

Three years after the publication of Mr Malcolm's essay in the year 1741, the first attempt at a complete vocabulary of the Gaelic language appeared. The compiler was Alexander M'Donald, at the time schoolmaster of Ardnamurchan, known throughout the Highlands as Mac Mhaighistir Alasdair, and a bard of high reputation. The compilation was made at the suggestion of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, in whose service M'Donald was at the time. The Society submitted the matter to the Presbytery of Mull, and the Presbytery committed the matter to M'Donald as the most likely man within their bounds to execute the work in a satisfactory manner. M'Donald's book is dedicated to the Society, and he professes a zeal for Protestantism, although he turned over to the Church of Rome himself on the landing of Charles Edward in the Highlands in 1745. The vocabulary is arranged under the heads of subjects, and not according to the letters of the alphabet. It begins with words referring to God, and so on through every subject that might suggest itself. It is upon the whole well executed, seeing that the author was the pioneer of Gaelic lexicographers; but the publishers found themselves obliged to insert a caveat in an advertisement at the close of the volume, in which they say that "all or most of the verbs in this vocabulary from page 143 to page 162 are expressed in the Gaelic by single words, though our author generally expresses them by a needless circumlocution." M'Donald's orthography is a near approach to that of modern Gaelic writing.

In 1780 the Rev. Mr Shaw, the author of the Gaelic grammar already referred to, published a dictionary of the Gaelic language in two volumes, the one volume being Gaelic-English, and the other English-Gaelic. This work did not assume a high place among scholars.

Following upon Shaw's work was that of Robert M'Farlane in 1795. This vocabulary is of little value to the student.

Robert M'Farlane's volume was followed in 1815 by that of Peter M'Farlane, a well known translator of religious works. The collection of words is pretty full, and the work upon the whole is a creditable one.

Notwithstanding all these efforts at providing a dictionary of the Gaelic language, it was felt by scholars that the want had not been really supplied. In those circumstances Mr R. A. Armstrong, parish schoolmaster of Kenmore, devoted his time and talents to the production of a work that might be satisfactory. The Gaelic language was not Mr Armstrong's mother tongue, and he had the great labour to undergo of acquiring it. Indefatigable energy, with the genius of a true scholar, helped him over all his difficulties, and, after years of toil, he produced a work of the highest merit, and one whose authority is second to none as an exposition of the Scoto-Celtic tongue.

Mr Armstrong's dictionary was succeeded by that of the Highland Society of Scotland, which was published in two quarto volumes in 1828. A portion of the labour of this great work was borne by Mr Ewen MacIachlan of Aberdeen, the most eminent Celtic scholar of his day. Mr MacIachlan brought the most ample accomplishments to the carrying out of the undertaking; a remarkable acquaintance with the classical languages, which he could write with facility, a very extensive knowledge of the Celtic tongues, and a mind of remarkable acuteness to discern distinctions and analogies in comparative philology. But he died ere the work was far advanced, and other scholars had to carry it through. The chief of these was the Rev. Dr M'Leod of Dundonald, aided by the Rev. Dr Irvine of Little Dunkeld, and the Rev. Alexander M'Donald of Crieff; and the whole was completed and edited under the superintendence of the Rev. Dr Mackay, afterwards of Dunoon, to whose skill and care much of the value of the work is due.

In 1831 an octavo dictionary by the Rev. Dr Macleod of Glasgow, and the Rev. D. Dewar, afterwards Principal Dewar of Aberdeen, appeared. It is drawn largely from the dictionary of the Highland Society, and is an exceedingly good and useful book.

There is a still later dictionary by Mr Neil M'Alpine, schoolmaster in Islay. It is an

excellent vocabulary of the Islay dialect, with some features peculiar to itself, especially directions as to the pronouncing of the words, which, from the peculiar orthography of the Gaelic, the learner requires.

It will be seen from the above list that there is no lack of Gaelic dictionaries any more than of Gaelic grammars, and that some of the dictionaries are highly meritorious. And yet there is room for improvement still if competent hands could be found. The student of Scottish topography meets with innumerable words which he feels assured are of the Scoto-Celtic stock. He applies to his dictionaries, and he almost uniformly finds that the words which puzzle him are absent. There seems to have been an entire ignoring of this source for words on the part of all the Gaelic lexicographers, and from the number of obsolete words found in it, but which an acquaintance with ancient MS. literature helps to explain, a large supply, and a supply of the deepest interest, might be found. Irish dictionaries afford considerable aid in searching this field, but Gaelic dictionaries furnish very little. At the same time it must be remembered that topography is itself a recent study, and that men's minds have only latterly been more closely directed to these words.

We have thus given a general view of the literature of the Scottish Gael. It is not extensive, but it is full of interest. That the language was at one time subjected to cultivation cannot be doubted by any man acquainted with the literary history of the Celtic race. The MSS. which exist are enough to demonstrate the fact, of which no rational doubt can exist, that an immense number of such MSS. have perished. An old Gaelic MS. was once seen in the Hebrides cut down by a tailor to form measuring tapes for the persons of his customers. These MSS. treated of various subjects. Philology, theology, and science found a place among Celtic scholars, while poetry was largely cultivated. The order of bards ensured this, an order peculiar to the Celts. Johnson's estimate of the extent of ancient Celtic culture was an entirely mistaken one, and shows how far prejudice may operate towards the perversion of truth, even in the case of great and good men.

GAELIC LANGUAGE.

Of the Gaelic language in which this literature exists, this is not the place to say much. To know it, it is necessary to study its grammars and dictionaries, and written works. With regard to the class of languages to which it belongs, many and various opinions were long held; but it has been settled latterly without room for dispute that it belongs to the Indo-European, or, as it is now called, the Aryan class. That it has relations to the Semitic languages cannot be denied, but these are no closer than those of many others of the same class. Its relation to the latter, is very close, many of the radical words in both languages being almost identical. Natural objects, for instance, and objects immediately under observation, have terms wonderfully similar to represent them. *Mons*, a mountain, appears in the Gaelic *Monadh*; *Amnis*, a river, appears in *Amhainn*; *Oceanus*, the ocean, in *Cuan*; *Muir*, the sea, in *Mare*; *Caballus*, a horse, in *Capull*; *Equus*, a horse, in *Each*; *Canis*, a dog, in *Cu*; *Sol*, the sun, in *Solus*, light; *Salus*, safety, in *Slainte*; *Rex*, a king, in *Rìgh*; *Vir*, a man, in *Fear*; *Tectum*, a roof, in *Tigh*; *Monile*, a necklace, in *Muineal*. This list might be largely extended, and serves to bring out to what an extent original terms in Gaelic and Latin correspond. The same is true of the Greek, but not to the same extent.

At the same time there is a class of words in Gaelic which are derived directly from the Latin. These are such words as have been introduced into the service of the church. Christianity having come into Scotland from the European Continent, it was natural to suppose that with it terms familiar to ecclesiastics should find their way along with the religion. This would have occurred to a larger extent after the Roman hierarchy and worship had been received among the Scots. Such words as *Peacadh*, sin; *Sgrìobtuir*, the scriptures; *Faosaid*, confession; *aoibhrinn*, mass or offering; *Caisg*, Easter; *Inid*, initium or shrove-tide; *Calainn*, new year's day; *Nollaig*, Christmas; *Domhnach*, God or Dominus; *Diseart*, a hermitage; *Eaglais*, a church; *Sugart*, a priest; *Pearsa* or *Pearsoin*, a parson;

Reilig, a burying place, from *reliquie*; *Ifrionn*, hell; are all manifestly from the Latin, and a little care might add to this list. It is manifest that words which did not exist in the language must be borrowed from some source, and whence so naturally as from the language which was, in fact, the sacred tongue in the early church.

But besides being a borrower, the Gaelic has been largely a contributor to other languages. What is usually called Scotch is perhaps the greatest debtor to the Gaelic tongue, retaining, as it does, numerous Gaelic words usually thought to be distinctive of itself. A list of these is not uninteresting, and the following is given as a contribution to the object:—*Braw*, from the Gaelic *Breagh*, pretty; *Burn*, from *Burn*, water; *Airt*, from *Airde*, a point of the compass; *Baugh*, from *Baath*, empty; *Kebbuck*, from *Càbaig*, a cheese; *Dour*, from *Dùr*, hard; *Fey*, from *Fé*, a rod for measuring the dead; *Teem*, from *Taom*, to empty; *Sicker*, from *Shicker*, sure, retained in Manx; *Leister*, from *Lister*, a fishing spear, Manx; *Chiel*, from *Gille*, a lad; *Skail*, from *Sgaoil*, to disperse; *Ingle*, from *Aingeal*, fire; *Arles*, from *Earlas*, earnest; *Sain*, from *Sean*, to consecrate. This list, like the former, might be much increased, and shows how relics of the Gaelic language may be traced in the spoken tongue of the Scottish Lowlands after the language itself has retired. Just in like manner, but arising from a much closer relation, do relics of the Celtic languages appear in the Greek and Latin. The fact seems to be that a Celtic race and tongue did at one time occupy the whole of Southern Europe, spreading themselves from the Hellespont along the shores of the Adriatic, and the western curves of the Mediterranean, bounded on the north by the Danube and the Rhine, and extending to the western shores of Ireland. Of this ample evidence is to be found in the topography of the whole region; and the testimony of that topography is fully borne out by that of the whole class of languages still occupying the region, with the exception of the anomalous language of Biscay, and the Teutonic speech carried by the sword into Britain and other northern sections of it.

More resemblance of words does not establish

identity of class among languages, such a similarity being often found to exist, when in other respects the difference is radical. It requires similarity of idiom and grammatical structure to establish the existence of such an identity. This similarity exists to a remarkable extent between the Gaelic and the Latin. There is not space here for entering into details, but a few examples may be given. There is no indefinite article in either language, the simple form of the noun including in it the article, thus, a man is *feàr*, Latin *vir*, the former having in the genitive *fìr*, the latter *virì*. The definite article *am*, *an*, *a'*, in Gaelic would seem to represent the Latin *unus*; thus *an duine* represents *unus homo*. The inflection in a large class of Gaelic nouns is by attenuation, while the nominative plural and genitive singular of such nouns are alike. So with the Latin, *monachus*, gen. *monachi*, nom. plur. *monachi*; Gaelic, *manach*, gen. *manaich*, nom. plur. *manaich*. The structure of the verb is remarkably similar in both languages. This appears specially in the gerund, which in Gaelic is the only form used to represent the infinitive and the present participle. The use of the subjunctive mood largely is characteristic of the Gaelic as of the Latin. The prepositions which are so variously and extensively used in Gaelic, present another analogy to the Latin. But the analogies in grammatical structure are so numerous that they can only be accounted for by tracing the languages to the same source. Another series of resemblances is to be found in the peculiar idioms which characterise both tongues. Thus, possession is in both represented by the peculiar use of the verb *to be*. *Est mihi liber*, there is to me a book, is represented in Gaelic by *tha leabhar agam*, which means, like the Latin, a book is to me.

But there is one peculiarity which distinguishes the Gaelic and the whole class of Celtic tongues from all others. Many of the changes included in inflection and regimen occur in the initial consonant of the word. This change is usually held to be distinctive of gender, but its effect is wider than that, as it occurs in cases where no distinction of gender is expressed. This change, usually called aspiration, implies a softening of the initial conso-

nants of words. Thus *b* becomes *v*, *m* becomes *v*, *p* becomes *f*, *g* becomes *y*, *d* becomes *y*, *c* becomes *ch*, more or less guttural, *s* and *t* become *h*, and so on. These changes are marked in orthography by the insertion of the letter *h*. This is a remarkable peculiarity converting such a word as *mòr* into *vòr*, spelled *mhòr*; *bàs* into *vàs*, spelled *bhàs*; *duine* into *yuine*, spelled *dhuine*. This peculiarity partly accounts for the number of letters *h* introduced into Gaelic spelling, loading the words apparently unnecessarily with consonants, but really serving a very important purpose.

It is not desirable, however, in a work like this to prosecute this dissertation farther. Suffice it to say, that philologists have come to class the Gaelic with the other Celtic tongues among the great family of Aryan languages, having affinities, some closer, some more distant, with almost all the languages of Europe. It is of much interest to scholars in respect both of the time and the place which it has filled, and fills still, and it is gratifying to all Scottish Celts to know that it has become more than ever a subject of study among literary men.

THE MUSIC OF THE HIGHLANDS.

Among the Celts, poetry and music walked hand in hand. There need be no controversy in this case as to which is the more ancient art, they seem to have been coeval. Hence the bards were musicians. Their compositions were all set to music, and many of them composed the airs to which their verses were adapted. The airs to which the ancient Ossianic lays were sung still exist, and several of them may be found noted in Captain Fraser's excellent collection of Highland music. They are well known in some parts of the Highlands, and those who are prepared to deny with Johnson the existence of any remains of the ancient Celtic bard, must be prepared to maintain at the same time that these ancient airs to which the verses were sung were, like themselves, the offspring of modern imposition. But this is too absurd to obtain credence. In fact these airs were essential to the recitation of the bards. Deprive them of the music with which their lines were associated, and you deprived them of the chief aid to their memory ;

but give them their music, and they could recite almost without end.

The same is true of the poetry of the modern bards. Song-singing in the Highlands was usually social. Few songs on any subject were composed without a chorus, and the intention was that the chorus should be taken up by all the company present. A verse was sung in the interval by the individual singer, but the object of the chorus was to be sung by all. It is necessary to keep this in view in judging of the spirit and effect of Gaelic song. Sung as songs usually are, the object of the bard is lost sight of, and much of the action of the music is entirely overlooked. But what was intended chiefly to be said was, that the compositions of the modern bards were all intended to be linked with music, sung for the most part socially. We do not at this moment know one single piece of Gaelic poetry which was intended merely for recitation, unless it be found among a certain class of modern compositions which are becoming numerous, and which are English in everything but the language.

The music to which these compositions were sung was peculiar ; one can recognise a Gaelic air at once, among a thousand. Quaint and pathetic, irregular and moving on with the most singular intervals, the movement is still self-contained and impressive,—to the Celt eminently so. It is beyond a question that what is called Scottish music has been derived from the Gaelic race. Its characteristics are purely Celtic. So far as the poetry of Burns is concerned, his songs were composed in many cases to airs borrowed from the Highlands, and nothing could fit in better than the poetry and the music. But Scottish Lowland music, so much and so deservedly admired, is a legacy from the Celtic muse throughout. There is nothing in it which it holds in common with any Saxon race in existence. Compare it with the common melodies in use among the English, and the two are proved totally distinct. The airs to which "Scots wha hae," "Auld Langsyne," "Roy's Wife," "O'a'the airts," and "Ye Banks and Braes," are sung, are airs to which nothing similar can be found in England. They are Scottish, and only Scottish, and can be recognised as such at once.

But airs of a precisely similar character can be found among all the Celtic races. In Ireland, melodies almost identical with those of Scotland are found. In fact, the Irish claim such tunes as "The Legacy," "The Highland Laddie," and others. So with the Isle of Man. The national air of the Island, "Mollacharane," has all the distinctive characteristics of a Scottish tune. The melodies of Wales have a similar type. Such a tune as "The Men of Harlech" might at any time be mistaken for a Scottish melody. And if we cross to Brittany and hear a party of Bretons of a night singing a national air along the street, as they often do, the type of the air will be found to be largely Scottish. These facts go far to prove the paternity of what is called Scottish music, and show to conviction that this music, so sweet, so touching, is the ancient inheritance of the Celt.

The ancient Scottish scale consists of six notes, as shown in the annexed exemplification, No. 1. The lowest note A, was afterwards added, to admit of the minor key in wind instruments. The notes in the diatonic scale, No. 2, were added about the beginning of the fifteenth century, and when music arrived at its present state of perfection, the notes in the chromatic scale, No. 3, were farther added. Although



many of the Scottish airs have had the notes last mentioned introduced into them, to please modern taste they can be played without them,

and without altering the character of the melody. Any person who understands the ancient scale can at once detect the later additions.

"The Gaelic music consists of different kinds or species. 1. Martial music, the Goll-traidheacht of the Irish, and the Brosnachadh Catha of the Gael, consisting of a spirit-stirring measure short and rapid. 2. The Geantraidheacht, or plaintive or sorrowful, a kind of music to which the Highlanders are very partial. The Coronach, or Lament, sung at funerals, is the most noted of this sort. 3. The Suantraidheacht, or composing, calculated to calm the mind, and to lull the person to sleep. 4. Songs of peace, sung at the conclusion of a war. 5. Songs of victory sung by the bards before the king on gaining a victory. 6. Love songs. These last form a considerable part of the national music, the sensibility and tenderness of which excite the passion of love, and stimulated by its influence, the Gael indulge a spirit of the most romantic attachment and adventure, which the peasantry of perhaps no other country exhibit."

The last paragraph is quoted from Mr Logan's eloquent and patriotic work on the *Scottish Gael*,¹ and represents the state of Gaelic music when more flourishing and more cultivated than it is to-day.

The following quotation is from the same source, and is also distinguished by the accuracy of its description.

"The ancient Gael were fond of singing whether in a sad or cheerful frame of mind. Bacon justly remarks, 'that music feedeth that disposition which it findeth:' it was a sure sign of brewing mischief, when a Caledonian warrior was heard to 'hum his surly hymn.' This race, in all their labours, used appropriate songs, and accompanied their harps with their voices. At harvest the reapers kept time by singing; at sea the boatmen did the same; and while the women were graddaning, performing the *luadhach*, or waulking of cloth, or at any rural labour, they enlivened their work by certain airs called *luinneags*. When milking, they sung a certain plaintive melody, to which the animals listened with calm attention. The

¹ Logan on the *Scottish Gael*, vol. ii. 252-3.

attachment which the natives of Celtic origin have to their music, is strengthened by its intimate connection with the national songs. The influence of both on the Scots character is confessedly great—the pictures of heroism, love, and happiness, exhibited in their songs, are indelibly impressed on the memory, and elevate the mind of the humblest peasant. The songs, united with their appropriate music, affect the sons of Scotia, particularly when far distant from their native glens and majestic mountains, with indescribable feelings, and excite a spirit of the most romantic adventure. In this respect, the Swiss, who inhabit a country of like character, and who resemble the Highlanders in many particulars, experience similar emotions. On hearing the national *Ranz de vaches*, their bowels yearn to revisit the ever dear scenes of their youth. So powerfully is the *amor patriæ* awakened by this celebrated air, that it was found necessary to prohibit its being played, under pain of death, among the troops, who would burst into tears on hearing it, desert their colours, and even die.

“No songs could be more happily constructed for singing during labour than those of the Highlanders, every person being able to join in them, sufficient intervals being allowed for breathing time. In a certain part of the song, the leader stops to take breath; when all the others strike in and complete the air with a chorus of words and syllables, generally without signification, but admirably adapted to give effect to the time.” The description proceeds to give a picture of a social meeting in the Highlands where this style of singing is practised, and refers to the effect with which such a composition as “*Fhir à bhàta*,” or the *Boatman*, may be thus sung.

Poetical compositions associated with music are of various kinds. First of all is the *Laoidh*, or lay, originally signifying a stately solemn composition, by one of the great bards of antiquity. Thus we have “*Laoidh Dhiarmaid*,” The lay of Diarmad; “*Laoidh Oscar*,” The lay of Oscar; “*Laoidh nan Ceann*,” The lay of the heads; and many others. The word is now made use of to describe a religious hymn; a fact which proves the dignity with which this composition was invested in the popular

sentiment. Then there was the “*Marbhrann*,” or elegy. Few men of any mark but had their elegy composed by some bard of note. Chiefs and chieftains were sung of after their deaths in words and music the most mournful which the Celt, with so deep a vein of pathos in his soul, could devise. There is an elegy on one of the lairds of Macleod by a famous poetess “*Mairi nighean Alasdair Ruaidh*,” or Mary M’Leod, which is exquisitely touching. Many similar compositions exist. In modern times these elegies are mainly confined to the religious field, and ministers and other men of mark in that field are often sung of and sung sweetly by such bards as still remain. Then there are compositions called “*Iorrams*” usually confined to sea songs; “*Luinneags*,” or ordinary lyrics, and such like. These are all “wedded” to music, which is the reason for noticing them here, and the music must be known in order to have the full relish of the poetry.

There are several collections of Highland music which are well worthy of being better known to the musical world than they are. The oldest is that by the Rev. Peter Macdonald of Kilmore, who was a famous musician in his day. More recently Captain Simon Fraser, of Inverness, published an admirable collection; and collections of pipe music have been made by Macdonald, Mackay, and, more recently, Ross, the two latter pipers to her Majesty, all of which are reported of as good.

The secular music of the Highlands, as existing now, may be divided into that usually called by the Highlanders “*An Ceol mòr*,” the great music, and in English pibrochs. This music is entirely composed for the Highland bagpipe, and does not suit any other instrument well. It is composed of a slow movement, with which it begins, the movement proceeding more rapidly through several variations, until it attains a speed and an energy which gives room for the exercise of the most delicate and accurate fingering. Some of these pieces are of great antiquity, such as “*Mackintosh’s Lament*” and “*Cogadh na Sith*,” Peace or War, and are altogether remarkable compositions. Mendelssohn, on his visit to the Highlands, was impressed by them, and introduced a portion of a pibroch into one of his finest compositions. Few musicians take

the trouble of examining into the structure of these pieces, and they are condemned often with little real discrimination. Next to these we have the military music of the Highlands, also for the most part composed for the pipe, and now in general employed by the pipers of Highland regiments. This kind of music is eminently characteristic, having features altogether distinctive of itself, and is much relished by Scotsmen from all parts of the country. Recently a large amount of music of this class has been adapted to the bagpipe which is utterly unfit for it, and the effect is the opposite of favourable to the good name either of the instrument or the music. This practice is in a large measure confined to regimental pipe music. Such tunes as "I'm wearying awa', Jean," or "Miss Forbes' Farewell to Banff," have no earthly power of adaptation to the notes of the bagpipe, and the performance of such music on that instrument is a violation of good taste and all musical propriety. One cannot help being struck with the peculiar good taste that pervades all the compositions of the M'Crimmons, the famous pipers of the Macleods, and how wonderfully the music and the instrument are adapted to each other throughout. This cannot be said of all pibroch music, and the violation of the principle in military music is frequently most offensive to an accurate ear. This has, no doubt, led to the unpopularity of the bagpipe and its music among a large class of the English-speaking community, who speak of its discordant notes, a reflection to which it is not in the least liable in the case of compositions adapted to its scale.

Next to these two kinds follows the song-music of the Gael, to which reference has been made already. It abounds in all parts of the Highlands, and is partly secular, partly sacred. There are beautiful, simple, touching airs, to which the common songs of the country are sung, and there are airs of a similar class, but distinct, which are used with the religious hymns of Buchanan, Matheson, Grant, and other writers of hymns, of whom there are many. The dance music of the Highlands is also distinct from that of any other country, and broadly marked by its own peculiar features. There is the strathspey confined to

Scotland, a moderately rapid movement well known to every Scotchman; there is the jig in 6th time, common to Scotland with Ireland; and there is the reel, pretty much of the same class with the Strathspey, but marked by greater rapidity of motion.

There is one thing which strikes the hearer in this music, that there is a vein of pathos runs through the whole of it. The Celtic mind is largely tinged with pathos. If a musical symbol might be employed to represent them, the mind of the Saxon may be said to be cast in the mould of the major mode, and the mind of the Celt in the minor. The majority of the ordinary airs in the Highlands are in the minor mode, and in the most rapid kinds of music, the jig and the reel, an acute ear will detect the vein of pathos running through the whole.

In sacred music there is not much that is distinctive of the Celt. In forming their metrical version of the Gaelic Psalms, the Synod of Argyll say that one of the greatest difficulties they had to contend with was in adapting their poetry to the forms of the English psalm tunes. There were no psalm tunes which belonged to the Highlands, and it was necessary after the Reformation to borrow such as had been introduced among other Protestants, whether at home or abroad. More lately a peculiar form of psalm tune has developed itself in the North Highlands, which is deserving of notice. It is not a class of new tunes that has appeared, but a peculiar method of singing the old ones. The tunes in use are only six, all taken from the old Psalter of Scotland. They are—French, Dundee, Elgin, York, Martyrs, and Old London. The principal notes of the original tunes are retained, but they are attended with such a number of variations, that the tune in its new dress can hardly be at all recognised. These tunes may not be musically accurate, and artists may make light of them, but sung by a large body of people, they are eminently impressive and admirably adapted to purposes of worship. Sung on a Communion Sabbath by a crowd of worshippers in the open air, on the green sward of a Highland valley, old Dundee is incomparable, and exercises over the Highland mind a powerful influence.

And truly, effect cannot be left out of view as an element in judging of the character of any music. The pity is that this music is fast going out of use even in the Highlands. It has always been confined to the counties of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, and part of Inverness. Some say that this music took its complexion from the old chants of the mediæval Church. One thing is true of this and all Gaelic psalmody, that the practice of chanting the line is rigidly adhered to, although from the more advanced state of general education in the Highlands the necessity that once existed for it is now passed away.

Connected with the Gaelic music, the *musical instruments* of the Celts remain to be noticed; but we shall confine our observations to the harp and to the bagpipe, the latter of which has long since superseded the former in the Highlands. The harp is the most noted instrument of antiquity, and was in use among many nations. It was, in particular, the favourite instrument of the Celts. The Irish were great proficient in harp music, and they are said to have made great improvements on the instrument itself. So honourable was the occupation of a harper among the Irish, that none but freemen were permitted to play on the harp, and it was reckoned a disgrace for a gentleman not to have a harp, and be able to play on it. The royal household always included a harper, who bore a distinguished rank. Even kings did not disdain to relieve the cares of royalty by touching the strings of the harp; and we are told by Major that James I., who died in 1437, excelled the best harpers among the Irish and the Scotch Highlanders. But harpers were not confined to the houses of kings, for every chief had his harper as well as his bard.

"The precise period when the harp was superseded by the bagpipe, it is not easy to ascertain. Roderick Morrison, usually called Ruairidh Dall, or *Blind Roderick*, was one of the last native harpers; he was harper to the Laird of M'Leod. On the death of his master, Morrison led an itinerant life, and in 1650 he paid a visit to Robertson of Lude, on which occasion he composed a *Port* or air, called *Suipeir Thighearna Leoid* or *The Laird of Lude's Supper*, which, with other pieces, is

still preserved. M'Intosh, the compiler of the Gaelic Proverbs, relates the following anecdote of Mr Robertson, who, it appears, was a harp-player himself of some eminence: — 'One night my father, James M'Intosh, said to Lude that he would be happy to hear him play on the harp, which at that time began to give place to the violin. After supper Lude and he retired to another room, in which there was a couple of harps, one of which belonged to Queen Mary. James, says Lude, here are two harps; the largest one is the loudest, but the small one is the sweetest, which do you wish to hear played? James answered the small one, which Lude took up and played upon till daylight.'

The last harper, as is commonly supposed, was Murdoch M'Donald, harper to M'Lean of Coll. He received instructions in playing from Rory Dall in Skye, and afterwards in Ireland; and from accounts of payments made to him by M'Lean, still extant, Murdoch seems to have continued in his family till the year 1734, when he appears to have gone to Quinish, in Mull, where he died."

The history of the *bagpipe* is curious and interesting, but such history does not fall within the scope of this work. Although a very ancient instrument, it does not appear to have been known to the Celtic nations. It was in use among the Trojans, Greeks, and Romans, but how, or in what manner it came to be introduced into the Highlands is a question which cannot be solved. Two suppositions have been started on this point, either that it was brought in by the Romans or by the northern nations. The latter conjecture appears to be the most probable, for we cannot possibly imagine that if the bagpipe had been introduced so early as the Roman epoch, no notice should have been taken of that instrument by the more early annalists and poets. But if the bagpipe was an imported instrument, how does it happen that the great Highland pipe is peculiar to the Highlands, and is perhaps the only national instrument in Europe? If it was introduced by the Romans, or by the people of Scandinavia, how has it happened that no traces of that instrument in its present shape are to be found anywhere except in the Highlands? There is, indeed, some plausi-

bility in these interrogatories, but they are easily answered, by supposing, what is very probable, that the great bagpipe in its present form is the work of modern improvement, and that originally the instrument was much the same as is still seen in Belgium and Italy.

The effects of this national instrument in arousing the feelings of those who have from infancy been accustomed to its wild and warlike tunes are truly astonishing. In halls of joy and in scenes of mourning it has prevailed; it has animated Scotland's warriors in battle, and welcomed them back after their toils to the homes of their love and the hills of their nativity. Its strains were the first sounded on the ears of infancy, and they are the last to be forgotten in the wanderings of age. Even Highlanders will allow that it is not the quietest of instruments, but when far from their mountain homes, what sounds, however melodious, could thrill round their heart like one burst of their own wild native pipe? The feelings which other instruments awaken are general and undefined, because they talk alike to Frenchmen, Spaniards, Germans, and Highlanders, for they are common to all; but the bagpipe is sacred to Scotland, and speaks a language which Scotsmen only feel. It talks to them of home and all the past, and brings before them, on the burning shores of India, the wild hills and oft-frequented streams of Caledonia, the friends that are thinking of them, and the sweet-hearts and wives that are weeping for them there; and need it be told here to how many fields of danger and victory its proud strains have led! There is not a battle that is honourable to Britain in which its war-blast has not sounded. When every other instrument has been hushed by the confusion and carnage of the scene, it has been borne into the thick of battle, and, far in the advance, its bleeding but devoted bearer, sinking on the earth, has sounded at once encouragement to his countrymen and his own coronach.

CATALOGUE

OF

Gaelic and Irish Manuscripts.

As connected with the literary history of the Gaelic Celts, the following lists of Gaelic and Irish manuscripts will, it is thought, be considered interesting.

CATALOGUE OF ANCIENT GAELIC MSS. IN THE POSSESSION OF THE HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND.

1. A folio MS., beautifully written on parchment or vellum, from the collection of the late Major Mac-lachlan of Kilbride. This is the oldest MS. in the possession of the Highland Society of Scotland. It is marked Vo. A. No. 1. The following remark is written on the margin of the fourth leaf of the MS.:—"Oidche bealtne ann a coimhtech mo Pupu Muirciusa agus as olc lium nach marunn diol in linesi dem dub Misi Fithil aca furnuidhe na scoile." Thus Englished by the late Dr Donald Smith:—"The night of the first of May in Coenobium of my Pope Murchus, and I regret that there is not left of my ink enough to fill up this line. I am Fithil, an attendant on the school." This MS., which, from its orthography, is supposed to be as old as the eighth or ninth century, "consists (says Dr Smith) of a poem, moral and religious, some short historical anecdotes, a critical exposition of the Tain, an Irish tale, which was composed in the time of Diarmad, son of Cearval, who reigned over Ireland from the year 544 to 565; and the Tain itself, which claims respect, as exceeding in point of antiquity, every production of any other vernacular tongue in Europe."¹

On the first page of the vellum, which was originally left blank, there are genealogies of the families of Argyll and Mac Leod in the Gaelic handwriting of the sixteenth century. The genealogy of the Argyll family ends with Archibald, who succeeded to the earldom in 1542, and died in 1588.² This is supposed to be the oldest Gaelic MS. extant. Dr Smith conjectures that it may have come into the possession of the Mac-lachlans of Kilbride in the sixteenth century, as a Ferquhard, son of Ferquhard Mac-lachlan, was bishop of the Isles, and had Iona or I Colum Kille in commendam from 1530 to 1544.—See *Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*.

To the *Tain* is prefixed the following critical exposition, giving a brief account of it in the technical terms of the Scots literature of the remote age in which it was written. "Ceathardha connagur in each ealathuin is cuineda don tsairsisi na Tana. Loc di cedumus lighe Fergus mhic Roich ait in rou hathnachd four mach Nai. Tempus umorro Diarmuta mhic Cerauilt in rigno Ibeirnia. Pearsa umorro Fergus mhic Roich air is e rou tirchan do na hecib ar chenu. A tuaid-scriuint dia ndeachai Seanchan Toirpda cona III. ri ecces . . . do saighe Cuairig rig Condacht." That is—the four things which are requisite to be known in every regular composition are to be noticed in this work of the Tain. The place of its origin is the stone of Fergus, son of Roich, where he was buried on the plain of Nai. The time of it, besides, is that in which Diarmad, son of Cervail, reigned over Ireland. The author, too, is Fergus,

¹ Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland on the Poems of Ossian, App. No. xix., p. 290.

² It is, therefore, probable that these genealogies were written about the middle of the sixteenth century. A fac simile of the writing is to be found in the Report of the Committee of the Highland Society on the authenticity of Ossian, Plate II.

son of Roich; for he it was that prompted it forthwith to the bards. The *cause* of writing it was a visit which Shenachan Torbda, with three chief bards, made to Guaire, king of Connaught.³

O'Flaherty thus concisely and accurately describes the subject and character of the *Tain*:—"Fergusius Rogius solo pariter ac solio Ultoniæ exterminatus, in Connactiam ad Ollilum et Mandam ibidem regnantes profugit; quibus patrocinantibus, memorabile exarsit bellum septennale inter Connacticos et Ultonios multis poeticis figmentis, ut ea ferebat ætas, adornatum. Hujus belli circiter medium, octennio ante caput æræ Christianæ Mauda regina Connactiæ, Fergusio Rogio ductore, immensam bonum prædam conspicuis agentium et insectantium virtutibus memorabilem, e Cualgno in agro Louthiano re portavit."⁴

From the expression, "Ut ea ferebat ætas," Dr Smith thinks that O'Flaherty considered the tale of the *Tain* as a composition of the age to which it relates; and that of course he must not have seen the Critical Exposition prefixed to the copy here described. From the silence of the Irish antiquaries respecting this Exposition, it is supposed that it must have been either unknown to, or overlooked by them, and consequently that it was written in Scotland.

The Exposition states, that Sheannachan, with the three bards and those in their retinue, when about to depart from the court of Guaire, being called upon to relate the history of the *Tain bho*, or cattle spoil of Cualigne, acknowledged their ignorance of it, and that having ineffectually made the round of Ireland and Scotland in quest of it, Eimin and Muirheartach, two of their number, repaired to the grave of Fergus, son of Roich, who, being invoked, appeared at the end of three days in terrific grandeur, and related the whole of the *Tain*, as given in the twelve Reimsgeala or Portions of which it consists. In the historical anecdotes allusion is made to Ossian, the son of Fingal, who is represented as showing, when young, an inclination to indulge in solitude his natural propensity for meditation and song. A *fac simile* of the characters of this MS. is given in the Highland Society's Report upon Ossian, Plate I., fig. 1, 2, and in Plate II.

2. Another parchment MS. in quarto, equally beautiful as the former, from the same collection. It consists of an Almanack bound up with a paper list of all the holidays, festivals, and most remarkable saints' days in verse throughout the year—A Treatise on Anatomy, abridged from Galen—Observations on the Secretions, &c.—The Schola Salernitana, in Leonine verse, drawn up about the year 1100, for the use of Robert, Duke of Normandy, the son of William the Conqueror, by the famous medical school of Salerno. The Latin text is accompanied with a Gaelic explanation, which is considered equally faithful and elegant, of which the following is a specimen:—

Caput I.—Anglorum regi scripsit schola tota Salerni.

1. As iat seol Salerni go hùilidhe do seòriu na fearsadh so do chum rig sag san do choimhead a shlainnte.

Si vis incolumem, si vis te reddere sanum;

Curas tolle graves, irasci crede prophanum.

Madh all bhith fallann, agus madh aill bhith slàn; Cuir na himsinha tromha dhìt, agus creit gurub dìomhain duit fearg do dhenumh.

The words *Leabhar Giollacholaim Meigbeathadh* are written on the last page of this MS., which being in the same form and hand, with the same words on a paper MS. bound up with a number of others written upon vellum in the Advocates' Library, and before which is written *Liber Malcolmni Bethune*, it has been

conjectured that both works originally belonged to Malcolm Bethune, a member of a family distinguished for learning, which supplied the Western Isles for many ages with physicians.⁵

3. A small quarto paper MS. from the same collection, written at Dunstaffnage by Ewen Macphail, 12th October 1603. It consists of a tale in prose concerning a King of Lochlin and the Heroes of Fingal: An Address to Gaul, the son of Morni, beginning—

Goll mear milleant—
Ceap na Crodhachta—

An Elegy on one of the earls of Argyle, beginning—

A Mhic Caillin a chosg lochd;

and a poem in praise of a young lady.

4. A small octavo paper MS. from the same collection, written by Eamonn or Edmond Mac Lachlan, 1654–5. This consists of a miscellaneous collection of sonnets, odes, and poetical epistles, partly Scots, and partly Irish. There is an *Ogham* or alphabet of secret writing near the end of it.

5. A quarto paper MS. from same collection. It wants ninety pages at the beginning, and part of the end. What remains consists of some ancient and modern tales and poems. The names of the authors are not given, but an older MS. (that of the Dean of Lismore) ascribes one of the poems to Conal, son of Edirskeol. This MS. was written at Aird-Chonail upon Lochowe, in the years 1690 and 1691, by Ewan Mac Lean for Colin Campbell. "Caillin mac Dhonchai mhic Dhughail mhic Chaillain oig." Colin Campbell is the owner of this book, namely Colin, son of Duncan, son of Dougal, son of Colin the younger. The above Gaelic inscription appears on the 79th leaf of the MS.

6. A quarto paper MS., which belonged to the Rev. James MacGregor, Dean of Lismore, the metropolitan church of the see of Argyle, dated, page 27, 1512, written by Duncan the son of Dougal, son of Ewen the Grizzled. This MS. consists of a large collection of Gaelic poetry, upwards of 11,000 verses. It is said to have been written "out of the books of the History of the Kings." Part of the MS., however, which closes an obituary, commencing in 1077, of the kings of Scotland, and other eminent persons of Scotland, particularly of the shires of Argyle and Perth, was not written till 1527. The poetical pieces are from the times of the most ancient bards down to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The more ancient pieces are poems of Conal, son of Edirskeol, Ossian, son of Fingal, Fearghas Fìli (Fergus the bard), and Caoilt, son of Ronan, the friends and contemporaries of Ossian. This collection also contains the works of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchay, who fell in the battle of Flodden, and Lady Isabel Campbell, daughter of the Earl of Argyle, and wife of Gilbert, Earl of Cassilis.⁶ "The writer of this MS. (says Dr Smith) rejected the ancient character for the current handwriting of the time, and adopted a new mode of spelling conformable to the Latin and English sounds of his own age and country, but retained the aspirate mark (') . . . The Welsh had long before made a similar change in their ancient orthography. Mr Edward Lhuyd recommended it, with some variation, in a letter to the Scots and Irish, prefixed to his Dictionary of their language in the *Archæologia Britannica*. The bishop of Sodor and Man observed it in the devotional exercises, admonition, and catechism, which he published for the use of his diocese. It was continued in the Manx translation of the Scriptures, and it has lately been adopted by Dr

³ Report of the Committee of the Highland Society on Ossian, App. No. xix., p. 291.

⁴ Ogyg., p. 275

⁵ Appendix, *ut supra*, No. xix.

⁶ Report of the Highland Society on Ossian, p. 92.

Reilly, titular Primate of Ireland, in his *TAGASC KREESTY*, or *Christian Doctrine*. But yet it must be acknowledged to be much inferior to the ancient mode of orthography, which has not only the advantage of being grounded on a knowledge of the principles of grammar, and philosophy of language, but of being also more plain and easy. This volume of the Dean's is curious, as distinguishing the genuine poetry of Ossian from the imitations made of it by later bards, and as ascertaining the degree of accuracy with which ancient poems have been transmitted by tradition for the last three hundred years, during a century of which the order of bards has been extinct, and ancient manners and customs have suffered a great and rapid change in the Highlands."⁷ A *fac simile* of the writing is given in the Report of the Committee of the Highland Society, plate III. No. 5. Since the above was written, the whole of this manuscript, with a few unimportant exceptions, has been transcribed, translated, and annotated by the Rev. Dr M'Lauchlan, Edinburgh, and an introductory chapter was furnished by W. F. Skene, Esq., LL.D. The work has been published by Messrs Edmonston & Douglas, of Edinburgh, and is a valuable addition to our Gaelic literature.

7. A quarto paper MS. written in a very beautiful regular hand, without date or the name of the writer. It is supposed to be at least two hundred years old, and consists of a number of ancient tales and short poems. These appear to be transcribed from a much older MS., as there is a vocabulary of ancient words in the middle of the MS. Some of the poetry is ascribed to Cuchulin.

8. Another quarto paper MS. the beginning and end of which have been lost. It consists partly of prose, partly of poetry. With the exception of two loose leaves, which appear much older, the whole appears to have been written in the 17th century. The poetry, though ancient, is not Fingalian. The name, Taidg Og CC., before one of the poems near the end, is the only one to be seen upon it.

9. A quarto parchment MS. consisting of 42 leaves, written by different hands, with illuminated capitals. It appears at one time to have consisted of four different MSS. bound together and covered with skin, to preserve them. This MS. is very ancient and beautiful, though much soiled. In this collection is a life of St Columba, supposed, from the character, (being similar to No. 27,) to be of the twelfth or thirteenth century.

10. A quarto parchment medical MS. beautifully written. No date or name, but the MS. appears to be very ancient.

11. A quarto paper MS., partly prose, partly verse, written in a very coarse and indifferent hand. No date or name.

12. A small quarto MS. coarse. Bears date 1647, without name.

13. A small long octavo paper MS. the beginning and end lost, and without any date. It is supposed to have been written by the Macvurichs of the fifteenth century. Two of the poems are ascribed to Taidg Mac Daire Bruaidheadh, others to Brian O'Donalan.

14. A large folio parchment MS. in two columns, containing a tale upon Cuchullin and Conal, two of Ossian's heroes. Without date or name and very ancient.

15. A large quarto parchment of 7½ leaves, supposed by Mr Astle, author of the work on the origin and progress of writing, to be of the ninth or tenth century. Its title is *Emanuel*, a name commonly given by the old Gaelic writers to many of their miscellaneous writings. Engraved specimens of this MS. are to be

seen in the first edition of Mr Astle's work above-mentioned, 18th plate, Nos. 1 and 2, and in his second edition, plate 22. Some of the capitals in the MS. are painted red. It is written in a strong beautiful hand, in the same character as the rest. This MS. is only the fragment of a large work on ancient history, written on the authority of Greek and Roman writers, and interspersed with notices of the arts, armour, dress, superstitions, manners, and usages, of the Scots of the author's own time. In this MS. there is a chapter titled, "*Slogha Chesair an Inis Bhreatain*," or Cæsar's expedition to the island of Britain, in which *Lechlin*, a country celebrated in the ancient poems and tales of the Gæil, is mentioned as separated from Gaul by "the clear current of the Rhine." Dr Donald Smith had a complete copy of this work.

16. A small octavo parchment MS. consisting of a tale in prose, imperfect. Supposed to be nearly as old as the last mentioned MS.

17. A small octavo paper MS. stitched, imperfect; written by the Macvurichs. It begins with a poem upon Dartluha, different from Macpherson's, and contains poems written by Cathal and Nial Mor Macvurich, (whose names appear at the beginning of some of the poems,) composed in the reign of King James the Fifth, Mary, and King Charles the First. It also contains some Ossianic poems, such as Cnoc an àir, &c. i. e. The Hill of Slaughter, supposed to be part of Macpherson's Fingal. It is the story of a woman who came walking alone to the Fingalians for protection from Taile, who was in pursuit of her. Taile fought them, and was killed by Oscar. There was another copy of this poem in Clanranald's little book—not the Red book, as erroneously supposed by Laing. The Highland Society are also in possession of several copies taken from oral tradition. The second Ossianic poem in this MS. begins thus:

Sè la gus an dè
O nach fhaca mi fein Fionn.

It is now six days yesterday
Since I have not seen Fingal.

18. An octavo paper MS. consisting chiefly of poetry, but very much defaced. Supposed to have been written by the last of the Macvurichs, but without date. The names of Taidg Og and Lauchlan Mac Taidg occur upon it. It is supposed to have been copied from a more ancient MS. as the poetry is good.

19. A very small octavo MS. written by some of the Macvurichs. Part of it is a copy of Clanranald's book, and contains the genealogy of the Lords of the Isles and others of that great clan. The second part consists of a genealogy of the kings of Ireland (ancestors of the Macdonalds) from Scota and Gaelic. The last date upon it is 1616.

20. A paper MS. consisting of a genealogy of the kings of Ireland, of a few leaves only, and without date.

21. A paper MS. consisting of detached leaves of different sizes, and containing, 1. The conclusion of a Gaelic chronicle of the kings of Scotland down to King Robert III.; 2. A Fingalian tale, in which the heroes are Fingal, Goll Mac Morni, Oscar, Ossian, and Conan; 3. A poem by Macdonald of Benbecula, dated 1722, upon the unwritten part of a letter sent to Donald Macvurich of Stialgary; 4. A poem by Donald Mackenzie; 5. Another by Taidg Og CC, copied from some other MS.; 6. A poem by Donald Macvurich upon Ronald Macdonald of Clanranald. Besides several hymns by Taidg, and other poems by the Macvurichs and others.

22. A paper MS. consisting of religious tracts and genealogy, without name or date.

23. A paper MS. containing instruction for children in Gaelic and English. Modern, and without date.

⁷ Appendix to the Highland Society's Report, p. 300-1.

24. Fragments of a paper MS., with the name of Cathelus Macvurich upon some of the leaves, and Niall Macvurich upon some others. *Conn Mac an Deirg*, a well known ancient poem, is written in the Roman character by the last Niall Macvurich, the last Highland bard, and is the only one among all the Gaelic MSS. in that character.

With the exception of the first five numbers, all the before mentioned MSS. were presented by the Highland Society of London to the Highland Society of Scotland in January, 1803, on the application of the committee appointed to inquire into the nature and authenticity of the poems of Ossian. All these MSS. (with the single exception of the Dean of Lismore's volume,) are written in the very ancient form of character which was common of old to Britain and Ireland, and supposed to have been adopted by the Saxons at the time of their conversion to Christianity. This form of writing has been discontinued for nearly eighty years in Scotland, as the last specimen which the Highland Society of Scotland received of it consists of a volume of songs, supposed to have been written between the years 1752 and 1768, as it contains a song written by Duncan Macintyre, titled, *An Taileir Mac Neachdain*, which he composed the former year, the first edition of Macintyre's songs having been published during the latter year.⁸

25. Besides these, the Society possesses a collection of MS. Gaelic poems made by Mr Duncan Kennedy, formerly schoolmaster at Craignish in Argyleshire, in three thin folio volumes. Two of them are written out fair from the various poems he had collected about sixty years ago. This collection consists of the following poems, viz., Luachair Leothaid, Sgiathan mac Sgairbh, An Gruagach, Roehd, Sithallan, Mhùr Bheura, Tiomban, Seal na Cluana, Gleannruadhach, Uirnich Oisein, Earragan, (resembling Macpherson's Battle of Lora,) Manus, Maire Borb, (Maid of Craca,) Cath Siseair, Sliabh nam Beann Siønn, Bas Dheirg, Bas Chluinn, Rìgh Liur, Seal na Leana, Dun an Oir, An Cu dubh, Gleann Diamhair, Conal, Bas Chiuinlaich Diarmad, Carril, Bas Ghuill (different from the Death of Ganl published by Dr Smith,) Garaibh, Bas Oseair, (part of which is the same narrative with the opening of Macpherson's *Temora*,) in three parts; Tuiridh nam Fian, and Bass Osein. To each of these poems Kennedy has prefixed a dissertation containing some account of the *Sgealaehd* story, or argument of the poem which is to follow. It was very common for the reciter, or *history-man*, as he was termed in the Highlands, to repeat the *Sgealachds* to his hearers before reciting the poems to which they related. Several of the poems in this collection correspond pretty nearly with the ancient MS. above mentioned, which belonged to the Dean of Lismore.⁹

26. A paper, medical, MS. in the old Gaelic character, a thick volume, written by Angus Connacher at Ardeconel, Lochow-side, Argyleshire, 1612, presented to the Highland Society of Scotland by the late William Macdonald, Esq. of St Martins, W.S.

27. A beautiful parchment MS., greatly mutilated, in the same character, presented to the Society by the late Lord Bannatyne, one of the judges of the Court of Session. The supposed date upon the cover is 1238, is written in black letter, but it is in a comparatively modern hand. "Gleann Masain an cuige la deag do an . . . Mh . . . do bhliar ar tsaoirse Mìle da chead, trichid sa hocht." That is, Glen-Masan, the 15th day of the . . . of M . . . of the year of our Redemption 1238. It is supposed that the date has been taken from the MS. when in a more entire state. Glenmasan, where it was written, is a valley in the district of Cowal. From a note on the margin of the

15th leaf, it would appear to have formerly belonged to the Rev. William Campbell, minister of Kilchrenan and Dalavich, and a native of Cowal, and to whom Dr D. Smith supposes it may, perhaps, have descended from his grand-uncle, Mr Robert Campbell, in Cowal, an accomplished scholar and poet, who wrote the eighth address prefixed to Lhuyd's *Archæologia*.

The MS. consists of some mutilated tales in prose, interspersed with verse, one of which is part of the poem of "Clan Uisneachan," called by Macpherson *Darthula*, from the lady who makes the principal figure in it. The name of this lady in Gaelic is Deirdir, or Dearduil. A *fac simile* of the writing is given in the appendix to the Highland Society's Report on Ossian. Plate iii. No. 4.

28. A paper MS. in the same character, consisting of an ancient tale in prose, presented to the Society by Mr Norman Macleod, son of the Rev. Mr Macleod of Morven.

29. A small paper MS. in the same character, on religion.

30. A paper MS. in the same character, presented to the Highland Society by James Grant, Esquire of Corymony. It consists of the history of the wars of Cuchullin, in prose and verse. This MS. is much worn at the ends and edges. It formerly belonged to Mr Grant's mother, said to have been an excellent Gaelic scholar.

CATALOGUE OF ANCIENT GAELIC MSS. WHICH BELONGED TO THE LATE MAJOR MACLAUCHLAN OF KILBRIDE, BESIDES THE FIVE FIRST ENUMERATED IN THE FOREGOING LIST, AND WHICH ARE NOW IN THE ADVOCATES' LIBRARY, EDINBURGH.

1. A beautiful medical MS. with the other MSS. formerly belonging to the collection. The titles of the different articles are in Latin, as are all the medical Gaelic MSS., being translations from Galen and other ancient physicians. The capital letters are flourished and painted red.

2. A thick folio paper MS., medical, written by Duncan Conacher, at Dunollie, Argyleshire, 1511.

3. A folio parchment MS. consisting of ancient Scottish and Irish history, very old.

4. A folio parchment medical MS. beautifully written. It is older than the other medical MSS.

5. A folio parchment medical MS. of equal beauty with the last.

6. A folio parchment MS. upon the same subject, and nearly of the same age with the former.

7. A folio parchment, partly religious, partly medical.

8. A folio parchment MS. consisting of the Histories of Scotland and Ireland, much damaged.

9. A folio parchment medical MS., very old.

10. A folio parchment MS. Irish history and poetry.

11. A quarto parchment MS., very old.

12. A long duodecimo parchment MS. consisting of hymns and maxims. It is a very beautiful MS., and may be as old as the time of St Columba.

13. A duodecimo parchment MS. much damaged and illegible.

14. A duodecimo parchment MS. consisting of poetry, but not Ossianic. Hardly legible.

15. A duodecimo parchment MS. much injured by vermin. It consists of a miscellaneous collection of history and poetry.

16. A duodecimo parchment MS. in large beautiful letter, very old and difficult to be understood.

17. A folio parchment MS. consisting of the genealogies of the Macdonalds, Macniels, Macdougals, Maclauchlans, &c.

All these MSS. are written in the old Gaelic character, and, with the exception of No. 2, have neither date nor name attached to them.

⁸ Report on Ossian, Appendix, p. 312.

⁹ Report on Ossian, pp. 103-9.

Besides those enumerated, there are, it is believed, many ancient Gaelic MSS. existing in private libraries. The following are known :—

A Deed of Fosterage between Sir Norman Macleod of Bernera, and John Mackenzie, executed in the year 1640. This circumstance shows that the Gaelic language was in use in legal obligations at that period in the Highlands. This MS. was in the possession of the late Lord Bannatyne.

A variety of parchment MSS. on medicine, in the Gaelic character, formerly in the possession of the late Dr Donald Smith. He was also possessed of a complete copy of the Emanuel MS. before mentioned, and of copies of many other MSS., which he made at different times from other MSS.

Two paper MS. Gaelic grammars, in the same character, formerly in the possession of the late Dr Wright of Edinburgh.

Two ancient parchment MSS. in the same character, formerly in the possession of the late Rev. James MacLagan, at Blair-Athole. Now in possession of his family. It is chiefly Irish history.

A paper MS. written in the Roman character, in the possession of Mr Matheson of Fearnraig, Ross-shire. It is dated in 1688, and consists of songs and hymns by different persons, some by Carswell, Bishop of the Isles. There is reason to fear that this MS. has been lost.

A paper MS. formerly in the possession of a Mr Simpson in Leith.

The Liliun Medecine, a paper folio MS. written and translated by one of the Bethunes, the physicians of Skye, at the foot of Mount Pelio. It was given to the Antiquarian Society of London by the late Dr Macqueen of Kilmore, in Skye.

Two treatises, one on astronomy, the other on medicine, written in the latter end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, formerly in the possession of Mr Astle.

Gaelic and Irish MSS. in Public Libraries.

IN THE ADVOCATES' LIBRARY.

Three volumes MS. in the old character, chiefly medical, with some fragments of Scottish and Irish history; and the life of St Columba, said to have been translated from the Latin into Gaelic, by Father Calohoran.

IN THE HARLEIAN LIBRARY.

A MS. volume (No. 5280) containing twenty-one Gaelic or Irish treatises, of which Mr Astle has given some account. One of these treats of the Irish militia, under Fion Maccumhail, in the reign of Cormac-Mac-Airt, king of Ireland, and of the course of probation or exercise which each soldier was to go through before his admission therein. Mr Astle has given a *fac simile* of the writing, being the thirteenth specimen of Plate xxii.

IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD.

An old Irish MS. on parchment, containing, among other tracts, An account of the Conquest of Britain by the Romans:—Of the Saxon Conquest and their Heptarchy:—An account of the Irish Saints, in verse, written in the tenth century:—The Saints of the Roman Breviary:—An account of the Conversion of the Irish and English to Christianity, with some other subjects. Laud. F. 92. This book, as is common in old Irish manuscripts, has here and there some Latin notes intermixed with Irish, and may possibly contain some hints of the doctrines of the Druids.

An old vellum MS. of 140 pages, in the form of a music-book, containing the works of St Columba, in verse, with some account of his own life; his exhortations to princes and his prophecies. Laud. D. 17.

A chronological history of Ireland, by Jeffrey Keating, D.D.

Among the Clarendon MSS. at Oxford are—

Annales Ultonienses, sic dicti quod precipue continent res gestas Ultoniensium. Codex antiquissimus caractere Hibernico scriptus; sed sermone, partim Hibernico, partim Latino. Fol. membr. The 16th and 17th specimens in Plate xxii. of Astle's work are taken from this MS., which is numbered 31 of Dr Rawlinson's MSS.

Annales Tigernaci (Erenaci. ut opinatur Warceus Clonmanaisensis. Vid. Annal. Ulton. ad an. 1088), mutili in initio et alibi. Liber caractere et lingua Hibernicis scriptus. Memb.

These annals, which are written in the old Irish character, were originally collected by Sir James Ware, and came into the possession successively of the Earl of Clarendon, the Duke of Chandos, and of Dr Rawlinson.

Miscellanea de Rebus Hibernicis, metricè. Lingua partim Latina, partim Hibernica; collecta per Cengusium O'Colode (fortè Colidium). Hic liber vulgò Psalter Na rann appellatur.

Elegiæ Hibernicæ in Obitu quorundam Nobilium fo. 50.

Notæ quædam Philosophicæ, partim Latinæ, partim Hibernicæ, Characteribus Hibernicis, fo. 69. Membr. Anonymi ejusdæm Tractatus de variis apud Hibernos veteres oculis scribendi Formulæ, Hibernicè Ogum dictis.

Finleachi O Catalai Gigantomachia (vel potius Acta Finni Mac Cuil, cum Proelio de Fintra), Hibernicè. Colloquia quædam de Rebus Hibernicis in quibus colloquentes introducuntur S. Patricius, Coillius, et Ossenus Hibernicè f. 12. Leges Ecclesiasticæ Hibernicè f. 53. Membr.

Vitæ Sanctorum Hibernicorum, per Magnum sive Manum, filium Hugonis O'Donnel, Hibernicè descriptæ. An. 1532, Fol. Membr.

Calieni Prophetiæ, in Lingua Hibernica. Ejusdem libri exemplar extat in Bibl. Cotton, f. 22. b.

Extracto ex Libro Killensi, Lingua Hibernica, f. 39.

Historica quædam, Hibernicè, ab An. 130, ad An. 1317, f. 231.

A Book of Irish Poetry, f. 16.

Tractatus de Scriptoribus Hibernicis.

Dr Keating's History of Ireland.

Irish MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin:—

Extracto ex Libro de Kells Hibernicè.

A book in Irish, treating,—1. Of the Building of Babel. 2. Of Grammar. 3. Of Physic. 4. Of Chirurgery. Fol. D. 10.

A book containing several ancient historical matters, especially of the coming of Milesius out of Spain. B. 35.

The book of Balimote, containing,—1. The Genealogies of all the ancient Families in Ireland. 2. The Uracept, or a book for the education of youth, written by K. Comfoilus Sapiens. 3. The Ogma, or Art of Writing in Characters. 4. The History of the Wars of Troy, with other historical matters contained in the book of Lecane, D. 18. The book of Lecane, *alias* Sligo, contains the following treatises:—1. A treatise of Ireland and its divisions into provinces, with the history of the Irish kings and sovereigns, answerable to the general history; but nine leaves are wanting. 2. How the race of Milesius came into Ireland, and of their adventures since Moses's passing through the Red Sea. 3. Of the descent and years of the ancient fathers. 4. A catalogue of the kings of Ireland in verse. 5. The maternal genealogies and degrees of the Irish saints. 6. The genealogies of our Lady,

Joseph, and several other saints mentioned in the Scripture. 7. An alphabetic catalogue of Irish saints. 8. The sacred antiquity of the Irish saints in verse. 9. Cormac's life. 10. Several transactions of the monarchs of Ireland and their provincial kings. 11. The history of Eogain M'or, Knight; as also of his children and posterity. 12. O'Neil's pedigree. 13. Several battles of the Sept of Cinet Ogen, or tribe of Owen, from Owen Mac Neile Mac Donnoch. 14. Manne, the son of King Neal, of the nine hostages and his family. 15. Fiacha, the son of Mac Neil and his Sept. 16. Leogarius, son of Nelus Magnus, and his tribe. 17. The Connaught book. 18. The book of Fiachrach. 19. The book of Uriel. 20. The Leinster book. 21. The descent of the Fochards, or the Nolans. 22. The descent of those of Leix, or the O'Mores. 23. The descent of Decyes of Munster, or the Ophelans. 24. The coming of Muscrey to Moybreagh. 25. A commentary upon the antiquity of Albany, now called Scotland. 26. The descent of some Septs of the Irish, different from those of the most known sort, that is, of the posterity of Lugadh Frith. 27. The Ulster book. 28. The British book. 29. The Uraccept, or a book for the education of youth, written by K. Comfoilus Sapiens. 30. The genealogies of St Patrick and other saints, as also an etymology of the hard words in the said treatise. 31. A treatise of several prophecies. 32. The laws, customs, exploits, and tributes of the Irish kings and provincials. 33. A treatise of Eva, and the famous women of ancient times. 34. A poem that treats of Adam and his posterity. 35. The Munster book. 36. A book containing the etymology of all the names of the chief territories and notable places in Ireland. 37. Of the several invasions of Clan-Partholan, Clan-nan vies, Firbolhg, Tu'atha de Danaan, and the Milesians into Ireland. 38. A treatise of the most considerable men

in Ireland, from the time of Leogarius the son of Nelus Magnus, alias Neale of the nine hostages in the time of Roderic O'Conner, monarch of Ireland, fol. parchment. D. 19.

De Chirurgia. De Infirmis Corporis humane, Hibernicé, f. Membr. C. 1.

Excerpta quedam de antiquitatibus Incolarum, Dublin ex libris Bellemorensi et Sligantino, Hibernicé.

Hymni in laudem B. Patricii, Brigidæ et Columbiæ, Hibern. plerumque. Invocationes Apostolorum et SS. cum not. Hibern. interlin. et margin. Orationes quedam excerptæ ex Psalmis; partim Latiné, partim Hibernicé, fol. Membr. I. 125.

Opera Galeni et Hippocratis de Chirurgia, Hibernicé, fol. Membr. C. 29.

A book of Postils in Irish, fol. Membr. D. 24.

Certain prayers, with the argument of the four Gospels and the Acts, in Irish (10.), Fiechi Slebthiensis. Hymnus in laudem S. Patricii, Hibernicé (12.), A hymn on St Bridget, in Irish, made by Columkill in the time of Eda Mac Ainnmireck, cum Regibus Hibern. et success. S. Patricii (14.), Sanctani Hymnus. Hibern.

Reverendissimi D. Bedelli Translatio Hibernica S. Bibliorum.

BRITISH MUSEUM.

In addition to the above, there has been a considerable collection of Gaelic MSS. made at the British Museum. They were all catalogued a few years ago by the late Eugene O'Curry, Esq. It is unnecessary to give the list here, but Mr O'Curry's catalogue will be found an admirable directory for any inquirer at the Museum. Foreign libraries also contain many such MSS.

PART SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE HIGHLAND CLANS.

CHAPTER I.

Clanship—Principle of *kin*—Mormaordoms—Traditions as to origin of Clans—Distinction between Feudalism and Clanship—Peculiarities of Clanship—Consequences of Clanship—*Manrent*—Customs of Succession—Tanistry and Gavel—Highland Marriage Customs—Hand-fasting—Highland gradation of ranks—*Calpe*—Native-men—Righ or King—Mormaor, Tighern, Thane—Tanist—*Ceantighes*—Toshach—"Captain" of a Clan—Ogtiern—Duine-wassels, Tacksmen, or Goodmen—Brehon—Position and power of Chief—Influence of Clanship on the people—Chiefs sometimes abandoned by the people—Number and Distribution of Clans.

THE term *clan*, now applied almost exclusively to the tribes into which the Scottish Highlanders were formerly, and still to some extent are divided, was also applied to those large and powerful septs into which the Irish people were at one time divided, as well as to the communities of freebooters that inhabited the Scottish borders, each of which, like the Highland clans, had a common surname. Indeed, in an Act of the Scottish Parliament for 1587, the Highlanders and Borderers are classed together as being alike "dependents on chieftains or captains of clans." The border clans, however, were at a comparatively early period broken up and weaned from their predatory and warlike habits, whereas the system of clanship in the Highlands continued to flourish in almost full vigour down to the middle of last century. As there is so much of romance surrounding the system, especially in its later manifesta-

tions, and as it was the cause of much annoyance to Britain, it has become a subject of interest to antiquarians and students of mankind generally; and as it flourished so far into the historical period, curiosity can, to a great extent, be gratified as to its details and working.

A good deal has been written on the subject in its various aspects, and among other authorities we must own our indebtedness for much of our information to Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, Gregory's *Highlands and Isles*, Robertson's *Scotland under her Early Kings*, Stewart's *Sketches of the Highlanders*, Logan's *Scottish Gael and Clans*, and *The Iona Club Transactions*, besides the publications of the various other Scottish Clubs.

We learn from Tacitus and other historians, that at a very early period the inhabitants of Caledonia were divided into a number of tribes, each with a chief at its head. These tribes, from all we can learn, were independent of, and often at war with each other, and only united under a common elected leader when the necessity of resisting a common foe compelled them. In this the Caledonians only followed a custom which is common to all barbarous and semi-barbarous peoples; but what was the bond of union among the members of the various tribes it is now not easy to ascertain. We learn from the researches of Mr E. W. Robertson that the feeling of *kindred* was very strong among all the early Celtic

and even Teutonic nations, and that it was on the principle of *kin* that land was allotted to the members of the various tribes. The property of the land appears to have been vested in the *Cean-cinneth*, or head of the lineage for the good of his clan; it was "burdened with the support of his kindred and *Amasach*" (military followers), these being allotted parcels of land in proportion to the nearness of their relation to the chief of the clan.¹ The word *clan* itself, from its etymology,² points to the principle of *kin*, as the bond which united the members of the tribes among themselves, and bound them to their chiefs. As there are good grounds for believing that the original Caledonians, the progenitors of the present genuine Highlanders, belonged to the Celtic family of mankind, it is highly probable that when they first entered upon possession of Alban, whether peaceably or by conquest, they divided the land among their various tribes in accordance with their Celtic principle. The word *clan*, as we have said, signifies family, and a clan was a certain number of families of the same name, sprung, as was believed, from the same root, and governed by the lineal descendant of the parent family. This patriarchal form of society was probably common in the infancy of mankind, and seems to have prevailed in the days of Abraham; indeed, it was on a similar principle that Palestine was divided among the twelve tribes of Israel, the descendants of the twelve sons of Jacob.

As far back as we can trace, the Highlands appear to have been divided into a number of districts, latterly known as Mormaordoms, each under the jurisdiction of a Mormaor, to whom the several tribes in each district looked up as their common head. It is not improbable that Galgacus, the chosen leader mentioned by Tacitus, may have held a position similar to this, and that in course of time some powerful or popular chief, at first elected as a temporary leader, may have contrived to make his office permanent, and even to some extent hereditary. The title Mormaor, however, is first met with only after the various divisions of northern Scotland had

been united into a kingdom. "In Scotland the royal official placed over the crown or fiscal lands, appears to have been originally known as the *Maor*, and latterly under the Teutonic appellation of Thane. . . . The original Thanage would appear to have been a district held of the Crown, the holder, Maor or Thane, being accountable for the collection of the royal dues, and for the appearance of the royal tenantry at the yearly 'hosting,' and answering to the hereditary *Toshach*, or captain of a clan, for the king stood in the place of the *Cean-cinneth*, or chief. . . . When lands were strictly retained in the Crown, the Royal Thane, or Maor, was answerable directly to the King; but there was a still greater official among the Scots, known under the title of *Mormaor*, or Lord High Steward . . . who was evidently a Maor placed over a province instead of a thanage—an earldom or county instead of a barony—a type of Harfager's royal Jarl, who often exercised as a royal deputy that authority which he had originally claimed as the independent lord of the district over which he presided."³ According to Mr Skene,⁴ it was only about the 16th century when the great power of these Mormaors was broken up, and their provinces converted into thanages or earldoms, many of which were held by Saxon nobles, who possessed them by marriage, that the clans first make their appearance in these districts and in independence. By this, we suppose, he does not mean that it was only when the above change took place that the system of clanship sprang into existence, but that then the various great divisions of the clans, losing their *cean-cinneth*, or head of the kin, the individual clans becoming independent, sprang into greater prominence and assumed a stronger individuality.

Among the Highlanders themselves various traditions have existed as to the origin of the clans. Mr Skene mentions the three principal ones, and proves them to be entirely fanciful. The first of these is the *Scottish* or *Irish* system, by which the clans trace their origin or foundation to early Irish or Scoto-Irish kings. The second is what Mr Skene terms the *heroic*

¹ *Scotland under her Early Kings*, Ap. D.

² Gaelic, *clann*; Irish, *clann*, or *cland*; Manx, *cloan*, children, offspring, tribe.

³ Robertson's *Early Kings*, i. 102, 103, 104.

⁴ *Highlanders*, i. 16.

system, by which many of the Highland clans are deduced from the great heroes in the fabulous histories of Scotland and Ireland, by identifying one of these fabulous heroes with an ancestor of the clan of the same name. The third system did not spring up till the 17th century, "when the fabulous history of Scotland first began to be doubted, when it was considered to be a principal merit in an antiquarian to display his scepticism as to all the old traditions of the country." Mr Skene terms it the *Norwegian* or *Danish* system, and it was the result of a *furor* for imputing everything and deriving everybody from the Danes. The idea, however, never obtained any great credit in the Highlands. The conclusion to which Mr Skene comes is, "that the Highland clans are not of different or foreign origin, but that they were a part of the original nation, who have inhabited the mountains of Scotland as far back as the memory of man, or the records of history can reach; that they were divided into several great tribes possessing their hereditary chiefs; and that it was only when the line of these chiefs became extinct, and Saxon nobles came into their place, that the Highland clans appeared in the peculiar situation and character in which they were afterwards found." Mr Skene thinks this conclusion strongly corroborated by the fact that there can be traced existing in the Highlands, even so late as the 16th century, a still older tradition than that of the Irish origin of the clans. This tradition is found in the often referred to letter of "John Elder, clerk, a Reddschanke," dated 1542, and addressed to King Henry VIII. This tradition, held by the Highlanders of the "more auncient stoke" in opposition to the "Papistical curside spiritualite of Scotland," was that they were the true descendants of the ancient Picts, then known as "Redd Schankes."

Whatever may be the value of Mr Skene's conclusions as to the purity of descent of the present Highlanders, his researches, taken in conjunction with those of Mr E. W. Robertson, seem pretty clearly to prove, that from as far back as history goes the Highlanders were divided into tribes on the principle of *kin*,

that the germ of the fully developed clan-system can be found among the earliest Celtic inhabitants of Scotland; that clanship, in short, is only a modern example, systematised, developed, and modified by time of the ancient principle on which the Celtic people formed their tribes and divided their lands. The clans were the fragments of the old Celtic tribes, whose mormaors had been destroyed, each tribe dividing into a number of clans. When, according to a recent writer, the old Celtic tribe was deprived of its chief, the bolder spirits among the minor chieftains would gather round them each a body of partisans, who would assume his name and obey his orders. It might even happen that, from certain favourable circumstances, a Saxon or a Norman stranger would thus be able to gain a circle of adherents out of a broken or chieftainless Celtic tribe, and so become the founder of a clan.

As might be expected, this primitive, patriarchal state of society would be liable to be abolished as the royal authority became extended and established, and the feudal system substituted in its stead. This we find was the case, for under David and his successors, during the 12th and 13th centuries, the old and almost independent mormaordoms were gradually abolished, and in their stead were substituted earldoms feudally dependent upon the Crown. In many instances these mormaordoms passed into the hands of lowland barons, favourites of the king; and thus the dependent tribes, losing their hereditary heads, separated, as we have said, into a number of small and independent clans, although even the new foreign barons themselves for a long time exercised an almost independent sway, and used the power which they had acquired by royal favour against the king himself.

As far as the tenure of lands and the heritable jurisdictions were concerned, the feudal system was easily introduced into the Highlands; but although the principal chiefs readily agreed, or were induced by circumstances to hold their lands of the Crown or of low-country barons, yet the system of clanship remained in full force amongst the native Highlanders until a very recent period, and its spirit still to a certain extent survives in

⁵ *Highlanders*, p. 7, *et. seq.*

the affections, the prejudices, the opinions, and the habits of the people.⁶

The nature of the Highlands of Scotland was peculiarly favourable to the clan system, and no doubt helped to a considerable extent to perpetuate it. The division of the country into so many straths, and valleys, and islands, separated from one another by mountains or arms of the sea, necessarily gave rise to various distinct societies. Their secluded situation necessarily rendered general intercourse difficult, whilst the impenetrable ramparts with which they were surrounded made defence easy. The whole race was thus broken into many individual masses, possessing a community of customs and character, but placed under different jurisdictions; every district became a sort of petty independent state; and the government of each community or clan assumed the patriarchal form, being a species of hereditary monarchy, founded on custom, and allowed by general consent, rather than regulated by positive laws.

The system of clanship in the Highlands,⁷ although possessing an apparent resemblance to feudalism, was in principle very different indeed from that system as it existed in other parts of the country. In the former case, the people followed their chief as the head of their race, and the representative of the common ancestor of the clan; in the latter, they obeyed their leader as feudal proprietor of the lands to which they were attached, and to whom they owed military service for their respective portions of these lands. The Highland chief was the hereditary lord of all who belonged to his clan, wherever they dwelt or whatever lands they occupied; the feudal baron was entitled to the military service of all who held lands under him, to whatever race they might individually belong. The one dignity was personal, the other was territorial; the rights of the chief were inherent, those of the baron were accessory; the one might lose or forfeit his possessions, but could not thereby be divested of his hereditary character and privi-

leges; the other, when divested of his fee, ceased to have any title or claim to the service of those who occupied the lands. Yet these two systems, so different in principle, were in effect nearly identical. Both exhibited the spectacle of a subject possessed of unlimited power within his own territories, and exacting unqualified obedience from a numerous train of followers, to whom he stood in the several relations of landlord, military leader, and judge, with all the powers and prerogatives belonging to each of those characters. Both were equally calculated to aggrandise turbulent chiefs and nobles, at the expense of the royal authority, which they frequently defied, generally resisted, and but seldom obeyed; although for the most part, the chief was less disloyal than the baron, probably because he was farther removed from the seat of government, and less sensible of its interference with his own jurisdiction. The one system was adapted to a people in a pastoral state of society, and inhabiting a country, like the Highlands of Scotland, which from its peculiar nature and conformation, not only prevented the adoption of any other mode of life, but at the same time prescribed the division of the people into separate families or clans. The other system, being of a defensive character, was necessary to a population occupying a fertile but open country, possessing only a rude notion of agriculture, and exposed on all sides to aggressions on the part of neighbours or enemies. But the common tendency of both was to obstruct the administration of justice, nurse habits of lawless violence, exclude the cultivation of the arts of peace, and generally to impede the progress of improvement; and hence neither was compatible with the prosperity of a civilised nation, where the liberty of the subject required protection, and the security of property demanded an equal administration of justice.

The peculiarities of clanship are nowhere better described than in Burt's *Letters from an Officer of Engineers to his Friend in London*.⁸ "The Highlanders," he says, "are divided into tribes or clans, under chiefs or

⁶ For details concerning the practical working of the clan system, in addition to what are given in this introduction, we refer the reader to chaps. xviii. xlii., xliii., xlv. of Part First.

⁷ We are indebted for much of what follows to Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 153, *et seq.*

⁸ Letter xix., part of which has already been quoted in ch. xlii., but may with advantage be again introduced here.

chieftains, and each clan is again divided into branches from the main stock, who have chieftains over them. These are subdivided into smaller branches of fifty or sixty men, who deduce their original from their particular chieftains, and rely upon them as their more immediate protectors and defenders. The ordinary Highlanders esteem it the most sublime degree of virtue to love their chief and pay him a blind obedience, although it be in opposition to the government. Next to this love of their chief is that of the particular branch whence they sprang; and, in a third degree, to those of the whole clan or name, whom they will assist, right or wrong, against those of any other tribe with which they are at variance. They likewise owe good-will to such clans as they esteem to be their particular well-wishers. And, lastly, they have an adherence to one another as Highlanders in opposition to the people of the low country, whom they despise as inferior to them in courage, and believe they have a right to plunder them whenever it is in their power. This last arises from a tradition that the Lowlands, in old times, were the possessions of their ancestors.

"The chief exercises an arbitrary authority over his vassals, determines all differences and disputes that happen among them, and levies taxes upon extraordinary occasions, such as the marriage of a daughter, building a house, or some pretence for his support or the honour of his name; and if any one should refuse to contribute to the best of his ability, he is sure of severe treatment, and, if he persists in his obstinacy, he would be cast out of his tribe by general consent. This power of the chief is not supported by interest, as they are landlords, but by consanguinity, as lineally descended from the old patriarchs or fathers of the families, for they hold the same authority when they have lost their estates, as may appear from several instances, and particularly that of one (Lord Lovat) who commands his clan, though at the same time they maintain him, having nothing left of his own. On the other hand, the chief, even against the laws, is bound to protect his followers, as they are sometimes called, be they never so criminal. He is their leader in clan quarrels, must free

the necessitous from their arrears of rent, and maintain such who by accidents are fallen to total decay. Some of the chiefs have not only personal dislikes and enmity to each other, but there are also hereditary feuds between clan and clan, which have been handed down from one generation to another for several ages. These quarrels descend to the meanest vassals, and thus sometimes an innocent person suffers for crimes committed by his tribe at a vast distance of time before his being began."

This clear and concise description will serve to convey an idea of clanship as it existed in the Highlands, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the system was in full force and vigour. It presented a singular mixture of patriarchal and feudal government; and everything connected with the habits, manners, customs, and feelings of the people tended to maintain it unimpaired, amidst all the changes which were gradually taking place in other parts of the country, from the diffusion of knowledge, and the progress of improvement. There was, indeed, something almost oriental in the character of immutability which seemed to belong to this primitive institution, endeared as it was to the affections, and singularly adapted to the condition of the people amongst whom it prevailed. Under its influence all their habits had been formed; with it all their feelings and associations were indissolubly blended. When the kindred and the followers of a chief saw him surrounded by a body of adherents, numerous, faithful, and brave, devoted to his interests, and ready at all times to sacrifice their lives in his service, they could conceive no power superior to his; and, when they looked back into the past history of their tribe, they found that his progenitors had, from time immemorial, been at their head. Their tales, their traditions, their songs, constantly referred to the exploits or the transactions of the same tribe or fraternity living under the same line of chiefs; and the transmission of command and obedience, of protection and attachment, from one generation to another, became in consequence as natural, in the eye of a Highlander, as the transmission of blood or the regular laws of descent. This order of things appeared to him as fixed and as inviolable as the constitution

of nature or the revolutions of the seasons. Hence nothing could shake his fidelity to his chief, or induce him to compromise what he believed to be for the honour and interest of his clan. He was not without his feelings of independence, and he would not have brooked oppression where he looked for kindness and protection. But the long unbroken line of chiefs is of itself a strong presumptive proof of the general mildness of their sway. The individuals might change, but the ties which bound one generation were drawn more closely, although by insensible degrees, around the succeeding one; and thus each family, in all its various successions, retained something like the same sort of relation to the parent stem, which the renewed leaves of a tree in spring preserve, in point of form and position, to those which had dropped off in the preceding autumn.

Many important consequences, affecting the character of the Highlanders, resulted from this division of the people into small tribes, each governed in the patriarchal manner already described. The authority of the sovereign, if nominally recognised, was nearly altogether unfelt and inoperative. His mandates could neither arrest the mutual depredations of the clans, nor allay their hereditary hostilities. Delinquents could not be pursued into the bosom of the clan which protected them, nor could the judges administer the laws, in opposition to the will or the interests of the chiefs. Sometimes the sovereign attempted to strengthen his hands by fomenting divisions between the different clans, and entering occasionally into the interests of one, in the hope of weakening another; he threw his weight into one scale that the other might kick the beam, and he withdrew it again, that, by the violence of the reaction, both parties might be equally damaged and enfeebled. Many instances of this artful policy occur in Scottish history, which, for a long period, was little else than a record of internal disturbances. The general government, wanting the power to repress disorder, sought to destroy its elements by mutual collision; and the immediate consequence of its inefficiency was an almost perpetual system of aggression, warfare, depredation, and contention. Besides, the

little principalities into which the Highlands were divided touched at so many points, yet they were so independent of one another; they approached so nearly in many respects, yet, in some others, were so completely separated; there were so many opportunities of encroachment on the one hand, and so little disposition to submit to it on the other; and the quarrel or dispute of one individual of the tribe so naturally involved the interest, the sympathies, and the hereditary feelings or animosities of the rest, that profound peace or perfect cordiality scarcely ever existed amongst them, and their ordinary condition was either a chronic or an active state of internal warfare. From opposing interests or wounded pride, deadly feuds frequently arose amongst the chiefs, and being warmly espoused by the clans, were often transmitted, with aggravated animosity, from one generation to another.

If it were profitable, it might be curious to trace the negotiations, treaties, and bonds of amity, or *munrent* as they were called, by which opposing clans strengthened themselves against the attacks and encroachments of their enemies or rivals, or to preserve what may be called the balance of power. Amongst the rudest communities of mankind may be discovered the elements of that science which has been applied to the government and diplomacy of the most civilised nations. By such bonds they came under an obligation to assist one another; and, in their treaties of mutual support and protection, smaller clans, unable to defend themselves, and those families or septs which had lost their chieftains, were also included. When such confederacies were formed, the smaller clans followed the fortunes, engaged in the quarrels, and fought under the chiefs, of the greater. Thus the MacRaes followed the Earl of Seaforth, the MacColls the Stewarts of Appin, and the MacGillivrays and MacBeans the Laird of Mackintosh; but, nevertheless, their ranks were separately marshalled, and were led by their own subordinate chieftains and lairds, who owned submission only when necessary for the success of combined operations. The union had for its object aggression or revenge, and extended no further than the occasion for which it had been formed; yet it served to

prevent the smaller clans from being swallowed up by the greater, and at the same time nursed the turbulent and warlike spirit which formed the common distinction of all. From these and other causes, the Highlands were for ages as constant a theatre of petty conflicts as Europe has been of great and important struggles; in the former were enacted, in miniature, scenes bearing a striking and amusing analogy to those which took place upon a grand scale in the latter. The spirit of opposition and rivalry between the clans perpetuated a system of hostility; it encouraged the cultivation of the military at the expense of the social virtues, and it perverted their ideas both of law and morality. Revenge was accounted a duty, the destruction of a neighbour a meritorious exploit, and rapine an honourable employment. Wherever danger was to be encountered, or bravery displayed, there they conceived that distinction was to be obtained; the perverted sentiment of honour rendered their feuds more implacable, their inroads more savage and destructive; and superstition added its influence in exasperating animosities, by teaching that to revenge the death of a kinsman or friend was an act agreeable to his manes; thus engaging on the side of the most implacable hatred and the darkest vengeance, the most amiable and domestic of all human feelings, namely, reverence for the memory of the dead, and affection for the virtues of the living.

Another custom, which once prevailed, contributed to perpetuate this spirit of lawless revenge. "Every heir or young chieftain of a tribe," says Martin, who had studied the character and manners of the Highlanders, and understood them well, "was obliged to give a specimen of his valour before he was owned and declared governor or leader of his people, who obeyed and followed him on all occasions. This chieftain was usually attended with a retinue of young men, who had not before given any proof of their valour, and were ambitious of such an opportunity to signalise themselves. It was usual for the chief to make a desperate incursion upon some neighbour or other that they were in feud with, and they were obliged to bring, by open force, the cattle they found in the land they attacked, or to die in the at-

tempt. After the performance of this achievement, the young chieftain was ever after reputed valiant, and worthy of government, and such as were of his retinue acquired the like reputation. This custom being reciprocally used among them, was not reputed robbery; for the damage which one tribe sustained by the inauguration of the chieftain of another, was repaired when their chieftain came in his turn to make his specimen."⁹ But the practice seems to have died out about half a century before the time at which Martin's work appeared, and its disuse removed one fertile source of feuds and disorders. Of the nature of the depredations in which the Highlanders commonly engaged, the sentiments with which they were regarded, the manner in which they were conducted, and the effects which they produced on the character, habits, and manners of the people, an ample and interesting account will be found in the first volume of General Stewart's valuable work on the Highlands.

It has been commonly alleged, that ideas of succession were so loose in the Highlands, that brothers were often preferred to grandsons and even to sons. But this assertion proceeds on a most erroneous assumption, inasmuch as election was never in any degree admitted, and a system of hereditary succession prevailed, which, though different from that which has been instituted by the feudal law, allowed of no such deviations or anomalies as some have imagined. The Highland law of succession, as Mr Skene observes, requires to be considered in reference, first, to the chiefship and the superiority of the lands belonging to the clan; and secondly, in respect to the property or the land itself. The succession to the chiefship and its usual prerogatives was termed the law of *tanistry*; that to the property or the land itself, *gavel*. But when the feudal system was introduced, the law of tanistry became the law of succession to the property as well as the chiefship; whilst that of gavel was too directly opposed to feudal principles to be suffered to exist at all, even in a modified form. It appears, indeed, that the Highlanders adhered strictly to succession in the male line, and that the great peculiarity which distinguished their

⁹ *Description of the Western Islands*. London, 1703.

law of succession from that established by the feudal system, consisted in the circumstance that, according to it, brothers invariably succeeded before sons. In the feudal system property was alone considered, and the nearest relation to the last proprietor was naturally accounted the heir. But, in the Highland system, the governing principle of succession was not property, but the right of chiefship, derived from being the lineal descendant of the founder or patriarch of the tribe; it was the relation to the common ancestor, to whom the brother was considered as one degree nearer than the son, and through whom the right was derived, and not to the last chief, which regulated the succession. Thus, the brothers of the chief invariably succeeded before the sons, not by election, but as a matter of right, and according to a fixed rule which formed the law or principle of succession, instead of being, as some have supposed, a departure from it, occasioned by views of temporary expediency, by usurpation, or otherwise. In a word, the law of tanistry, however much opposed to the feudal notions of later times, flowed naturally from the patriarchal constitution of society in the Highlands, and was peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of a people such as we have described, whose warlike habits and love of military enterprise, or armed predatory expeditions, made it necessary to have at all times a chief competent to act as their leader or commander.

But if the law of tanistry was opposed to the principles of the feudal system, that of gavel or the succession to property amongst the Highlanders was still more adverse. By the feudal law the eldest son, when the succession opened, not only acquired the superiority over the rest of the family, but he also succeeded to the whole of the property, whilst the younger branches were obliged to push their fortune by following other pursuits. But in the Highlands the case was altogether different. By the law of gavel, the property of the clan was divided in certain proportions amongst all the male branches of the family, to the exclusion of females, who, by this extraordinary Salic anomaly, could no more succeed to the property than to the chiefship itself. The law of gavel in the Highlands, therefore, differed from the

English custom of gavel-kind in being exclusively confined to the male branches of a family. In what proportions the property was divided, or whether these proportions varied according to circumstances, or the will of the chief, it is impossible to ascertain. But it would appear that the principal seat of the family, with the lands immediately surrounding it, always remained the property of the chief; and besides this, the latter retained a sort of superiority over the whole possessions of the clan, in virtue of which he received from each dependent branch a portion of the produce of the land as an acknowledgment of his chiefship, and also to enable him to support the dignity of his station by the exercise of a commensurate hospitality. Such was the law of gavel, which, though adverse to feudal principles, was adapted to the state of society amongst the Highlands, out of which indeed it originally sprang; because, where there were no other pursuits open to the younger branches of families except rearing flocks and herds during peace, and following the chief in war; and where it was the interest as well as the ambition of the latter to multiply the connexions of his family, and take every means to strengthen the power as well as to secure the obedience of his clan, the division of property, or the law of gavel, resulted as naturally from such an order of things, as that of hereditary succession to the patriarchal government and chiefship of the clan. Hence, the chief stood to the cadets of his family in a relation somewhat analogous to that in which the feudal sovereign stood to the barons who held their fiefs of the crown, and although there was no formal investiture, yet the tenure was in effect pretty nearly the same. In both cases the principle of the system was essentially military, though it apparently led to opposite results; and, in the Highlands, the law under consideration was so peculiarly adapted to the constitution of society, that it was only abandoned after a long struggle, and even at a comparatively recent period traces of its existence and operation may be observed amongst the people of that country.¹

Similar misconceptions have prevailed re-

¹ Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. ii. ch. 7.

garding Highland marriage-customs. This was, perhaps, to be expected. In a country where a bastard son was often found in undisturbed possession of the chiefship or property of a clan, and where such bastard generally received the support of the clansmen against the claims of the feudal heir, it was natural to suppose that very loose notions of succession were entertained by the people; that legitimacy conferred no exclusive rights; and that the title founded on birth alone might be set aside in favour of one having no other claim than that of election. But this, although a plausible, would nevertheless be an erroneous supposition. The person here considered as a bastard, and described as such, was by no means viewed in the same light by the Highlanders, because, according to their law of marriage, which was originally very different from the feudal system in this matter, his claim to legitimacy was as undoubted as that of the feudal heir afterwards became. It is well known that the notions of the Highlanders were peculiarly strict in regard to matters of hereditary succession, and that no people on earth was less likely to sanction any flagrant deviation from what they believed to be the right and true line of descent. All their peculiar habits, feelings, and prejudices were in direct opposition to a practice, which, had it been really acted upon, must have introduced endless disorder and confusion; and hence the natural explanation of this apparent anomaly seems to be, what Mr Skene has stated, namely, that a person who was feudally a bastard might in their view be considered as legitimate, and therefore entitled to be supported in accordance with their strict ideas of hereditary right, and their habitual tenacity of whatever belonged to their ancient usages. Nor is this mere conjecture or hypothesis. A singular custom regarding marriage, retained till a late period amongst the Highlanders, and clearly indicating that their law of marriage originally differed in some essential points from that established under the feudal system, seems to afford a simple and natural explanation of the difficulty by which genealogists have been so much puzzled.

"This custom was termed *hand-fasting*, and consisted in a species of contract between two

chiefs, by which it was agreed that the heir of one should live with the daughter of the other as her husband for twelve months and a day. If in that time the lady became a mother, or proved to be with child, the marriage became good in law, even although no priest had performed the marriage ceremony in due form; but should there not have occurred any appearance of issue, the contract was considered at an end, and each party was at liberty to marry or hand-fast with any other. It is manifest that the practice of so peculiar a species of marriage must have been in terms of the original law among the Highlanders, otherwise it would be difficult to conceive how such a custom could have originated; and it is in fact one which seems naturally to have arisen from the form of their society, which rendered it a matter of such vital importance to secure the lineal succession of their chiefs. It is perhaps not improbable that it was this peculiar custom which gave rise to the report handed down by the Roman and other historians, that the ancient inhabitants of Great Britain had their wives in common, or that it was the foundation of that law of Scotland by which natural children became legitimized by subsequent marriage; and as this custom remained in the Highlands until a very late period, the sanction of the ancient custom was sufficient to induce them to persist in regarding the offspring of such marriages as legitimate."²

It appears, indeed, that, as late as the sixteenth century, the issue of a hand-fast marriage claimed the earldom of Sutherland. The claimant, according to Sir Robert Gordon, described himself as one lawfully descended from his father, John, the third earl, because, as he alleged, "his mother was *hand-fasted* and fianced to his father;" and his claim was bought off (which shows that it was not considered as altogether incapable of being maintained) by Sir Adam Gordon, who had married the heiress of Earl John. Such, then, was the nature of the peculiar and temporary connexion, which gave rise to the apparent anomalies which we have been considering. It was a custom which had for its object, not to interrupt, but to preserve the lineal succession of

² Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. i. chap. 7, pp. 166, 167.

the chiefs, and to obviate the very evil of which it is conceived to afford a glaring example. But after the introduction of the feudal law, which, in this respect, was directly opposed to the ancient Highland law, the lineal and legitimate heir, according to Highland principles, came to be regarded as a bastard by the government, which accordingly considered him as thereby incapacitated for succeeding to the honours and property of his race; and hence originated many of those disputes concerning succession and chiefship, which embroiled families with one another as well as with the government, and were productive of incredible disorder, mischief, and bloodshed. No allowance was made for the ancient usages of the people, which were probably but ill understood; and the rights of rival claimants were decided according to the principles of a foreign system of law, which was long resisted, and never admitted except from necessity. It is to be observed, however, that the Highlanders themselves drew a broad distinction between bastard sons and the issue of the hand-fast unions above described. The former were rigorously excluded from every sort of succession, but the latter were considered as legitimate as the offspring of the most regularly solemnized marriage.

Having said thus much respecting the laws of succession and marriage, we proceed next to consider the gradation of ranks which appears to have existed amongst the Highlanders, whether in relation to the lands of which they were proprietors, or the clans of which they were members. And here it may be observed, that the classification of society in the Highlands seems to have borne a close resemblance to that which prevailed in Wales and in Ireland amongst cognate branches of the same general race. In the former country there were three different tenures of land, and nine degrees of rank. Of these tenures, the first was termed *Maerdir*, signifying a person who has jurisdiction, and included three ranks; the second was called *Uchilordir*, or property, and likewise consisted of three ranks; and the third, denominated *Priodordir*, or native, included that portion of the population whom we would now call tenants, divided into the degrees of yeomen, labourers, and serfs. A

similar order of things appears to have prevailed in Ireland, where, in the classification of the people, we recognise the several degrees of *Fuidir*, *Biadhtach*, and *Mogh*. In the Highlands, the first tenure included the three degrees of *Ard Righ*, *Righ*, and *Mormaor*; the *Tighern* or *Thane*, the *Armin* and the *Squire*, were analogous to the three Welsh degrees included in the *Uchilordir*; and a class of persons, termed native men, were evidently the same in circumstances and condition with the *Priodordir* of Wales. These native men were obviously the tenants or farmers on the property, who made a peculiar acknowledgment, termed *calpe*, to the chief or head of their clan. For this we have the authority of Martin, who informs us that one of the duties "payable by all the tenants to their chiefs, though they did not live upon his lands," was called "*calpich*," and that "there was a standing law for it," denominated "*calpich law*." The other duty paid by the tenants was that of *herezeld*, as it was termed, which, along with *calpe*, was exigible if the tenant happened to occupy more than the eighth part of a *davoch* of land. That such was the peculiar acknowledgment of chiefship incumbent on the native men, or, in other words, the clan tribute payable by them in acknowledgment of the power and in support of the dignity of the chief, appears from the bonds of amity or *manrent*, in which we find them obliging themselves to pay "*calpis* as native men ought and should do to their chief."

But the native men of Highland properties must be carefully distinguished from the *cumerlach*, who, like the *kaeth* of the Welsh, were merely a species of serfs, or *adscripti glebæ*. The former could not be removed from the land at the will of their lord, but there was no restriction laid on their personal liberty; the latter might be removed at the pleasure of their lord, but their personal liberty was restrained, or rather abrogated. The native man was the tenant who cultivated the soil, and as such possessed a recognised estate in the land which he occupied. As long as he performed the requisite services he could not be removed, nor could a greater proportion of labour or produce be exacted from him than custom or usage had fixed. It appears, there-

fore, that these possessed their farms, or holdings, by a sort of hereditary right, which was not derived from their lord, and of which, springing as it did from immemorial usage, and the very constitution of clanship, it was not in his power to deprive them. The *cumerlach* were the cottars and actual labourers of the soil, who, possessing no legal rights either of station or property, were in reality absolute serfs. The changes of succession, however, occasionally produced important results, illustrative of the peculiarities above described. "When a Norman baron," says Mr Skene, "obtained by succession, or otherwise, a Highland property, the Gaelic *nativi* remained in actual possession of the soil under him, but at the same time paid their *calpes* to the natural chief of their clan, and followed him in war. When a Highland chief, however, acquired by the operation of the feudal succession, an additional property which had not been previously in the possession of his clan, he found it possessed by the *nativi* of another race. If these *nativi* belonged to another clan which still existed in independence, and if they chose to remain on the property, they did so at the risk of being placed in a perilous situation, should a feud arise between the two clans. But if they belonged to no other independent clan, and the stranger chief had acquired the whole possessions of their race, the custom seems to have been for them to give a bond of *manrent* to their new lord, by which they bound themselves to follow him as their chief, and make him the customary acknowledgment of the *calpe*. They thus became a dependent sept upon a clan of a different race, while they were not considered as forming a part of that clan."³

The gradation of ranks considered in reference to the clan or tribe may be briefly described. The highest dignitary was the *rioh* or *king*, who in point of birth and station was originally on a footing of equality with the other chiefs, and only derived some additional dignity during his life from a sort of regal pre-eminence. "Among the ancient Celtae the prince or king had nothing actually his own, but everything belonging to his followers was

freely at his service;" of their own accord they gave their prince so many cattle, or a certain portion of grain. It seems probable that the Celtic chief held the public lands in trust for his people, and was on his succession invested with those possessions which he afterwards apportioned among his retainers. Those only, we are told by Cæsar, had lands, "magistrates and princes, and they give to their followers as they think proper, removing them at the year's end."⁴ The Celtic nations, according to Dr Macpherson, limited the regal authority to very narrow bounds. The old monarchs of North Britain and Ireland were too weak either to control the pride and insolence of the great, or to restrain the licentiousness of the populace. Many of those princes, if we credit history, were dethroned, and some of them even put to death by their subjects, which is a demonstration that their power was not unlimited.

Next to the king was the *Mormaor*, who seems to have been identical with the *Tighern*⁵ and the later *Thane*. As we have already indicated, the persons invested with this distinction were the patriarchal chiefs or heads of the great tribes into which the Highlanders were formerly divided. But when the line of the ancient mormaors gradually sank under the ascendant influence of the feudal system, the clans forming the great tribes became independent, and their leaders or chiefs were held to represent each the common ancestor or founder of his clan, and derived all their dignity and power from the belief in such representation. The chief possessed his office by right of blood alone, as that right was understood in the Highlands; neither election nor marriage could constitute any title to this distinction; it was, as we have already stated, purely hereditary, nor could it descend to any person except him who, according to the Highland rule of succession, was the nearest male heir to the dignity.

Next to the chief stood the *tanist* or person who, by the laws of tanistry, was entitled to succeed to the chiefship; he possessed this title during the lifetime of the chief, and, in

³ Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 172, 173.

⁴ Logan's *Scottish Gael*, i. 171.

⁵ According to Dr Macpherson, *Tighern* is derived from two words, meaning "a man of land."

virtue of his apparent honours, was considered as a man of mark and consequence. "In the settlement of succession, the law of tanistry prevailed in Ireland from the earliest accounts of time. According to that law," says Sir James Ware, "the hereditary right of succession was not maintained among the princes or the rulers of countries; but the strongest, or he who had the most followers, very often the eldest and most worthy of the deceased king's blood and name, succeeded him. This person, by the common suffrage of the people, and in the lifetime of his predecessor, was appointed to succeed, and was called *Tanist*, that is to say, the second in dignity. Whoever received this dignity maintained himself and followers, partly out of certain lands set apart for that purpose, but chiefly out of tributary impositions, which he exacted in an arbitrary manner; impositions from which the lands of the church only, and those of persons vested with particular immunities, were exempted. The same custom was a fundamental law in Scotland for many ages. Upon the death of a king, the throne was not generally filled by his son, or daughter, failing of male issue, but by his brother, uncle, cousin-german, or near relation of the same blood. The personal merit of the successor, the regard paid to the memory of his immediate ancestors, or his address in gaining a majority of the leading men, frequently advanced him to the crown, notwithstanding the precautions taken by his predecessor."⁶

According to Mr E. W. Robertson,⁷ the *Tanist*, or heir-apparent, appears to have been nominated at the same time as the monarch or chief, and in pursuance of what he considers a true Celtic principle, that of a "divided authority;" the office being immediately filled up in case of the premature death of the *Tanist*, the same rule being as applicable to the chieftain of the smallest territory as to the chosen leader of the nation. According to Dr Macpherson, it appears that at first the *Tanist* or successor to the monarchy, or chiefship, was elected, but at a very early period the office seems to have become hereditary, although not in the feudal sense of that term. Mr Skene has shown that the succession was strictly limited

to heirs male, and that the great peculiarity of the Highland system was that brothers invariably were preferred to sons. This perhaps arose partly from an anxiety to avoid minorities "in a nation dependent upon a competent leader in war." This principle was frequently exemplified in the succession to the mormaorships, and even to the kingly power itself; it formed one of the pleas put forward by Bruce in his competition for the crown with Baliol.

After the family of the chief came the *ceantighes*, or heads of the subordinate houses into which the clan was divided, the most powerful of whom was the *toisich*, or *toshach*, who was generally the oldest cadet. This was a natural consequence of the law of *gavel*, which, producing a constant subdivision of the chief's estate, until in actual extent of property he sometimes came to possess less than any of the other branches of the family, served in nearly the same proportion to aggrandise the latter, and hence that branch which had been longest separated from the original became relatively the most powerful. The *toshach*, military leader, or captain of the clan, certainly appears to have been at first elected to his office among the Celtic nations, as indeed were all the dignitaries who at a later period among the Highlanders succeeded to their positions according to fixed laws.⁸ As war was the principal occupation of all the early Celtic nations, the office of *toshach*, or "war-king," as Mr Robertson calls him, was one of supreme importance, and gave the holder of it many opportunities of converting it into one of permanent kingship although the Celts carefully guarded against this by enforcing the principle of divided authority among their chiefs, and thus maintaining the "balance of power." The *toshach's* duties were strictly military, he having nothing to do with the internal affairs of the tribe or nation, these being regulated by a magistrate, judge, or *vergobreith*, elected annually, and invested with regal authority and the power of life and death. It would appear that the duties of *toshach* sometimes devolved on the *tanist*, though this appears to have seldom been the case among the Highlanders.⁹ From a very early time the oldest cadet held the

⁶ *Dissertation*, pp. 165-6.

⁷ *Early Kings*

⁸ Robertson's *Early Kings*, i. 24.

⁹ Logan's *Gael*, i. 188.

highest rank in the clan, next to the chief; and when the clan took the field he occupied, as a matter of right, the principal post of honour. On the march he headed the van, and in battle took his station on the right; he was, in fact, the lieutenant-general of the chief, and when the latter was absent he commanded the whole clan.¹ Another function exercised by the oldest cadet was that of *maor*, or steward, the principal business of which officer was to collect the revenues of the chief; but, after the feudal customs were introduced, this duty devolved upon the baron-bailie, and the *maor* consequently discontinued his fiscal labours.

The peculiar position of the *toshack*, with the power and consequence attached to it, naturally pointed him out as the person to whom recourse would be had in circumstances of difficulty; and hence arose an apparent anomaly which has led to no little misconception and confusion. The difficulty, however, may easily be cleared by a short explanation. When, through misfortune or otherwise, the family of the chief had become so reduced that he could no longer afford to his clan the protection required, and which formed the correlative obligation on his part to that of fealty and obedience on theirs, then the clansmen followed the oldest cadet as the head of the most powerful sept or branch of the clan; and he thus enjoyed, sometimes for a considerable period, all the dignity, consequence, and privileges of a chief, without, of course, either possessing a right, *jure sanguinis*, to that station, or even acquiring the title of the office which he, *de facto*, exercised. He was merely

a sort of patriarchal regent, who exercised the supreme power, and enjoyed prerogatives of royalty without the name. While the system of clanship remained in its original purity, no such regency, or interregnum, could ever take place. But, in process of time, many circumstances occurred to render it both expedient and necessary. In fact, clanship, in its ancient purity, could scarcely co-exist with the feudal system, which introduced changes so adverse to its true spirit; and hence, when the territory had passed, by descent, into the hands of a Lowland baron, or when, by some unsuccessful opposition to the government, the chief had brought ruin upon himself and his house, and was no longer in a condition to maintain his station and afford protection to his clan, the latter naturally placed themselves under the only head capable of occupying the position of their chief, and with authority sufficient to command or enforce obedience. In other words, they sought protection at the hands of the oldest cadet; and he, on his part, was known by the name, not of chief, which would have been considered a gross usurpation, but of *captain*, or leader of the clan. It is clear, therefore, that this dignity was one which owed its origin to circumstances, and formed no part of the original system, as has been generally but erroneously supposed. If an anomaly, it was one imposed by necessity, and the deviation was confined, as we have seen, within the narrowest possible limits. It was altogether unknown until a recent period in the history of the Highlands, and, when it did come into use, it was principally confined to three clans, namely, Clan Chattan, Clan Cameron, and Clan Ranald; an undoubted proof that it was not a regular but an exceptional dignity, that it was a temporary expedient, not part of a system; and that a captain differed as essentially from a chief as a regent differs from an hereditary sovereign. "It is evident," says Mr Skene, who has the merit of being the first to trace out this distinction clearly, "that a title, which was not universal among the Highlanders, must have arisen from peculiar circumstances connected with those clans in which it is first found; and when we examine the history of these clans, there can be little doubt that it was

¹ "*Toisich*," says Dr Macpherson, "was another title of honour which obtained among the Scots of the middle ages. Spelman imagined that this dignity was the same with that of Thane. But the Highlanders, among whose predecessors the word was once common, distinguished carefully in their language the *toisich* from the *tanistair* or the *tierna*. When they enumerate the different classes of their great men, agreeably to the language of former times, they make use of these three titles, in the same sentence, with a disjunctive particle between them." "In Gaelic," he adds, "*tus*, *tos*, and *tosich* signify the *beginning* or *first part* of anything, and sometimes the *front* of an army or battle." Hence perhaps the name *toisich*, implying the post of honour which the oldest cadet always occupied as his peculiar privilege and distinction. Mr Robertson, however, thinks *toshack* is derived from the same root as the Latin *dux*. (*Early Kings*, i. 26.)

simply a person who had, from various causes, become *de facto* head of the clan, while the person possessing the hereditary right to that dignity remained either in a subordinate situation, or else for the time disunited from the rest of the clan."²

Another title known among the ancient Highlanders was that of *ogtiern*, or *lesser tighern*, or Thane, and was applied either to the son of a *tighern*, or to those members of the clan whose kinship to the chief was beyond a certain degree. They appear to have to a large extent formed the class of *duinewassels*, or gentry of the clan, intermediate between the chief and the body of the clan, and known in later times as *tacks-men* or *goodmen*. "These, again, had a circle of relations, who considered them as their immediate leaders, and who in battle were placed under their immediate command. Over them in peace, these chieftains exercised a certain authority, but were themselves dependent on the chief, to whose service all the members of the clan were submissively devoted. As the *duinewassels* received their lands from the bounty of the chief, for the purpose of supporting their station in the tribe, so these lands were occasionally resumed or reduced to provide for those who were more immediately related to the laird; hence many of this class necessarily sank into commoners. This transition strengthened the feeling which was possessed by the very lowest of the community, that they were related to the chief, from whom they never forgot they originally sprang."² The *duinewassels* were all cadets of the house of the chief, and each had a pedigree of his own as long, and per chance as complicated as that of his chief. They were, as might be expected, the bravest portion of the clan; the first in the onset, and the

last to quit the strife, even when the tide of battle pressed hardest against them. They cherished a high and chivalrous sense of honour, ever keenly alive to insult or reproach; and they were at all times ready to devote themselves to the service of their chief, when a wrong was to be avenged, an inroad repressed or punished, or glory reaped by deeds of daring in arms.

Another office which existed among the old Gaelic inhabitants of Scotland was that of *Brehon*, deemster, or judge, the representative of the *vergobreith* previously referred to. Among the continental Celts this office was elective, but among the Highlanders it appears to have been hereditary, and by no means held so important, latterly at least, as it was on the continent. As we referred to this office in the former part of this work, we shall say nothing farther of it in this place.

To this general view of the constitution of society in the Highlands, little remains to be added. The chief, as we have seen, was a sort of *regulus*, or petty prince, invested with an authority which was in its nature arbitrary, but which, in its practical exercise, seems generally to have been comparatively mild and paternal. He was subjected to no theoretical or constitutional limitations, yet, if ferocious in disposition, or weak in understanding, he was restrained or directed by the elders of the tribe, who were his standing counsellors, and without whose advice no measure of importance could be decided on. Inviolable custom supplied the deficiency of law. As his distinction and power consisted chiefly in the number of his followers, his pride as well as his ambition became a guarantee for the mildness of his sway; he had a direct and immediate interest to secure the attachment and devotion of his clan; and his condescension, while it raised the clansman in his own estimation, served also to draw closer the ties which bound the latter to his superior, without tempting him to transgress the limits of propriety. The Highlander was thus taught to respect himself in the homage which he paid to his chief. Instead of complaining of the difference of station and fortune, or considering prompt obedience as slavish degradation, he felt convinced that he was supporting

² Skene's *Highlanders*, vol. ii. pp. 177, 178. That the captains of clans were originally the oldest cadets, is placed beyond all doubt by an instance which Mr Skene has mentioned in the part of his work here referred to. "The title of captain occurs but once in the family of the Macdonalds of Slate, and the single occurrence of this peculiar title is when the clan Houston was led by the uncle of their chief, then in minority. In 1545, we find Archibald Maconnill, captain of the clan Houston; and thus, on the only occasion when this clan followed as a chief a person who had not the right of blood to that station, he styles himself captain of the clan."

³ Logan's *Gael*, i. 173.

his own honour in showing respect to the head of his family, and in yielding a ready compliance to his will. Hence it was that the Highlanders carried in their demeanour the politeness of courts without the vices by which these are too frequently dishonoured, and cherished in their bosoms a sense of honour without any of its follies or extravagances. This mutual interchange of condescension and respect served to elevate the tone of moral feeling amongst the people, and no doubt contributed to generate that principle of incorruptible fidelity of which there are on record so many striking and even affecting examples. The sentiment of honour, and the firmness sufficient to withstand temptation, may in general be expected in the higher classes of society; but the voluntary sacrifice of life and fortune is a species of self-devotion seldom displayed in any community, and never perhaps exemplified to the same extent in any country as in the Highlands of Scotland.⁴ The punishment of treachery was a kind of conventional outlawry or banishment from society, a sort of *aque et ignis interdictio* even more terrible than the punishment inflicted under that denomination, during the prevalence of the Roman law. It was the judgment of all against one, the condemnation of society, not that of a tribunal; and the execution of the sentence was as complete as its ratification was universal. Persons thus intercommuned were for ever cut off from the society to which they belonged; they incurred civil death in its most appalling form, and their names descended with infamy to posterity. What higher proof could possibly be produced of the noble sentiments of honour and fidelity cherished by the people, than the simple fact that the breach of these was visited with such a fearful retribution?

On the other hand, when chiefs proved worthless or oppressive, they were occasionally deposed, and when they took a side which

was disapproved by the clan, they were abandoned by their people. Of the former, there are several well authenticated examples, and General Stewart has mentioned a remarkable instance of the latter. "In the reign of King William, immediately after the Revolution, Lord Tullibardine, eldest son of the Marquis of Athole, collected a numerous body of Athole Highlanders, together with three hundred Frasers, under the command of Hugh, Lord Lovat, who had married a daughter of the Marquis. These men believed that they were destined to support the abdicated king, but were in reality assembled to serve the government of William. When in front of Blair Castle, their real destination was disclosed to them by Lord Tullibardine. Instantly they rushed from their ranks, ran to the adjoining stream of Banovy, and filling their bonnets with water, drank to the health of King James; then with colours flying and pipes playing, fifteen hundred of the men of Athole put themselves under the command of the Laird of Ballechin, and marched off to join Lord Dundee, whose chivalrous bravery and heroic exploits had excited their admiration more than those of any other warrior since the days of Montrose."

The number of Highland clans has been variously estimated, but it is probable that when they were in their most flourishing condition it amounted to about forty. Latterly, by including many undoubtedly Lowland houses, the number has been increased to about a hundred, the additions being made chiefly by tartan manufacturers. Mr Skene has found that the various purely Highland clans can be clearly classified and traced up as having belonged to one or other of the great mormaorships into which the north of Scotland was at one time divided. In his history of the individual clans, however, this is not the classification which he adopts, but one in accordance with that which he finds in the manuscript genealogies. According to these, the people were originally divided into several great tribes, the clans forming each of these separate tribes being deduced from a common ancestor. A marked line of distinction may be drawn between the different tribes, in each of which indications may be traced serving more or less,

⁴ "All who are acquainted with the events of the unhappy insurrection of 1745, must have heard of a gentleman of the name of M'Kenzie, who had so remarkable a resemblance to Prince Charles Stuart, as to give rise to the mistake to which he cheerfully sacrificed his life, continuing the heroic deception to the last, and exclaiming with his expiring breath, 'Villains, you have killed your Prince.'" (Stewart's *Sketches*, &c., vol. i. p. 59).

according to Mr Skene, to identify them with the ancient mormaorships or earldoms.

In the old genealogies each tribe is invariably traced to a common ancestor, from whom all the different branches or clans are supposed to have descended. Thus we have—1. *Descendants of Conn of the Hundred Battles*, including the Lords of the Isles, or Macdonalds, the Macdougals, the Macneills, the MacIachlans, the Macewens, the MacIaisrichs, and the Maceacherns; 2. *Descendants of Fearchar Fada Mac Feradaig*, comprehending the old mormaors of Moray, the Mackintoshes, the Macphersons, and the Macnaughtans; 3. *Descendants of Cormac Mac Oirbertaig*, namely, the old Earls of Ross, the Mackenzies, the Mathiesons, the Macgregors, the Mackinnons, the Macquarries, the Macnabs, and the Macduffies; 4. *Descendants of Fergus Leith Dearg*, the Macleods and the Campbells; and 5. *Descendants of Krycul*, the Macnicols.

Whatever may be the merits or defects of this distribution, it is convenient for the purpose of classification. It affords the means of referring the different clans to their respective tribes, and thus avoiding an arbitrary arrangement; and it is further in accordance with the general views which have already been submitted to the reader respecting the original constitution of clanship. We shall not, however, adhere strictly to Mr Skene's arrangement.

CHAPTER II.

The Gallgael, or Western Clans—Fingall and Dubh-gall—Lords of the Isles—Somerled—Suibne—Gillebride Mac Gille Adomnan—Somerled in the West—Defeat and death—His children—Dugall and his descendants—Ranald's three sons, Ruari, Donald, Dugall—Roderick—Ranald—The Clan Donald—Origin—Angus Og—His son John—His sons Godfrey and Donald—Donald marries Mary, sister of Earl of Ross—Battle of Harlaw—Policy of James I.—Alexander of the Isles—Donald Balloch—John of the Isles—Angus Og declares himself Lord of the Isles—Seizes Earl and Countess of Athole—Intrigues with England—Battle of Lagebread—Battle of Bloody Bay—Alexander of Lochalsh—Expedition of James IV.—Donald *Dubh*—Donald *Galda*—Donald Gorme—Donald *Dubh* reappears—Somerled's descendants fail—The various Island Clans—The Chiefship—Lord Macdonald and Macdonald of Clan Ranald—Donald Gorme Mor—Feuds with the Macleans and Macleods—Sir Donald, fourth Baronet—Sir Alexander's wife befriends Prince Charles—Sir James, eighth Baronet—Sir Alexander, ninth Baronet, created a peer of Ireland—Present Lord Macdonald—Macdonalds of Islay and Kintyre—

Alexander of Islay's rebellions—Angus Macdonald—Feud with Macleans—Sir James imprisoned—His lands pass to the Campbells—Macdonalds of Keppoch, or Clanranald of Lochaber—Disputes with the Mackintoshes—The Macdonalds at Cul-loden—Clanranald Macdonalds of Garmoran and their offshoots—Battle of Kinloch-lochy or Blarnan-leine—Macdonalds of Benbecula, Boisdale, Kinlochmoidart, Glenaladale—Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum—Macdonalds of Glencoe—Macdonnells of Glengarry—Feud between the Glengarry Macdonalds and Mackenzie of Kintail—General Sir James Macdonnell—Colonel Alexander Ranaldson Macdonnell, last specimen of a Highland Chief—Families descended from the Macdonnells of Glengarry—Strength of the Macdonalds—Characteristic in the arms of the Coast-Gael.

THE clans that come first in order in Mr Skene's classification are those whose progenitor is said by the genealogists to have been the fabulous Irish King Conn "of the hundred battles." They are mostly all located in the Western Islands and Highlands, and are said by Mr Skene to have been descended from the *Gallgael*, or Gaelic pirates or rovers, who are said to have been so called to distinguish them from the Norwegian and Danish *Fingall* and *Dugall*, or white and black strangers or rovers. Mr Skene advocates strongly the unmixed Gaelic descent of these clans, as indeed he does of almost all the other clans. He endeavours to maintain that the whole of these western clans are of purely Pictish descent, not being mixed with even that of the Dalriadic Scots. We are inclined, however, to agree with Mr Smibert in thinking that the founders of these clans were to a large extent of Irish extraction, though clearly distinguishable from the primitive or Dalriadic Scots, and that from the time of the Scottish conquest they formed intimate relationships with the Northern Picts. "From whatever race," to quote the judicious remarks of Mr Gregory, "whether Pictish or Scottish, the inhabitants of the Isles, in the reign of Kenneth MacAlpin, were derived, it is clear that the settlements and wars of the Scandinavians in the Hebrides, from the time of Harald Harfager to that of Olave the Red, a period of upwards of two centuries, must have produced a very considerable change in the population. As in all cases of conquest, this change must have been most perceptible in the higher ranks, owing to the natural tendency of invaders to secure their new possessions, where practicable, by matrimonial alliances with the natives. That in the Hebrides

a mixture of the Celtic and Scandinavian blood was thus effected at an early period seems highly probable, and by no means inconsistent with the ultimate prevalence of the Celtic language in the mixed race, as all history sufficiently demonstrates. These remarks regarding the population of the Isles apply equally to that of the adjacent mainland districts, which, being so accessible by numerous arms of the sea, could hardly be expected to preserve the blood of their inhabitants unmixed. The extent to which this mixture was carried is a more difficult question, and one which must be left in a great measure to conjecture; but, on the whole, the Celtic race appears to have predominated. It is of more importance to know which of the Scandinavian tribes it was that infused the greatest portion of northern blood into the population of the Isles. The Irish annalists divide the piratical bands, which, in the ninth and following centuries infested Ireland, into two great tribes, styled by these writers *Fiongall*, or white foreigners, and *Dubhgall*, or black foreigners. These are believed to represent, the former the Norwegians, the latter the Danes; and the distinction in the names given to them is supposed to have arisen from a diversity, either in their clothing or in the sails of their vessels. These tribes had generally separate leaders; but they were occasionally united under one king; and although both bent first on ravaging the Irish shores, and afterwards on seizing portions of the Irish territories, they frequently turned their arms against each other. The Gaelic title of *Rìgh Fhiongall*, or King of the Fiongall, so frequently applied to the Lords of the Isles, seems to prove that Olave the Red, from whom they were descended in the female line, was so styled, and that, consequently, his subjects in the Isles, in so far as they were not Celtic, were Fiongall or Norwegians. It has been remarked by one writer, whose opinion is entitled to weight,⁵ that the names of places in the exterior Hebrides, or the Long Island, derived from the Scandinavian tongue, resemble the names of places in Orkney, Shetland, and Caithness. On the other hand, the corresponding names in the interior Hebrides are

in a different dialect, resembling that of which the traces are to be found in the topography of Sutherland; and appear to have been imposed at a later period than the first mentioned names. The probability is, however, that the difference alluded to is not greater than might be expected in the language of two branches of the same race, after a certain interval; and that the Scandinavian population of the Hebrides was, therefore, derived from two successive Norwegian colonies. This view is further confirmed by the fact that the Hebrides, although long subject to Norway, do not appear to have ever formed part of the possessions of the Danes."⁶

As by far the most important, and at one time most extensive and powerful, of these western clans, is that of the Macdonalds, and as this, as well as many other clans, according to some authorities, can clearly trace their ancestry back to Somerled, the progenitor of the once powerful Lords of the Isles, it may not be out of place to give here a short summary of the history of these magnates.

The origin of Somerled, the undoubted founder of the noble race of the Island Lords, is, according to Mr Gregory, involved in considerable obscurity. Assuming that the clan governed by Somerled formed part of the great tribe of Gallgael, it follows that the independent kings of the latter must in all probability have been his ancestors, and should therefore be found in the old genealogies of his family. But this scarcely appears to be the case. The last king of the Gallgael was Suibne, the son of Kenneth, who died in the year 1034; and, according to the manuscript of 1450, an ancestor of Somerled, contemporary with this petty monarch, bore the same name, from which it may be presumed that the person referred to in the genealogy and the manuscript is one and the same individual. The latter, however, calls Suibne's father Nialgusa; and in the genealogy there is no mention whatever of a Kenneth. But from the old Scottish writers we learn that at this time there was a Kenneth, whom they call Thane of the Isles, and that one of the northern mormaors also bore the same name, although it is not very easy to say what

⁵ Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 266.

⁶ *Western Highlands*, p. 7.

precise claim either had to be considered as the father of Suibne. There is also a further discrepancy observable in the earlier part of the Macdonald genealogies, as compared with the manuscript; and besides, the latter, without making any mention of these supposed kings, deviates into the misty region of Irish heroic fable and romance. At this point, indeed, there is a complete divergence, if not contrariety, between the history as contained in the Irish Annals, and the genealogy developed in the manuscript; for, whilst the latter mentions the Gallgael under their leaders as far back as the year 856, the former connects Suibne, by a different genealogy, with the kings of Ireland. The fables of the Highland and Irish Sennachies now became connected with the genuine history. The real descent of the chiefs was obscured or perplexed by the Irish genealogies, and previously to the eleventh century neither these genealogies nor even that of the manuscript of 1450 can be considered as of any authority whatsoever. It seems somewhat rash, however, to conclude, as Mr Skene has done, that the Siol-Cuinn, or descendants of Conn, were of native origin. This exceeds the warrant of the premises, which merely carry the difficulty a few removes backwards into the obscurity of time, and there leave the question in greater darkness than ever.

From the death of Suibne till the accession of Gillebride Mac Gille Adomnan, the father of Somerled, nothing whatever is known of the history of the clan. The latter, having been expelled from his possessions by the Lochlans and the Fingalls, took refuge in Ireland, where he persuaded the descendants of Colla to espouse his quarrel and assist him in an attempt to recover his possessions. Accordingly, four or five hundred persons put themselves under his command, and at their head he returned to Alban, where he effected a landing; but the expedition, it would seem, proved unsuccessful. Somerled, the son of Gillebride, was, however, a man of a very different stamp. At first he lived retired, musing in solitude upon the ruined fortunes of his house. But when the time for action arrived, he boldly put himself at the head of the inhabitants of Morven; attacked the Nor-

wegians, whom, after a considerable struggle, he expelled; made himself master of the whole of Morven, Lochaber, and northern Argyle; and not long afterwards added to his other possessions the southern districts of that country. In the year 1135, when David I. expelled the Norwegians from Man, Arran, and Bute, Somerled appears to have obtained a grant of those Islands from the king. But finding himself still unable to contend with the Norwegians of the Isles, whose power remained unbroken, he resolved to recover by policy what he despaired of acquiring by force of arms; and, with this view, he succeeded in obtaining (about 1140) the hand of Ragnhildis, the daughter of Olaf, surnamed the Red, who was then the Norwegian king of the Isles. This lady brought him three sons, namely, Dugall, Reginald, and Angus; and, by a previous marriage, he had one named Gillecallum.

The prosperous fortunes of Somerled at length inflamed his ambition. He had already attained to great power in the Highlands, and success inspired him with the desire of extending it. His grandsons having formerly claimed the earldom of Moray, their pretensions were now renewed, and this was followed by an attempt to put them in actual possession of their alleged inheritance. The attempt, however, failed. It had brought the *regulus* of Argyll into open rebellion against the king, and the war appears to have excited great alarm amongst the inhabitants of Scotland; but Somerled, having encountered a more vigorous opposition than he had anticipated, found it necessary to return to the Isles, where the tyrannical conduct of his brother-in-law, Godred, had irritated his vassals and thrown everything into confusion. His presence gave confidence to the party opposed to the tyrant, and Thorfinn, one of the most powerful of the Norwegian nobles, resolved to depose Godred, and place another prince on the throne of the Isles. Somerled readily entered into the views of Thorfinn, and it was arranged that Dugall, the eldest son of the former, should occupy the throne from which his maternal uncle was to be displaced. But the result of the projected deposition did not answer the expectations of either party. Dugall was committed to the care of Thorfinn, who undertook to conduct

him through the Isles, and compel the chiefs not only to acknowledge him as their sovereign, but also to give hostages for their fidelity and allegiance. The Lord of Skye, however, refused to comply with this demand, and, having fled to the Isle of Man, apprised Godred of the intended revolution. Somerled followed with eight galleys; and Godred having commanded his ships to be got ready, a bloody but indecisive battle ensued. It was fought on the night of the Epiphany; and as neither party prevailed, the rival chiefs next morning entered into a sort of compromise or convention, by which the sovereignty of the Isles was divided, and two distinct principalities established. By this treaty Somerled acquired all the islands lying to the southward of the promontory of Ardnamurchan, whilst those to the northward remained in the possession of Godred.

But no sooner had he made this acquisition than he became involved in hostilities with the government. Having joined the powerful party in Scotland, which had resolved to depose Malcolm IV., and place the boy of Egremont on the throne, he began to infest various parts of the coast, and for some time carried on a vexatious predatory warfare. The project, however, failed; and Malcolm, convinced that the existence of an independent chief was incompatible with the interests of his government and the maintenance of public tranquillity, required of Somerled to resign his lands into the hands of the sovereign, and to hold them in future as a vassal of the crown. Somerled, however, was little disposed to comply with this demand, although the king was now preparing to enforce it by means of a powerful army. Emboldened by his previous successes, he resolved to anticipate the attack, and having appeared in the Clyde with a considerable force, he landed at Renfrew, where being met by the royal army under the command of the High Steward of Scotland, a battle ensued which ended in his defeat and death (1164). This celebrated chief has been traditionally described as "a well-tempered man, in body shapely, of a fair piercing eye, of middle stature, and of quick discernment." He appears, indeed, to have been equally brave and sagacious, tempering courage with prudence, and, excepting in the last act of his life, dis-

tinguished for the happy talent, rare at any period, of profiting by circumstances, and making the most of success. In the battle of Renfrew his son Gillecallum perished by his side. Tradition says that Gillecallum left a son Somerled, who succeeded to his grandfather's possessions in the mainland, which he held for upwards of half a century after the latter's death. The existence of this second Somerled, however, seems very doubtful although Mr Gregory believes that, besides the three sons of his marriage with Olave the Red, Somerled had other sons, who seem to have shared with their brothers, according to the then prevalent custom of gavelkind, the mainland possessions held by the Lord of Argyle; whilst the sons descended of the House of Moray divided amongst them the South Isles ceded by Godred in 1156. Dugall, the eldest of these, got for his share, Mull, Coll, Tiree, and Jura; Reginald, the second son, obtained Isla and Kintyre; and Angus, the third son, Bute. Arran is supposed to have been divided between the two latter. The Chronicle of Man mentions a battle, in 1192, between Reginald and Angus, in which the latter obtained the victory. He was killed, in 1210, with his three sons, by the men of Skye, leaving no male issue. One of his sons, James, left a daughter and heiress, Jane, afterwards married to Alexander, son and heir of Walter, High Steward of Scotland, who, in her right, claimed the isle of Bute.

Dugall, the eldest son of his father by the second marriage, seems to have possessed not only a share of the Isles, but also the district of Lorn, which had been allotted as his share of the territories belonging to his ancestors. On his death, however, the Isles, instead of descending immediately to his children, were acquired by his brother Reginald, who in consequence assumed the title of King of the Isles; but, by the same law of succession, the death of Reginald restored to his nephews the inheritance of their father. Dugall left two sons, Dugall Scrag and Duncan, who appear in the northern Sagas, under the title of the Sudereyan Kings. They appear to have acknowledged, at least nominally, the authority of the Norwegian king of the Hebrides; but actually they maintained an almost entire in-

dependence. Haco, the king of Norway, therefore came to the determination of reducing them to obedience and subjection, a design in which he proved completely successful. In a night attack the Norwegians defeated the Sudereyans, and took Dugall prisoner.

Duncan was now the only member of his family who retained any power in the Sudereys; but nothing is known of his subsequent history except that he founded the priory of Ardchattan, in Lorn. He was succeeded by his son Ewen, who appears to have remained more faithful to the Norwegian kings than his predecessors had shown themselves; for, when solicited by Alexander II. to join him in an attempt he meditated to obtain possession of the Western Isles, Ewen resisted all the promises and entreaties of the king, and on this occasion preserved inviolate his allegiance to Haco. Alexander, it is well known, died in Kerreray (1249), when about to commence an attack upon the Isles, and was succeeded by his son Alexander III. When the latter had attained majority, he resolved to renew the attempt which his father had begun, and with this view excited the Earl of Ross, whose possessions extended along the mainland opposite to the Northern Isles, to commence hostilities against them. The earl willingly engaged in the enterprise, and having landed in Skye, ravaged the country, burned churches and villages, and put to death numbers of the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex. Haco soon appeared with a Norwegian force, and was joined by most of the Highland chiefs. But Ewen having altered his views, excused himself from taking any part against the force sent by the Scottish king; and the unfortunate termination of Haco's expedition justified the prudence of this timely change. In the year 1263 the Norwegians were completely defeated by the Scots at the battle of Largs; and the Isles were, in consequence of this event, finally ceded to the kings of Scotland. This event, however, rather increased than diminished the power of Ewen, who profited by his seasonable defection from the Norwegians, and was favoured by the government to which that defection had been useful. But he died without any male issue to succeed him, leaving only two daughters, one of whom married the Nor-

wegian king of Man, and the other, Alexander of the Isles, a descendant of Reginald.

The conquest and partition of Argyle by Alexander II., and the subsequent annexation of the Western Islands to the kingdom of Scotland, under the reign of his successor, annihilated the power of the race of Conn as an independent tribe; and, from the failure of the male descendants of Dugall in the person of Ewen, had the effect of dividing the clan into three distinct branches, the heads of which held their lands of the crown. These were the clan Ruari or Rory, the clan Donald, and the clan Dugall, so called from three sons of Ranald or Reginald, the son of Somerled by Ragnhildis, daughter of Olave.

Of this Ranald or Reginald, but little comparatively is known. According to the Highland custom of gavel, Somerled's property was divided amongst all his sons; and in this division the portion which fell to the share of Reginald appears to have consisted of the island of Islay, with Kintyre, and part of Lorn on the mainland. Contemporaneous with Reginald there was a Norwegian king of Man and the Isles, who, being called by the same name, is liable to be confounded with the head of the Siol Conn. Reginald, after the death of his brother Dugall, was designated as Lord, and sometimes even as King, of the Isles;⁷ and he had likewise the title of Lord of Argyle and Kintyre, in which last capacity he granted certain lands to an abbey that had been founded by himself at Saddel in Kintyre. But these titles did not descend to his children. He was succeeded by his eldest son Roderick,⁸ who, on the conquest of Argyle, agreed to hold his lands of Rory, or the crown, and afterwards was commonly styled

⁷ "Both Dugall and Reginald were called Kings of the Isles at the same time that Reginald, the son of Godred the Black, was styled King of Man and the Isles; and in the next generation we find mention of these kings of the Isles of the race of Somerled existing at one time." The word *king* with the Norwegians therefore corresponds to Magnate.—Gregory, 17.

⁸ "The seniority of Roderick, son of Reginald, has not been universally admitted, some authors making Donald the elder by birth. But the point is of little moment, seeing that the direct and legitimate line of Roderick, who, with his immediate progeny, held a large portion of the Isles, terminated in a female in the third generation, when the succession of the house of Somerled fell indisputably to the descendants of Donald, second grandson of Somerled, and head of the entire and potent clan of the Macdonalds."—Smibert, p. 20.

Lord of Kintyre. In this Roderick the blood of the Norwegian rovers seems to have revived in all its pristine purity. Preferring "the good old way, the simple plan" to more peaceful and honest pursuits, he became one of the most noted pirates of his day, and the annals of the period are filled with accounts of his predatory expeditions. But his sons, Dugall and Allan, had the grace not to follow the vocation of their father, for which they do not seem to have evinced any predilection. Dugall having given important aid to Haco in his expedition against the Western Isles, obtained in consequence a considerable increase of territory, and died without descendants. Allan succeeded to the possessions of this branch of the race of Conn, and, upon the annexation of the Isles to the crown of Scotland, transferred his allegiance to Alexander III., along with the other chiefs of the Hebrides.⁹

Allan left one son, Roderick, of whom almost nothing is known, except that he was not considered as legitimate by the feudal law, and in consequence was succeeded in his lordship of Garmoran by his daughter Christina. Yet the custom or law of the Highlands, according to which his legitimacy could 'moult no feather,' had still sufficient force amongst the people to induce the daughter to legalise her father's possession of the lands by a formal resignation and reconveyance; a circumstance which shows how deeply it had taken root in the habits and the opinions of the people. Roderick, however, incurred the penalty of forfeiture during the reign of Robert Bruce, "probably," as Mr Skene thinks, "from some connection with the Soulis conspiracy of 1320;" but his lands were restored to his son Ranald by David II. Ranald, however, did not long enjoy his extensive possessions. Holding of the Earl of Ross some lands in North Argyle, he unhappily became embroiled with that powerful chief, and a bitter feud, engendered by proximity, arose between them. In that age the spirit of hostility seldom remained long inactive. In 1346, David II. having summoned the barons of Scotland to meet him at Perth, Ranald, like

the others, obeyed the call, and having made his appearance, attended by a considerable body of men, took up his quarters at the monastery of Elcho, a few miles distant from the Fair City. To the Earl of Ross, who was also with the army, this seemed a favourable opportunity for revenging himself on his enemy; and accordingly having surprised and entered the monastery in the middle of the night, he slew Ranald and seven of his followers. By the death of Ranald, the male descendants of Roderick became extinct; and John of the Isles, the chief of the Clan Donald, who had married Amy, the only sister of Ranald, now claimed the succession to that principality.

THE MACDONALDS OR CLAN DONALD.



BADGE.—Heath.

The Clan Donald derive their origin from a son of Reginald, who appears to have inherited South Kintyre, and the island of Islay; but little is known of their history until the annexation of the Isles to the crown in the year 1266. According to Highland tradition, Donald made a pilgrimage to Rome to do penance, and obtain absolution for the various enormities of his former life; and, on his return, evinced his gratitude and piety by making grants of land to the monastery of Saddle, and other religious houses in Scotland. He was succeeded by his son, Angus Mor, who, on the arrival of Haco with his fleet, immediately joined the Norwegian king, and assisted him during the whole of the expedition; yet, when a treaty of peace was afterwards concluded between the kings of Norway and Scotland, he does not appear to have suffered in consequence of the

⁹ In the list of the Barons who assembled at Scone in 1284 to declare Margaret, the Maid of Norway, heiress to the crown, he appears under the name of *Allangus filius Roderici*.



MACDONALD.

part which he took in that enterprise. In the year 1284 he appeared at the convention, by which the Maid of Norway was declared heiress of the crown, and obtained as the price of his support on that occasion a grant of Ardnachurchan, a part of the earldom of Garmoran,¹ and the confirmation of his father's and grandfather's grants to the monastery of Saddel. Angus left two sons, Alexander and Angus Og (*i.e.*, the younger). Alexander, by a marriage with one of the daughters of Ewen of Ergadia, acquired a considerable addition to his possessions; but having joined the Lord of Lorn in his opposition to the claims of Robert Bruce, he became involved in the ruin of that chief; and being obliged to surrender to the king, he was imprisoned in Dundonald Castle, where he died. His whole possessions were forfeited, and given to his brother, Angus Og, who, having attached himself to the party of Bruce, and remained faithful in the hour of adversity, now received the reward of his fidelity and devotion. Angus assisted in the attack upon Carrick, when the king recovered "his father's hall;" and he was present at Bannockburn, where, at the head of his clan, he formed the reserve, and did battle "stalwart and stout," on that never-to-be-forgotten day. Bruce, having at length reaped the reward of all his toils and dangers, and secured the independence of Scotland, was not unmindful of those who had participated in the struggle thus victoriously consummated. Accordingly, he bestowed upon Angus the lordship of Lochaber, which had belonged to the Comyns, together with the lands of Durrour and Glencoe, and the islands of Mull, Tyree, &c., which had formed part of the possessions of the family of Lorn. Prudence might have restrained the royal bounty. The family of the Isles were already too powerful for subjects; but the king, secure of the attachment and fidelity of Angus, contented himself with making the permission to erect a castle or fort at Tarbet in Kintyre, a condition of the grants which he had made. This distinguished chief died early in the fourteenth century, leaving two sons, John his successor, and

John Og, the ancestor of the Macdonalds of Glencoe.

Angus, as we have already seen, had all his life been a steady friend to the crown, and had profited by his fidelity. But his son John does not seem to have inherited the loyalty along with the power, dignities, and possessions of his father. Having had some dispute with the Regent concerning certain lands which had been granted by Bruce, he joined the party of Edward Baliol and the English king; and, by a formal treaty concluded on the 12th of December 1335, and confirmed by Edward III. on the 5th October 1336, engaged to support the pretensions of the former, in consideration of a grant of the lands and islands claimed by the Earl of Moray, besides certain other advantages. But all the intrigues of Edward were baffled; Scotland was entirely freed from the dominion of the English; and, in the year 1341, David II. was recalled from France to assume the undisputed sovereignty of his native country. Upon his accession to the throne, David, anxious to attach to his party the most powerful of the Scottish barons, concluded a treaty with John of the Isles, who, in consequence, pledged himself to support his government. But a circumstance soon afterwards occurred which threw him once more into the interest of Baliol and the English party. In 1346, Ranald of the Isles having been slain at Perth by the Earl of Ross, as already mentioned, John, who had married his sister Amy, immediately laid claim to the succession. The government, however, unwilling to aggrandise a chief already too powerful, determined to oppose indirectly his pretensions, and evade the recognition of his claim. It is unnecessary to detail the pretexts employed, or the obstacles which were raised by the government. Their effect was to restore to the party of Baliol one of its most powerful adherents, and to enable John in the meanwhile to concentrate in his own person nearly all the possessions of his ancestor Somerled.

But ere long a most remarkable change took place in the character and position of the different parties or factions, which at that time divided Scotland. The king of Scotland now appeared in the extraordinary and unnatural character of a mere tool or partisan of Edward, and even seconded

¹ "The Lordship of Garmoran (also called Garbh-chrioch) comprehends the districts of Moidart, Arisaig, Morar, and Knoydart."—Gregory, p. 27.

covertly the endeavours of the English king to overturn the independence of Scotland. Its effect was to throw into active opposition the party which had hitherto supported the throne and the cause of independence; and, on the other hand, to secure to the enemies of both the favour and countenance of the king. But as soon as by this interchange the English party became identified with the royal faction, John of the Isles abandoned it, and formed a connection with that party to which he had for many years been openly opposed. At the head of the national party was the Steward of Scotland, who, being desirous of strengthening himself by alliances with the more powerful barons, hailed the accession of John to his interests as an extraordinary piece of good fortune, and cemented their union by giving to the Lord of the Isles his own daughter in marriage. The real aim of this policy was not for a moment misunderstood; but any open manifestation of force was at first cautiously avoided. At length, in 1366, when the heavy burdens imposed upon the people to raise the ransom of the king had produced general discontent, and David's jealousy of the Steward had displayed itself by throwing into prison the acknowledged successor to the throne, the northern barons broke out into open rebellion, and refused either to pay the tax imposed, or to obey the king's summons to attend the parliament.

In this state matters remained for some time, when David applied to the Steward, as the only person capable of restoring peace to the country, and, at the same time, commissioned him to put down the rebellion. The latter, satisfied that his objects would be more effectually forwarded by steady opposition to the court than by avowedly taking part with the insurgents, accepted the commission, and employed every means in his power to reduce the refractory barons to obedience. His efforts, however, were only partially successful. The Earls of Mar and Ross, and other northern barons, whose object was now attained, at once laid down their arms; John of Lorn and Gillespie Campbell likewise gave in their submission; but the Lord of the Isles, secure in the distance and inaccessible nature of his territories, refused to yield, and, in fact, set the royal

power at defiance. The course of events, however, soon enabled David to bring this refractory subject to terms. Edward, finding that France required his undivided attention, was not in a condition to prosecute his ambitious projects against Scotland; a peace was accordingly concluded between the rival countries; and David thus found himself at liberty to turn his whole force against the Isles. With this view he commanded the attendance of the Steward and other barons of the realm, and resolved to proceed in person against the rebels. But the Steward, perceiving that the continuance of the rebellion might prove fatal to his party, prevailed with his son-in-law to meet the king at Inverness, where an agreement was entered into, by which the Lord of the Isles not only engaged to submit to the royal authority, and pay his share of all public burdens, but further promised to put down all others who should attempt to resist either; and, besides his own oath, he gave hostages to the king for the fulfilment of this obligation. The accession of Robert Steward or Stewart to the throne of Scotland, which took place in 1371, shortly after this act of submission, brought the Lord of the Isles into close connection with the court; and during the whole of this reign he remained in as perfect tranquillity, and gave as loyal support to the government as his father Angus had done under that of King Robert Bruce.² In those barbarous and unsettled times, the government was not always in a condition to reduce its refractory vassals by force; and, from the frequent changes and revolutions to which it was exposed, joined to its general weakness, the penalty of forfeiture was but little dreaded. Its true policy, therefore, was to endeavour to bind to its interests, by the ties of friendship and alliance, those turbulent chiefs whom it was always difficult and often impossible to reduce to obedience by the means commonly employed for that purpose.

The advice which King Robert Bruce had left for the guidance of his successors, in regard to the Lords of the Isles, was certainly dictated

² The properties of Moidart, Arisaig, Morar, and Knoidart, on the mainland, and the isles of Uist, Barra, Rum, Egg, and Harris, were assigned and confirmed to him and his heirs by charter dated at Scone March 9, 1371-2.

by sound political wisdom. He foresaw the danger which would result to the crown were the extensive territories and consequent influence of these insular chiefs ever again to be concentrated in the person of one individual ; and he earnestly recommended to those who should come after him never, under any circumstances, to permit or to sanction such aggrandisement. But, in the present instance, the claims of John were too great to be overlooked ; and though Robert Stewart could scarcely have been insensible of the eventual danger which might result from disregarding the admonition of Bruce, yet he had not been more than a year on the throne when he granted to his son-in-law a feudal title to all those lands which had formerly belonged to Ranald the son of Roderick, and thus conferred on him a boon which had often been demanded in vain by his predecessors. King Robert, however, since he could not with propriety obstruct the accumulation of so much property in one house, attempted to sow the seeds of future discord by bringing about a division of the property amongst the different branches of the family. With this view he persuaded John, who had been twice married, not only to gavel the lands amongst his offspring, which was the usual practice of his family, but also to render the children of both marriages feudally independent of one another. Accordingly King Robert, in the third year of his reign, confirmed a charter granted by John to Reginald, the second son of the first marriage, by which the lands of Garmoran, forming the dowry of Reginald's mother, were to be held of John's heirs ; that is, of the descendants of the eldest son of the first marriage, who would, of course, succeed to all his possessions that had not been feudally destined or devised to other parties. Nor was this all. A short time afterwards John resigned into the king's hands nearly the whole of the western portion of his territories, and received from Robert charters of these lands in favour of himself and the issue of his marriage with the king's daughter ; so that the children of the second marriage were rendered feudally independent of those of the first, and the seeds of future discord and contention effectually sown between them. After this period little

is known of the history of John, who is supposed to have died about the year 1380.

During the remainder of this king's reign, and the greater part of that of his successor, Robert III., no collision seems to have taken place between the insular chiefs and the general government ; and hence little or nothing is known of their proceedings. But when the dissensions of the Scottish barons, occasioned by the marriage of the Duke of Rothesay, and the subsequent departure of the Earl of March to the English court, led to a renewal of the wars between the two countries, and the invasion of Scotland by an English army, the insular chiefs appear to have renewed their intercourse with England ; being more swayed by considerations of interest or policy, than by the ties of relationship to the royal family of Scotland. At this time the clan was divided into two branches, the heads of which seemed to have possessed co-ordinate rank and authority. Godfrey, the eldest surviving son of the first marriage, ruled on the mainland, as lord of Garmoran and Lochaber ; Donald, the eldest son of the second marriage, held a considerable territory of the crown, then known as the feudal lordship of the Isles ; whilst the younger brothers, having received the provisions usually allotted by the law of gavel, held these as vassals either of Godfrey or of Donald. This temporary equipoise was, however, soon disturbed by the marriage of Donald with Mary, the sister of Alexander Earl of Ross, in consequence of which alliance he ultimately succeeded in obtaining possession of the earldom. Euphemia, only child of Alexander, Earl of Ross, entered a convent and became a nun, having previously committed the charge of the earldom to her grandfather, Albany. Donald, however, lost no time in preferring his claim to the succession in right of his wife, the consequences of which have already been narrated in detail.³ Donald, with a considerable force, invaded Ross, and met with little or no resistance from the people till he reached Dingwall, where he was encountered by Angus Dhu Mackay, at the head of a considerable body of men from Sutherland, whom, after a fierce conflict, he completely defeated and made their leader

³ For details, see vol. i., p. 69, *et seq.*

prisoner. Leaving the district of Ross, which now acknowledged his authority, he advanced at the head of his army, through Moray, and penetrated into Aberdeenshire. Here, however, a decisive check awaited him. On the 24th of July, 1411, he was met at the village of Harlaw by the Earl of Mar, at the head of an army inferior in numbers, but composed of better materials; and a battle ensued, upon the event of which seemed to depend the decision of the question, whether the Celtic or the Sassenach part of the population of Scotland were in future to possess the supremacy. The immediate issue of the conflict was doubtful, and, as is usual in such cases, both parties claimed the victory. But the superior numbers and irregular valour of the Highland followers of Donald had received a severe check from the steady discipline and more effective arms of the Lowland gentry; they had been too roughly handled to think of renewing the combat, for which their opponents seem to have been quite prepared; and, as in such circumstances a drawn battle was equivalent to a defeat, Donald was compelled, as the Americans say, "to advance backwards." The Duke of Albany, having obtained reinforcements, marched in person to Dingwall; but Donald, having no desire to try again the fate of arms, retired with his followers to the Isles, leaving Albany in possession of the whole of Ross, where he remained during the winter. Next summer the war was renewed, and carried on with various success, until at length the insular chief found it necessary to come to terms with the duke, and a treaty was concluded by which Donald agreed to abandon his claim to the earldom of Ross, and to become a vassal of the crown of Scotland.

The vigour of Albany restored peace to the kingdom, and the remainder of his regency was not disturbed by any hostile attempt upon the part of Donald of the Isles. But when the revenge of James I. had consummated the ruin of the family of Albany, Alexander, the son of Donald, succeeded, without any opposition, to the earldom of Ross, and thus realised one grand object of his father's ambition. At almost any other period the acquisition of such extensive territories would have given a decided and dangerous preponderance to the

family of the Isles. The government of Scotland, however, was then in the hands of a man who, by his ability, energy, and courage, proved himself fully competent to control his turbulent nobles, and, if necessary, to destroy their power and influence. Distrustful, however, of his ability to reduce the northern barons to obedience by force of arms, he had recourse to stratagem; and having summoned them to attend a parliament at Inverness, whither he proceeded, attended by his principal nobility and a considerable body of troops, he there caused forty of them to be arrested as soon as they made their appearance. Alexander, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, his mother the Countess of Ross, and Alexander MacGodfrey, of Garmoran, were amongst the number of those arrested on this occasion. Along with several others, MacGodfrey was immediately executed, and his whole possessions forfeited to the crown, and the remainder were detained in captivity. By this bold stroke, James conceived that he had effectually subdued the Highland chiefs; and, under this impression, he soon afterwards liberated Alexander of the Isles. But he seems to have forgotten that "vows made in pain," or at least in duress, "are violent and void." The submission of the captive was merely feigned. As soon as he had recovered his liberty, the Lord of the Isles flew to arms, with what disastrous results to himself has already been told.⁴ So vigorously did the king's officers follow up the victory, that the insular chief, finding concealment or escape equally impossible, was compelled to throw himself upon the royal clemency. He went to Edinburgh, and, on the occasion of a solemn festival celebrated in the chapel of Holyrood, on Easter Sunday 1429, the unfortunate chief, whose ancestors had treated with the crown on the footing of independent princes, appeared before the assembled court in his shirt and drawers, and implored on his knees, with a naked sword held by the point in his hand, the forgiveness of his offended monarch. Satisfied with this extraordinary act of humiliation, James granted the suppliant his life, and directed him to be forthwith imprisoned in Tantallon castle.

⁴ See vol. i. p. 73.

The spirit of clanship could not brook such a mortal affront. The cry for vengeance was raised; the strength of the clan was mustered; and Alexander had scarcely been two years in captivity when the Isles once more broke out into open insurrection. Under the command of Donald Balloch, the cousin of Alexander and chief of clan Ranald, the Islanders burst into Lochaber, where, having encountered an army which had been stationed in that country for the purpose of overawing the Highlanders, they gained a complete victory. The king's troops were commanded by the Earls of Mar and Caithness, the latter of whom fell in the action, whilst the former saved with difficulty the remains of the discomfited force. Donald Balloch, however, did not follow up his victory, but having ravaged the adjacent districts, withdrew first to the Isles, and afterwards to Ireland. In this emergency James displayed his usual energy and activity. To repair the reverse sustained by his lieutenants, he proceeded in person to the North; his expedition was attended with complete success; and he soon received the submission of all the chiefs who had been engaged in the rebellion. Not long afterwards he was presented with what was believed to be the head of Donald Balloch; "but," says Mr Gregory, "as Donald Balloch certainly survived king James many years, it is obvious that the sending of the head to Edinburgh was a stratagem devised by the crafty islander, in order to check further pursuit." The king, being thus successful, listened to the voice of clemency. He restored to liberty the prisoner of Tantallon, granted him a free pardon for his various acts of rebellion, confirmed to him all his titles and possessions, and further conferred upon him the lordship of Lochaber, which, on its forfeiture, had been given to the Earl of Mar. The wisdom of this proceeding soon became apparent. Alexander could scarcely forget the humiliation he had undergone, and the imprisonment he had endured; and, in point of fact, he appears to have joined the Earls of Crawford and Douglas, who at that time headed the opposition to the court; but during the remainder of his life the peace of the country was not again disturbed by any rebellious proceedings on his part, and thus far the king reaped the

reward of his clemency. Alexander died about 1447, leaving three sons, John, Hugh, and Celestine.

The opposition of Crawford, Douglas, and their associates had hitherto been chronic; but, on the death of Alexander, it broke out into active insurrection; and the new Lord of the Isles, as determined an opponent of the royal party as his father had been, seized the royal castles of Inverness, Urquhart, and Ruthven in Badenoch, at the same time declaring himself independent. In thus raising the standard of rebellion, John of the Isles was secretly supported by the Earl of Douglas, and openly by the barons, who were attached to his party. But a series of fatalities soon extinguished this insurrection. Douglas was murdered in Edinburgh Castle; Crawford was entirely defeated by Huntly; and John, by the rebellion of his son Angus, was doomed to experience, in his own territories, the same opposition which he had himself offered to the general government. Submission was, therefore, inevitable. Having for several years maintained a species of independence, he was compelled to resign his lands into the hands of the king, and to consent to hold them as a vassal of the crown. This, however, was but a trifling matter compared with the rebellion of his son, which, fomented probably by the court, proved eventually the ruin of the principality of the Isles, after it had existed so long in a state of partial independence. Various circumstances are stated as having given rise to this extraordinary contest, although in none of these, probably, is the true cause to be found. It appears, however, that Angus Og,⁵ having been appointed his father's

⁵ "The authority of Mr Skene is usually to be received as of no common weight, but the account given by him of this portion of the Macdonald annals does not consist with unquestionable facts. As such, the statements in the national collections of *Foedera* (Treaties), and the *Records of Parliament*, ought certainly to be regarded; and a preference must be given to their testimony over the counter-assertions of ancient private annalists. Some of the latter parties seem to assert that John II., who had no children by Elizabeth Livingston (daughter of Lord Livingston), had yet "a natural son begotten of Macduffie of Colonsay's daughter, and Angus Og, his legitimate son, by the Earl of Angus's daughter." No mention of this Angus' marriage occurs in any one public document relating to the Lords of the Isles, or to the Douglasses, then Earls of Angus. On the other hand, the acknowledged wife of John of the

lieutenant and representative in all his possessions, took advantage of the station or office which was thus conferred on him, deprived his father of all authority, and got himself declared Lord of the Isles. How this was effected we know not; but scarcely had he attained the object of his ambition, when he resolved to take signal vengeance upon the Earl of Athole, an inveterate enemy of his house, and, at the same time, to declare himself altogether independent of the crown. With this view, having collected a numerous army, he suddenly appeared before the castle of Inverness, and having been admitted by the governor, who had no suspicion whatever of his design, immediately proclaimed himself king of the Isles. He then invaded the district of Athole; stormed and took Blair Castle; and having seized the earl and countess, carried them prisoners to Islay. The reason given by Mr Gregory for Angus's enmity against the Earl and Countess of Athole is, that the former having crossed over privately to Islay, carried off the infant son of Angus, called Donald *Dubh*, or the Black, and committed him to the care of Argyle, his maternal grandfather, who placed him in the Castle of Inchconnely, where he was detained for many years. Mr Gregory places this event after the Battle of Bloody Bay. On his return to the Isles with the booty he had obtained, the marauder was overtaken by a violent tempest, in which the greater part of his galleys foundered. Heaven seemed to declare against the spoiler, who had added sacrilege to rapine by plundering and attempting to burn the chapel of St Bridget in Athole. Stricken with remorse for the crime he had committed, he released the earl and countess, and then sought to expiate his guilt by doing

penance on the spot where it had been incurred.

As a proof of the sincerity of his repentance, this Angus Og next engaged in treason upon a larger scale. At the instigation of this hopeful son, his father, whom he had already deprived of all authority, now entered into a compact with the king of England and the Earl of Douglas, the object of which was nothing less than the entire subjugation of Scotland, and its partition amongst the contracting parties. By this treaty, which is dated the 18th of February 1462, the Lord of the Isles agreed, on the payment of a stipulated sum, to become the sworn ally of the king of England, and to assist that monarch, with the whole body of his retainers, in the wars in Ireland and elsewhere; and it was further provided, that in the event of the entire subjugation of Scotland, the whole of that kingdom, to the north of the Firth of Forth, should be equally divided between Douglas, the Lord of the Isles, and Donald Balloch of Islay; whilst, on the other hand, Douglas was to be reinstated in possession of those lands between the Forth and the English borders, from which he had, at this time, been excluded. Conquest, partition, and spoliation, were thus the objects contemplated in this extraordinary compact. Yet no proceeding appears to have been taken, in consequence of the treaty, until the year 1473, when we find the Lord of the Isles again in arms against the government. He continued several years in open rebellion; but having received little or no support from the other parties to the league, he was declared a traitor in a parliament held at Edinburgh in 1475, his estates were also confiscated, and the Earls of Crawford and Athole were directed to march against him at the head of a considerable force. The meditated blow was, however, averted by the timely interposition of his father, the Earl of Ross. By a seasonable grant of the lands of Knapdale, he secured the influence of the Earl of Argyll, and through the mediation of that nobleman, received a remission of his past offences, was reinstated in his hereditary possessions, which he had resigned into the hands of the crown, and created a peer of parliament, by the title of the Lord of the Isles. The earldom of Ross, the lands of

Isles, Elizabeth Livingston, was certainly alive in 1475, at which date he, among other charges, is accused of making "his bastard son" a lieutenant to him in "insurrectionary convocations of the lieges;" and Angus could therefore come of no second marriage. He indubitably is the same party still more distinctly named in subsequent Parliamentary Records as "Angus of the Isles, *bastard son* to unquhile John of the Isles." The attribution of noble and legitimate birth to Angus took its origin, without doubt, in the circumstance of John's want of children by marriage having raised his natural son to a high degree of power in the clan, which the active character of Angus well fitted him to use as he willed."—Smibert's *Clans* pp. 23, 24.

Knapdale, and the sheriffships of Inverness and Nairn were, however, retained by the crown, apparently as the price of the remission granted to this doubly unfortunate man.

But Angus Og was no party to this arrangement. He continued to defy the power of the government; and when the Earl of Athole was sent to the north to reinstate the Earl of Ross in his remaining possessions, he placed himself at the head of the clan, and prepared to give him battle. Athole was joined by the Mackenzies, Mackays, Frasers, and others; but being met by Angus at a place called Lagebread, he was defeated with great slaughter, and escaped with great difficulty from the field. The Earls of Crawford and Huntly were then sent against this desperate rebel, the one by sea and the other by land; but neither of them prevailed against the victorious insurgent. A third expedition, under the Earls of Argyll and Athole, accompanied by the father of the rebel and several families of the Isles, produced no result; and the two earls, who seem to have had little taste for an encounter with Angus, returned without effecting anything. John the father, however, proceeded onwards through the Sound of Mull, accompanied by the Macleans, Macleods, Macneills, and others, and having encountered Angus in a bay on the south side of the promontory of Ardnamurchan,⁶ a desperate combat ensued, in which Angus was again victorious, and his unfortunate parent overthrown. By the battle of the Bloody Bay, as it is called in the traditions of the country, Angus obtained possession of the extensive territories of his clan, and, as "when treason prospers 'tis no longer treason," was recognised as its head. Angus, some time before 1490, when marching to attack Mackenzie of Kintail, was assassinated by an Irish harper.⁷

The rank of heir to the lordship of the Isles devolved on the nephew of John, Alexander of Lochalsh, son of his brother, Celestine. Placing himself at the head of the vassals of the Isles, he endeavoured, it is said, with John's consent, to recover possession of the earldom of Ross, and in 1491, at the head of a

large body of western Highlanders, he advanced from Lochaber into Badenoch, where he was joined by the clan Chattan. They then marched to Inverness, where, after taking the royal castle, and placing a garrison in it, they proceeded to the north-east, and plundered the lands of Sir Alexander Urquhart, sheriff of Cromarty. They next hastened to Strathconnan, for the purpose of ravaging the lands of the Mackenzies. The latter, however, surprised and routed the invaders, and expelled them from Ross, their leader, Alexander of Lochalsh, being wounded, and as some say, taken prisoner. In consequence of this insurrection, at a meeting of the Estates in Edinburgh in May 1493, the title and possessions of the lord of the Isles were declared to be forfeited to the crown. In January following the aged John appeared in the presence of the king, and made a voluntary surrender of his lordship, after which he appears to have remained for some time in the king's household, in the receipt of a pension. He finally retired to the monastery of Paisley, where he died about 1498; and was interred, at his own request, in the tomb of his royal ancestor, Robert II.⁸

With the view of reducing the insular chiefs to subjection, and establishing the royal authority in the Islands, James IV., soon after the forfeiture in 1493, proceeded in person to the West Highlands, when Alexander of Lochalsh, the principal cause of the insurrection which had led to it, and John of Isla, grandson and representative of Donald Balloch, were among the first to make their submission. On this occasion they appear to have obtained royal charters of the lands they had previously held under the Lord of the Isles, and were both knighted. In the following year the king visited the Isles twice, and having seized and garrisoned the castle of Dunaverty in South Kintyre, Sir John of Isla, deeply resenting this proceeding, collected his followers, stormed the castle, and hung the governor from the wall, in the sight of the king and his fleet. With four of his sons, he was soon after apprehended at Isla, by MacIain of Ardnamurchan, and being conveyed to Edinburgh, they were there executed for high treason.

⁶ Gregory (p. 52) says this combat was fought in a bay in the Isle of Mull, near Tobermory.

⁷ See Gregory's *Highlands*, p. 54.

⁸ Gregory, p. 581.

In 1495 King James assembled an army at Glasgow, and on the 18th May, he was at the castle of Mingarry in Ardnamurchan, when several of the Highland chiefs made their submission to him. In 1497 Sir Alexander of Lochalsh again rebelled, and invading the more fertile districts of Ross, was by the Mackenzies and Munroes, at a place called Drumchatt, again defeated and driven out of Ross. Proceeding southward among the Isles, he endeavoured to rouse the Islanders to arms in his behalf, but without success. He was surprised in the island of Oransay, by MacIain of Ardnamurchan, and put to death.

In 1501, Donald *Dubh*, whom the islanders regarded as their rightful lord, and who, from his infancy, had been detained in confinement in the castle of Inchconnell, escaped from prison, and appeared among his clansmen. They had always maintained that he was the lawful son of Angus of the Isles, by his wife the Lady Margaret Campbell, daughter of the first Earl of Argyll, but his legitimacy was denied by the government when the islanders combined to assert by arms his claims as their hereditary chief. His liberation he owed to the gallantry and fidelity of the men of Glencoe. Repairing to the isles of Lewis, he put himself under the protection of its lord, Torquil Macleod, who had married Katherine, another daughter of Argyll, and therefore sister of the lady whom the islanders believed to be his mother. A strong confederacy was formed in his favour, and about Christmas 1503 an irruption of the islanders and western clans, under Donald *Dubh*, was made into Badenoch, which was plundered and wasted with fire and sword. To put down this formidable rebellion, the array of the whole kingdom north of Forth and Clyde was called out; and the Earls of Argyll, Huntly, Crawford, and Marischal, and Lord Lovat, with other powerful barons, were charged to lead this force against the islanders. But two years elapsed before the insurrection was finally quelled. In 1505 the Isles were again invaded from the south by the king in person, and from the north by Huntly, who took several prisoners, but none of them of any rank. In these various expeditions the fleet under the celebrated Sir Andrew Wood and Robert Barton was employed against the

islanders, and at length the insurgents were dispersed. Carniburgh, a strong fort on a small isolated rock, near the west coast of Mull, in which they had taken refuge, was reduced; the Macleans and the Macleods submitted to the king, and Donald *Dubh*, again made a prisoner, was committed to the castle of Edinburgh, where he remained for nearly forty years. After this the great power formerly enjoyed by the Lords of the Isles was transferred to the Earls of Argyll and Huntly, the former having the chief rule in the south isles and adjacent coasts, while the influence of the latter prevailed in the north isles and Highlands.

The children of Sir Alexander of Lochalsh, the nephew of John the fourth and last Lord of the Isles, had fallen into the hands of the king, and as they were all young, they appear to have been brought up in the royal household. Donald, the eldest son, called by the Highlanders, Donald *Galda*, or the foreigner, from his early residence in the Lowlands, was allowed to inherit his father's estates, and was frequently permitted to visit the Isles. He was with James IV. at the battle of Flodden, and appears to have been knighted under the royal banner on that disastrous field. Two months after, in November 1513, he raised another insurrection in the Isles, and being joined by the Macleods and Macleans, was proclaimed Lord of the Isles. The numbers of his adherents daily increased. But in the course of 1515, the Earl of Argyll prevailed upon the insurgents to submit to the regent. At this time Sir Donald appeared frequently before the council, relying on a safe-conduct, and his reconciliation to the regent (John, Duke of Albany) was apparently so cordial that on 24th September 1516, a summons was despatched to 'Monsieur de Ylis,' to join the royal army, then about to proceed to the borders. Ere long, however, he was again in open rebellion. Early in 1517 he razed the castle of Mingarry to the ground, and ravaged the whole district of Ardnamurchan with fire and sword. His chief leaders now deserted him, and some of them determined on delivering him up to the regent. He, however, effected his escape, but his two brothers were made prisoners by Maclean of Dowart and Macleod of Dunvegan, who hastened to make their sub-

mission to the government. In the following year, Sir Donald was enabled to revenge the murder of his father on the MacIans of Ardnarmurchan, having defeated and put to death their chief and two of his sons, with a great number of his men. He was about to be forfeited for high treason, when his death, which took place a few weeks after his success against the MacIans, brought the rebellion, which had lasted for upwards of five years, to a sudden close. He was the last male of his family, and died without issue.

In 1539, Donald Gorme of Sleat claimed the lordship of the Isles, as lawful heir male of John, Earl of Ross. With a considerable force he passed over into Ross shire, where, after ravaging the district of Kinlochewe, he proceeded to Kintail, with the intention of surprising the castle Eilandonan, at that time almost without a garrison. Exposing himself rashly under the wall, he received a wound in the foot from an arrow, which proved fatal.

In 1543, under the regency of the Earl of Arran, Donald *Dubh*, the grandson of John, last Lord of the Isles, again appeared upon the scene. Escaping from his long imprisonment, he was received with enthusiasm by the insular chiefs, and, with their assistance, he prepared to expel the Earls of Argyll and Huntly from their acquisitions in the Isles. At the head of 1800 men he invaded Argyll's territories, slew many of his vassals, and carried off a great quantity of cattle, with other plunder. At first he was supported by the Earl of Lennox, then attached to the English interest, and thus remained for a time in the undisputed possession of the Isles. Through the influence of Lennox, the islanders agreed to transfer their alliance from the Scottish to the English crown, and in June 1545 a proclamation was issued by the regent Arran and his privy council against 'Donald, alleging himself of the Isles, and other Highland men, his partakers.' On the 28th July of that year, a commission was granted by Donald, 'Lord of the Isles, and Earl of Ross,' with the advice and consent of his barons and council of the Isles, of whom seventeen are named, to two commissioners, for treating, under the directions of the Earl of Lennox, with the English king. On the 5th of August, the lord and barons of the Isles

were at Knockfergus, in Ireland, with a force of 4000 men and 180 galleys, when they took the oath of allegiance to the king of England, at the command of Lennox, while 4000 men in arms were left to guard and defend the Isles in his absence. Donald's plenipotentiaries then proceeded to the English court with letters from him both to King Henry and his privy council; by one of which it appears that the Lord of the Isles had already received from the English monarch the sum of one thousand crowns, and the promise of an annual pension of two thousand. Soon after the Lord of the Isles returned with his forces to Scotland, but appears to have returned to Ireland again with Lennox. There he was attacked with fever, and died at Drogheda, on his way to Dublin. With him terminated the direct line of the Lords of the Isles.

All hopes of a descendant of Somerled again governing the Isles were now at an end; and from this period the race of Conn, unable to regain their former united power and consequence, were divided into various branches, the aggregate strength of which was rendered unavailing for the purpose of general aggrandisement, by the jealousy, disunion, and rivalry, which prevailed among themselves.

After the forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles, and the failure of the successive attempts which were made to retrieve their fortunes, different clans occupied the extensive territories which had once acknowledged the sway of those insular princes. Of these some were clans, which, although dependent upon the Macdonalds, were not of the same origin as the race of Conn; and, with the exception of the Macleods, Macleans, and a few others, they strenuously opposed all the attempts which were made to effect the restoration of the family of the Isles, rightly calculating that the success of such opposition would tend to promote their own aggrandisement. Another class, again, were of the same origin as the family of the Isles; but having branched off from the principal stem before the succession of the elder branches reverted to the clan, in the person of John of the Isles, during the reign of David II., they now appeared as separate clans. Amongst these were the Macalisters, the MacIans, and some others. The Macalisters, who are traced to Alister, a son of

Angus Mor, inhabited the south of Knapdale and the north of Kintyre. After the forfeiture of the Isles they became independent; but being exposed to the encroachments of the Campbells, their principal possessions were ere long absorbed by different branches of that powerful clan. The MacIans of Ardnamurchan were descended from John, a son of Angus Mor, to whom his father conveyed the property which he had obtained from the crown. The Macdonalds of Glencoe are also MacIans, being descended from John Fraoch, a son of Angus Og, Lord of the Isles; and hence their history is in no degree different from that of the other branches of the Macdonalds. A third class consisted of the descendants of the different Lords of the Isles, who still professed to form one clan, although the subject of the representation of the race soon introduced great dissensions, and all adopted the generic name of Macdonald in preference to secondary or collateral patronymics.

We shall now endeavour to give a short account of the different branches of the Macdonalds, from the time of the annexation of the Lordship of the Isles to the crown in 1540.

Since the extinction of the direct line of the family of the Isles, in the middle of the 16th century, Macdonald of Sleat, now Lord Macdonald, has always been styled in Gaelic *Mac Dhonuill nan Eilean*, or Macdonald of the Isles.⁹

As the claim of Lord Macdonald, however, to this distinction has been keenly disputed, we shall here lay before the reader, as clearly as possible, the pretensions of the different claimants to the honour of the chiefship of the clan Donald, as these have been very fairly stated by Mr Skene.

That the family of Sleat are the undoubted representatives of John, Earl of Ross, and the last Lord of the Isles, appears to be admitted on all sides; but, on the other hand, if the descendants of Donald, from whom the clan received its name, or even of John of the Isles, who flourished in the reign of David II., are to be held as constituting one clan, then, according to the Highland principles of clan-

ship, the *jus sanguinis*, or right of blood to the chiefship, rested in the male representative of John, whose own right was undoubted. By Amy, daughter of Roderick of the Isles, John had three sons,—John, Godfrey, and Ranald; but the last of these only left descendants; and it is from him that the Clan Ranald derive their origin. Again, by the daughter of Robert II. John had four sons—Donald, Lord of the Isles, the ancestor of the Macdonalds of Sleat; John Mor, from whom proceeded the Macconnells of Kintyre; Alister, the progenitor of Keppoch; and Angus, who does not appear to have left any descendants. That Amy, the daughter of Roderick, was John's legitimate wife, is proved, first, by a dispensation which the supreme Pontiff granted to John in the year 1337; and secondly, by a treaty concluded between John and David II. in 1369, when the hostages given to the king were a son of the second marriage, a grandson of the first, and a *natural* son. Besides, it is certain that the children of the first marriage were considered as John's feudal heirs; a circumstance which clearly establishes their legitimacy. It is true that Robert II., in pursuance of the policy he had adopted, persuaded John to make the children of these respective marriages feudally independent of each other; and that the effect of this was to divide the possessions of his powerful vassals into two distinct and independent lordships. These were, first, the lordship of Garmoran and Lochaber, which was held by the eldest son of the first marriage,—and secondly, that of the Isles, which passed to the eldest son of the second marriage; and matters appear to have remained in this state until 1427, when, as formerly mentioned, the Lord of Garmoran was beheaded, and his estates were forfeited to the crown. James I., however, reversing the policy which had been pursued by his predecessor, concentrated the possessions of the Macdonalds in the person of the Lord of the Isles, and thus sought to restore to him all the power and consequence which had originally belonged to his house; “but this arbitrary proceeding,” says Mr Skene, “could not deprive the descendants of the first marriage of the feudal representation of the chiefs of the clan Donald, which now, on the failure of the issue of

⁹ Gregory's *Highlands*, p. 61.

Godfrey in the person of his son Alexander, devolved on the feudal representative of Reginald, the youngest son of that marriage."

The clan Ranald are believed to have derived their origin from this Reginald or Ranald, who was a son of John of the Isles, by Amy MacRory, and obtained from his father the lordship of Garmoran, which he held as vassal of his brother Godfrey. That this lordship continued in possession of the clan appears evident from the Parliamentary Records, in which, under the date of 1587, mention is made of the clan Ranald of Knoydart, Moydart, and Glengarry. But considerable doubt has arisen, and there has been a good deal of controversy, as to the right of chiefship; whilst of the various families descended from Ranald each has put forward its claim to this distinction. On this knotty and ticklish point we shall content ourselves with stating the conclusions at which Mr Skene arrived 'after,' as he informs us, 'a rigid examination' of the whole subject in dispute. According to him, the present family of Clanranald have no valid title or pretension whatever, being descended from an illegitimate son of a second son of the old family of Moydart, who, in 1531, assumed the title of Captain of Clanranald; and, consequently, as long as the descendants of the eldest son of that family remain, they can have no claim by right of blood to the chiefship. He then proceeds to examine the question,—Who was the chief previous to this assumption of the captaincy of Clanranald? and, from a genealogical induction of particulars, he concludes that Donald, the progenitor of the family of Glengarry, was the eldest son of the Reginald or Ranald above-mentioned; that from John, the eldest son of Donald, proceeded the senior branch of this family, in which the chiefship was vested; that, in consequence of the grant of Garmoran to the Lord of the Isles, and other adverse circumstances, they became so much reduced that the oldest cadet obtained the actual chiefship, under the ordinary title of captain; and that, on the extinction of this branch in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the family of Glengarry descended from Alister, second son of Donald, became the legal representatives of Ranald, the common ancestor of the clan, and consequently

possessed that *jus sanguinis* of which no usurpation could deprive them. Such are the results of Mr Skene's researches upon this subject. Latterly, the family of Glengarry have claimed not only the chiefship of clan Ranald, but likewise that of the whole clan Donald, as being the representative of Donald, the common ancestor of the clan; and it can scarcely be denied that the same evidence which makes good the one point must serve equally to establish the other. Nor does this appear to be any new pretension. When the services rendered by this family to the house of Stuart were rewarded by Charles II. with a peerage, the Glengarry of the time indicated his claim by assuming the title of Lord Macdonnell and Aros; and although, upon the failure of heirs male of his body, this title did not descend to his successors, yet his lands formed, in consequence, the barony of Macdonnell.

Donald Gorme, the claimant of the lordship of the Isles mentioned above as having been slain in 1539, left a grandson, a minor, known as Donald Macdonald Gormeson of Sleat. His title to the family estates was disputed by the Macleods of Harris. He ranged himself on the side of Queen Mary when the disputes about her marriage began in 1565. He died in 1585, and was succeeded by Donald Gorme Mor, fifth in descent from Hugh of Sleat. This Donald Gorme proved himself to be a man of superior abilities, and was favoured highly by James VI., to whom he did important service in maintaining the peace of the Isles. "From this period, it may be observed, the family were, loyal to the crown, and firm supporters of the national constitution and laws; and it is also worthy of notice that nearly all the clans attached to the old Lords of the Isles, on the failure of the more direct line in the person of John, transferred their warmest affections to those royal Stuarts, whose throne they had before so often and so alarmingly shaken. This circumstance, as all men know, became strikingly apparent when misfortune fell heavily in turn on the Stuarts."¹

Donald Gorme Mor, soon after succeeding his father, found himself involved in a deadly

¹ Smibert's *Clans*, p. 25.

feud with the Macleans of Dowart, which raged to such an extent as to lead to the interference of government, and to the passing in 1587 of an act of parliament, commonly called "The general Bond" or Band for maintaining good order both on the borders and in the Highlands and Isles. By this act, it was made imperative on all landlords, bailies, and chiefs of clans, to find sureties for the peaceable behaviour of those under them. The contentions, however, between the Macdonalds and the Macleans continued, and in 1589, with the view of putting an end to them, the king and council adopted the following plan. After remissions under the privy seal had been granted to Donald Gorme of Sleat, his kinsman, Macdonald of Islay, the principal in the feud, and Maclean of Dowart, for all crimes committed by them, they were induced to proceed to Edinburgh, under pretence of consulting with the king and council for the good rule of the country, but immediately on their arrival they were seized and imprisoned in the castle. In the summer of 1591, they were set at liberty, on paying each a fine to the king, that imposed on Sleat being £4,000, under the name of arrears of feu-duties and crown-rents in the Isles, and finding security for their future obedience and the performance of certain prescribed conditions. They also bound themselves to return to their confinement in the castle of Edinburgh, whenever they should be summoned, on twenty days' warning. In consequence of their not fulfilling the conditions imposed upon them, and their continuing in opposition to the government, their pardons were recalled, and the three island chiefs were cited before the privy council on the 14th July 1593, when, failing to appear, summonses of treason were executed against them and certain of their associates.

In 1601, the chief of Sleat again brought upon himself and his clan the interference of government by a feud with Macleod of Dunvegan, which led to much bloodshed and great misery and distress among their followers and their families. He had married a sister of Macleod; but, from jealousy or some other cause, he put her away, and refused at her brother's request to take her back. Having procured a divorce, he soon after married a

sister of Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail. Macleod immediately assembled his clan, and carried fire and sword through Macdonald's district of Trotternish. The latter, in revenge, invaded Harris, and laid waste that island, killing many of the inhabitants, and carrying off their cattle. "These spoliations and incursions were carried on with so much inveteracy, that both clans were brought to the brink of ruin; and many of the natives of the districts thus devastated were forced to sustain themselves by killing and eating their horses, dogs, and cats." The Macdonalds having invaded Macleod's lands in Skye, a battle took place on the mountain Benquillin between them and the Macleods, when the latter, under Alexander, the brother of their chief, were defeated with great loss, and their leader, with thirty of their clan, taken captive. A reconciliation was at length effected between them by the mediation of Macdonald of Islay, Maclean of Coll, and other friends; when the prisoners taken at Benquillin were released.²

In 1608, we find Donald Gorme of Sleat one of the Island chiefs who attended the court of Lord Ochiltree, the king's lieutenant, at Aros in Mull, when he was sent there for the settlement of order in the Isles, and who afterwards accepted his invitation to dinner on board the king's ship, called the Moon. When dinner was ended, Ochiltree told the astonished chiefs that they were his prisoners by the king's order; and weighing anchor he sailed direct to Ayr, whence he proceeded with his prisoners to Edinburgh and presented them before the privy council, by whose order they were placed in the castles of Dumbarton, Blackness, and Stirling. Petitions were immediately presented by the imprisoned chiefs to the council submitting themselves to the king's pleasure, and making many offers in order to procure their liberation. In the following year the bishop of the Isles was deputed as sole commissioner to visit and survey the Isles, and all the chiefs in prison were set at liberty, on finding security to a large amount, not only for their return to Edinburgh by a certain fixed day, but for their active concurrence, in the meantime,

² Gregory's *Highlands*, p. 297.

with the bishop in making the proposed survey. Donald Gorme of Sleat was one of the twelve chiefs and gentlemen of the Isles, who met the bishop at Iona, in July 1609, and submitted themselves to him, as the king's representative. At a court then held by the bishop, the nine celebrated statutes called the "Statutes of Icolmkill," for the improvement and order of the Isles, were enacted, with the consent of the assembled chiefs, and their bonds and oaths given for the obedience thereto of their clansmen.³

In 1616, after the suppression of the rebellion of the Clanranald in the South Isles, certain very stringent conditions were imposed by the privy council on the different Island chiefs. Among these were, that they were to take home-farms into their own hands, which they were to cultivate, "to the effect that they might be thereby exercised and eschew idleness," and that they were not to use in their houses more than a certain quantity of wine respectively. Donald Gorme of Sleat, having been prevented by sickness from attending the council with the other chiefs, ratified all their proceedings, and found the required sureties, by a bond dated in the month of August. He named Duntulm, a castle of his family in Trotternish, Skye, as his residence, when six household gentlemen, and an annual consumption of four tun of wine, were allowed to him; and he was once-a-year to exhibit to the council three of his principal kinsmen. He died the same year, without issue, and was succeeded by his nephew, Donald Gorme Macdonald of Sleat.

On July 14th 1625, after having concluded, in an amicable manner, all his disputes with the Macleods of Harris, and another controversy in which he was engaged with the captain of Clanranald, he was created a baronet of Nova Scotia by Charles I., with a special clause of precedency placing him second of that order in Scotland. He adhered to the cause of that monarch, but died in 1643. He had married Janet, commonly called "fair Janet," second daughter of Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, by whom he had several children. His eldest son, Sir James Mac-

donald, second baronet of Sleat, joined the Marquis of Montrose in 1645, and when Charles II. marched into England in 1651, he sent a number of his clan to his assistance. He died 8th December 1678.

Sir James' eldest son, Sir Donald Macdonald, third baronet of Sleat, died in 1695. His son, also named Sir Donald, fourth baronet, was one of those summoned by the Lord Advocate, on the breaking out of the rebellion of 1715, to appear at Edinburgh, under pain of a year's imprisonment and other penalties, to give bail for their allegiance to the government. Joining in the insurrection, his two brothers commanded the battalion of his clan, on the Pretender's side, at Sheriffmuir; and, being sent out with the Earl Marischal's horse to drive away a reconnoitring party, under the Duke of Argyll, from the heights, may be said to have commenced the battle. Sir Donald himself had joined the Earl of Seaforth at his camp at Alness with 700 Macdonalds. After the suppression of the rebellion, Sir Donald proceeded to the Isle of Skye with about 1000 men; but although he made no resistance, having no assurance of protection from the government in case of a surrender, he retired into one of the Uists, where he remained till he obtained a ship which carried him to France. He was forfeited for his share in the insurrection, but the forfeiture was soon removed. He died in 1718, leaving one son and four daughters.

His son, Sir Alexander Macdonald, seventh baronet, was one of the first persons asked by Prince Charles to join him, on his arrival off the Western Islands, in July 1745, but refused, as he had brought no foreign force with him. After the battle of Preston, the prince sent Mr Alexander Macleod, advocate, to the Isle of Skye, to endeavour to prevail upon Sir Alexander Macdonald and the laird of Macleod to join the insurgents; but instead of doing so, these and other well-affected chiefs enrolled each an independent company for the service of government, out of their respective clans. The Macdonalds of Skye served under Lord Loudon in Ross-shire.

After the battle of Culloden, when Prince Charles, in his wanderings, took refuge in Skye, with Flora Macdonald, they landed near Moy-

³ Gregory's *Highlands*, p. 330.

dhstat, or Mugstot, the seat of Sir Alexander Macdonald, near the northern extremity of that island. Sir Alexander was at that time with the Duke of Cumberland at Fort Augustus, and as his wife, Lady Margaret Montgomerie, a daughter of the ninth Earl of Eglinton, was known to be a warm friend of the prince, Miss Macdonald proceeded to announce to her his arrival. Through Lady Margaret the prince was consigned to the care of Mr Macdonald of Kingsburgh, Sir Alexander's factor, at whose house he spent the night, and afterwards departed to the island of Rasay. Sir Alexander died in November 1746, leaving three sons.

His eldest son, Sir James, eighth baronet, styled "The Scottish Marcellus," was born in 1741. At his own earnest solicitation he was sent to Eton, on leaving which he set out on his travels, and was everywhere received by the learned with the distinction due to his unrivalled talents. At Rome, in particular, the most marked attention was paid to him by several of the cardinals. He died in that city on 26th July 1766, when only 25 years old. In extent of learning, and in genius, he resembled the admirable Crichton. On his death the title devolved on his next brother, Alexander, ninth baronet, who was created a peer of Ireland, July 17, 1776, as Baron Macdonald of Sleat, county Antrim. He married the eldest daughter of Godfrey Bosville, Esq. of Gunthwaite, Yorkshire, and had seven sons and three daughters. Diana, the eldest daughter, married in 1788 the Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster. His lordship died Sept. 12, 1795.

His eldest son, Alexander Wentworth, second Lord Macdonald, died unmarried, June 9, 1824, when his brother, Godfrey, became third Lord Macdonald. He assumed the additional name of Bosville. He married Louise Maria, daughter of Farley Edsir, Esq.; issue, three sons and seven daughters. He died Oct. 13, 1832.

The eldest son, Godfrey William Wentworth, fourth Lord Macdonald, born in 1809, married in 1845, daughter of G. T. Wyndham, Esq. of Cromer Hall, Norfolk; issue, Somerled James Brudenell, born in 1849, two other sons and four daughters.

The MACDONALDS of ISLA and KINTYRE,

called the Clan IAN VOR, whose chiefs were usually styled lords of Dunyveg (from their castle in Isla) and the Glens, were descended from John Mor, second son of "the good John of Isla," and of Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter of King Robert II. From his brother Donald, Lord of the Isles, he received large grants of land in Isla and Kintyre, and by his marriage with Marjory Bisset, heiress of the district of the Glens in Antrim, he acquired possessions in Ulster. He was murdered before 1427 by an individual named James Campbell, who is said to have received a commission from King James I. to apprehend him, but that he exceeded his powers by putting him to death. His eldest son was the famous Donald Balloch. From Ranald Bane, a younger brother of Donald Balloch, sprang the Clan-ranaldbane of Largie in Kintyre.

Donald Balloch's grandson, John, surnamed *Cathanach*, or warlike, was at the head of the clan Ian Vor, when the lordship of the Isles was finally forfeited by James IV. in 1493. In that year he was among the chiefs, formerly vassals of the Lord of the Isles, who made their submission to the king, when he proceeded in person to the West Highlands. On this occasion he and the other chiefs were knighted.

Alexander of Isla was with Sir Donald of Lochalsh when, in 1518, he proceeded against the father-in-law of the former, MacIain of Ardnamurchan, who was defeated and slain, with two of his sons, at a place called Craiganairgid, or the Silver Craig in Morvern. The death of Sir Donald soon after brought the rebellion to a close. In 1529 Alexander of Isla and his followers were again in insurrection, and being joined by the Macleans, they made descents upon Roseneath, Craignish, and other lands of the Campbells, which they ravaged with fire and sword. Alexander of Isla being considered the prime mover of the rebellion, the king resolved in 1531 to proceed against him in person, on which, hastening to Stirling, under a safeguard and protection, he submitted, and received a new grant, during the king's pleasure, of certain lands in the South Isles and Kintyre, and a remission to himself and his followers for all crimes committed by them during the late rebellion.

In 1543, on the second escape of Donald Dubh, grandson of John, last lord of the Isles, and the regent Arran's opposing the views of the English faction, James Macdonald of Isla, son and successor to Alexander, was the only insular chief who supported the regent. In the following year his lands of Kintyre were ravaged by the Earl of Lennox, the head of the English party.

After the death of Donald Dubh, the islanders chose for their leader James Macdonald of Isla, who married Lady Agnes Campbell, the Earl of Argyll's sister, and though the most powerful of the Island chiefs, he relinquished his pretensions to the lordship of the Isles, being the last that assumed that title.

A dispute between the Macleans and the clan Ian Vor, relative to the right of occupancy of certain crown lands in Isla, led to a long and bloody feud between these tribes, in which both suffered severely. In 1562 the matter was brought before the privy council, when it was decided that James Macdonald of Isla was really the crown tenant, and as Maclean refused to become his vassal, in 1565 the rival chiefs were compelled to find sureties, each to the amount of £10,000, that they would abstain from mutual hostilities.

James having been killed while helping to defend his family estates in Ulster, Ireland, his eldest son, Angus Macdonald, succeeded to Isla and Kintyre, and in his time the feud with the Macleans was renewed, details of which will be found in the former part of this work. In 1579, upon information of mutual hostilities committed by their followers, the king and council commanded Lauchlan Maclean of Dowart and Angus Macdonald of Dunyveg or Isla, to subscribe assurances of indemnity to each other, under the pain of treason, and the quarrel was, for the time, patched up by the marriage of Macdonald with Maclean's sister. In 1585, however, the feud came to a height, and after involving nearly the whole of the island clans on one side or the other, and causing its disastrous consequences to be felt throughout the whole extent of the Hebrides, by the mutual ravages of the contending parties, government interfered, and measures were at last adopted for reducing to

obedience the turbulent chiefs, who had caused so much bloodshed and distress in the Isles.

James Macdonald, son of Angus Macdonald of Dunyveg, had remained in Edinburgh for four years as a hostage for his father, and early in 1596 he received a license to visit him, in the hope that he might be prevailed upon to submit to the laws, that the peace of the Isles might be secured. He sent his son, who was soon afterwards knighted, back to court to make known to the privy council, in his father's name and his own, that they would fulfil whatever conditions should be prescribed to them by his majesty. At this time Angus made over to his son all his estates, reserving only a proper maintenance for himself and his wife during their lives. When Sir William Stewart arrived at Kintyre, and held a court there, the chief of Isla and his followers hastened to make their personal submission to the king's representative, and early in the following year he went to Edinburgh, when he undertook to find security for the arrears of his crown rents, to remove his clan and dependers from Kintyre and the Rinns of Isla, and to deliver his castle of Dunyveg to any person sent by the king to receive it.

Angus Macdonald having failed to fulfil these conditions, his son, Sir James, was in 1598 sent to him from court, to induce him to comply with them. His resignation of his estates in favour of his son was not recognised by the privy council, as they had already been forfeited to the crown; but Sir James, on his arrival, took possession of them, and even attempted to burn his father and mother in their house of Askomull in Kintyre. Angus Macdonald, after having been taken prisoner, severely scorched, was carried to Smerbie in Kintyre, and confined there in irons for several months. Sir James, now in command of his clan, conducted himself with such violence, that in June 1598 a proclamation for another royal expedition to Kintyre was issued. He, however, contrived to procure from the king a letter approving of his proceedings in Kintyre, and particularly of his apprehension of his father; and the expedition, after being delayed for some time, was finally abandoned.

In August of the following year, with the view of being reconciled to government, Sir

James appeared in presence of the king's comptroller at Falkland, and made certain proposals for establishing the royal authority in Kintyre and Isla; but the influence of Argyll, who took the part of Angus Macdonald, Sir James's father, and the Campbells, having been used against their being carried into effect, the arrangement came to nothing, and Sir James and his clan were driven into irremediable opposition to the government, which ended in their ruin.

Sir James, finding that it was the object of Argyll to obtain for himself the king's lands in Kintyre, made an attempt in 1606 to escape from the castle of Edinburgh, where he was imprisoned; but being unsuccessful, was put in irons. In the following year a charter was granted to Argyll of the lands in North and South Kintyre, and in the Isle of Jura, which had been forfeited by Angus Macdonald, and thus did the legal right to the lands of Kintyre pass from a tribe which had held them for many hundred years.⁴

Angus Macdonald and his clan immediately took up arms, and his son, Sir James, after many fruitless applications to the privy council, to be set at liberty, and writing both to the king and the Duke of Lennox, made another attempt to escape from the castle of Edinburgh, but having hurt his ankle by leaping from the wall whilst encumbered with his fetters, he was retaken near the West Port of that city, and consigned to his former dungeon. Details of the subsequent transactions in this rebellion will be found in the former part of this work.⁵

After the fall of Argyll, who had turned Roman Catholic, and had also fled to Spain, where he is said to have entered into some very suspicious dealings with his former antagonist, Sir James Macdonald, who was living there in exile, the latter was, in 1620, with MacRanald of Keppoch, recalled from exile by King James. On their arrival in London, Sir James received a pension of 1000 merks sterling, while Keppoch got one of 200 merks. His majesty also wrote to the Scottish privy council in their favour, and granted them remissions for all their offences. Sir James,

however, never again visited Scotland, and died at London in 1626, without issue. The clan Ian Vor from this period may be said to have been totally suppressed. Their lands were taken possession of by the Campbells, and the most valuable portion of the property of the ducal house of Argyll consists of what had formerly belonged to the Macdonalds of Isla and Kintyre.

The MACDONALDS of GARRAGACH and KEPPOCH, called the CLANRANALD of LOCHABER, were descended from Alexander, or Allaster Carrach, third son of John, Lord of the Isles, and Lady Margaret Stewart. He was forfeited for joining the insurrection of the Islanders, under Donald Balloch, in 1431, and the greater part of his lands were bestowed upon Duncan Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, which proved the cause of a fierce and lasting feud between the Mackintoshes and the Macdonalds. It was from Ranald, the fourth in descent from Allaster Carrach, that the tribe received the name of the Clanranald of Lochaber.

In 1498, the then chief of the tribe, Donald, elder brother of Allaster MacAngus, grandson of Allaster Carrach, was killed in a battle with Dougal Stewart, first of Appin. His son John, who succeeded him, having delivered up to Mackintosh, chief of the clan Chattan, as steward of Lochaber, one of the tribe who had committed some crime, and had fled to him for protection, rendered himself unpopular among his clan, and was deposed from the chiefship. His cousin and heir-male presumptive, Donald Glas MacAllaster, was elected chief in his place. During the reign of James IV., says Mr Gregory, this tribe continued to hold their lands in Lochaber, as occupants merely, and without a legal claim to the heritage.⁶ In 1546 Ranald Macdonald Glas, who appears to have been the son of Donald Glas MacAllaster, and the captain of the clan Cameron, being present at the slaughter of Lord Lovat and the Frasers at the battle of Kinloch-lochy, and having also supported all the rebellions of the Earl of Lennox, concealed themselves in Lochaber, when the Earl of Huntly entered that district with a considerable force and laid it waste,

⁴ Gregory's *Highlands and Isles*, p. 312.

⁵ Vol. i., chap. x.

⁶ *Highlands and Isles*, p. 109.

taking many of the inhabitants prisoners. Having been apprehended by William Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, the two chiefs were delivered over to Huntly, who conveyed them to Perth, where they were detained in prison for some time. They were afterwards tried at Elgin for high treason, and being found guilty, were beheaded in 1547.

Allaster MacRanald of Keppoch and his eldest son assisted Sir James Macdonald in his escape from Edinburgh Castle in 1615, and was with him at the head of his clan during his subsequent rebellion. On its suppression, he fled towards Kintyre, and narrowly escaped being taken with the loss of his vessels and some of his men.

In the great civil war the Clanranald of Lochaber were very active on the king's side. Soon after the Restoration, Alexander Macdonald Glas, the young chief of Keppoch, and his brother were murdered by some of their own discontented followers. Coll Macdonald was the next chief. Previous to the Revolution of 1688, the feud between his clan and the Mackintoshes, regarding the lands he occupied, led to the last clan battle that was ever fought in the Highlands. The Mackintoshes having invaded Lochaber, were defeated on a height called Mulroy. So violent had been Keppoch's armed proceedings before this event that the government had issued a commission of fire and sword against him. After the defeat of the Mackintoshes, he advanced to Inverness, to wreak his vengeance on the inhabitants of that town for supporting the former against him, if they did not purchase his forbearance by paying a large sum as a fine. Dundee, however, anxious to secure the friendship of the people of Inverness, granted Keppoch his own bond in behalf of the town, obliging himself to see Keppoch paid 2000 dollars, as a compensation for the losses and injuries he alleged he had sustained from the Mackintoshes. Keppoch brought to the aid of Dundee 1000 Highlanders, and as Mackintosh refused to attend a friendly interview solicited by Dundee, Keppoch, at the desire of the latter, drove away his cattle. We are told that Dundee "used to call him Coll of the coves, because he found them out when they were driven to the hills out of the way." He fought at the

battle of Killiecrankie, and, on the breaking out of the rebellion of 1715, he joined the Earl of Mar, with whom he fought at Sheriffmuir. His son, Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch, on the arrival of Prince Charles in Scotland in 1745, at once declared for him, and at a meeting of the chiefs to consult as to the course they should pursue, he gave it as his opinion that as the prince had risked his person, and generously thrown himself into the hands of his friends, they were bound, in duty at least, to raise men instantly for the protection of his person, whatever might be the consequences.

At the battle of Culloden, on the three Macdonald regiments giving way, Keppoch, seeing himself abandoned by his clan, advanced with his drawn sword in one hand and his pistol in the other, but was brought to the ground by a musket shot. Donald Roy Macdonald, a captain in Clanranald's regiment, followed him, and entreated him not to throw away his life, assuring him that his wound was not mortal, and that he might easily rejoin his regiment in the retreat, but Keppoch, after recommending him to take care of himself, received another shot, which killed him on the spot. There are still numerous cadets of this family in Lochaber, but the principal house, says Mr Gregory,⁷ if not yet extinct, has lost all influence in that district. Latterly they changed their name to Macdonnell.

CLANRANALD.



BADGE.—Heath.

⁷ *Highlands and Isles*, p. 415.

THE CLANRANALD MACDONALDS OF GARMORAN are descended from Ranald, younger son of John, first Lord of the Isles, by his first wife, Amy, heiress of the MacRorys or Macruaries of Garmoran. In 1373 he received a grant of the North Isles, Garmoran, and other lands, to be held of John, Lord of the Isles, and his heirs. His descendants comprehended the families of Moydart, Morar, Knoydart, and Glengarry, and came in time to form the most numerous tribe of the Clاندonald. Alexander Macruari of Moydart, chief of the Clanranald, was one of the principal chiefs seized by James I. at Inverness in 1427, and soon after beheaded. The great-grandson of Ranald, named Allan Macruari, who became chief of the Clanranald in 1481, was one of the principal supporters of Angus, the young Lord of the Isles, at the battle of Bloody Bay, and he likewise followed Alexander of Lochalsh, nephew of the Lord of the Isles, in his invasion of Ross and Cromarty in 1491, when he received a large portion of the booty taken on the occasion.⁸ In 1495, on the second expedition of James IV. to the Isles, Allan Macruari was one of the chiefs who made their submission.

During the whole of the 15th century the Clanranald had been engaged in feuds regarding the lands of Garmoran and Uist; first, with the Siol Gorrie, or race of Godfrey, eldest brother of Ranald, the founder of the tribe, and afterwards with the Macdonalds or Clanhuistein of Sleat, and it was not till 1506, that they succeeded in acquiring a legal title to the disputed lands. John, eldest son of Hugh of Sleat, having no issue, made over all his estates to the Clanranald, including the lands occupied by them. Archibald, or Gillespock, Dubh, natural brother of John, having slain Donald Gallach and another of John's brothers, endeavoured to seize the lands of Sleat, but was expelled from the North Isles by Ranald Bane Allanson of Moydart, eldest son of the chief of Clanranald. The latter married Florence, daughter of MacIain of Ardnamurchan, and had four sons—1. Ranald Bane; 2. Alexander, who had three sons, John, Farquhar, and Angus, and a daughter; 3. Ranald Oig; and 4. Angus

Reochson. Angus Reoch, the youngest son, had a son named Dowle or Coull, who had a son named Allan, whose son, Alexander, was the ancestor of the Macdonells of Morar.

In 1509 Allan Macruari was tried, convicted, and executed, in presence of the king at Blair-Athol, but for what crime is not known. His eldest son, Ranald Bane, obtained a charter of the lands of Moydart and Arisaig, Dec. 14, 1540, and died in 1541. He married a daughter of Lord Lovat, and had one son, Ranald Galda, or the stranger, from his being fostered by his mother's relations, the Frasers.

On the death of Ranald Bane, the fifth chief, the clan, who had resolved to defeat his son's right to succeed, in consequence of his relations, the Frasers, having joined the Earl of Huntly, lieutenant of the north, against the Macdonalds, chose the next heir to the estate as their chief. This was the young Ranald's cousin-german, John Moydartach, or John of Moydart, eldest son of Alexander Allanson, second son of Allan Macruari, and John was, accordingly, acknowledged by the clan captain of Clanranald. Lovat, apprised of the intentions of the clan against his grandchild, before their scheme was ripe for execution, marched to Castletirrim, and, by the assistance of the Frasers, placed Ranald Galda in possession of the lands. The Clanranald, assisted by the Macdonalds of Keppoch and the Clan Cameron, having laid waste and plundered the districts of Abertarf and Stratherrick, belonging to Lovat, and the lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, the property of the Grants, the Earl of Huntly, the king's lieutenant in the north, to drive them back and put an end to their ravages, was obliged to raise a numerous force. He penetrated as far as Inverlochy in Lochaber, and then returned to his own territories. The battle of Kinloch-lochy, called Blar-nan-leine, "the field of shirts," followed, as related in the account of the clan Fraser. The Macdonalds being the victors, the result was that John Moydartach was maintained in possession of the chiefship and estates, and transmitted the same to his descendants. On the return of Huntly with an army, into Lochaber, John Moydartach fled to the Isles, where he remained for some time.

The Clanranald distinguished themselves

⁸ Gregory's *Highlands and Isles*, page 66.

under the Marquis of Montrose in the civil wars of the 17th century. At the battle of Killiecrankie, their chief, then only fourteen years of age, fought under Dundee, with 500 of his men. They were also at Sheriffmuir. In the rebellion of 1745, the Clanranald took an active part. Macdonald of Boisdale, the brother of the chief, then from age and infirmities unfit to be of any service, had an interview with Prince Charles, on his arrival off the island of Eriska, and positively refused to aid his enterprise. On the following day, however, young Clanranald, accompanied by his kinsmen, Alexander Macdonald of Glenaladale and Æneas Macdonald of Dalily, the author of a Journal and Memoirs of the Expedition, went on board the prince's vessel, and readily offered him his services. He afterwards joined him with 200 of his clan, and was with him throughout the rebellion.

At the battles of Preston and Falkirk, the Macdonalds were on the right, which they claimed as their due, but at Culloden the three Macdonald regiments of Clanranald, Keppoch, and Glengarry, formed the left. It was probably their feeling of dissatisfaction at being placed on the left of the line that caused the Macdonald regiments, on observing that the right and centre had given way, to turn their backs and fly from the fatal field without striking a blow.

At Glenboisdale, whither Charles retreated, after the defeat at Culloden, he was joined by young Clanranald, and several other adherents, who endeavoured to persuade him from embarking for the Isles, but in vain. In the act of indemnity passed in June 1747, young Clanranald was one of those who were specially excepted from pardon.

The ancestor of the Macdonalds of Benbecula was Ranald, brother of Donald Macallan, who was captain of the Clanranald in the latter part of the reign of James VI. The Macdonalds of Boisdale are cadets of Benbecula, and those of Staffa of Boisdale. On the failure of Donald's descendants, the family of Benbecula succeeded to the barony of Castletirrim, and the captainship of the Clanranald, represented by Reginald George Macdonald of Clanranald.

From John, another brother of Donald

Macallan, came the family of Kinlochmoidart, which terminated in an heiress. This lady married Colonel Robertson, who, in her right, assumed the name of Macdonald.

From John Oig, uncle of Donald Macallan, descended the Macdonalds of Glenaladale. "The head of this family," says Mr Gregory, "John Macdonald of Glenaladale, being obliged to quit Scotland about 1772, in consequence of family misfortunes, sold his Scottish estates to his cousin (also a Macdonald), and emigrating to Prince Edward's Island, with about 200 followers, purchased a tract of 40,000 acres there, while the 200 Highlanders have increased to 3000."

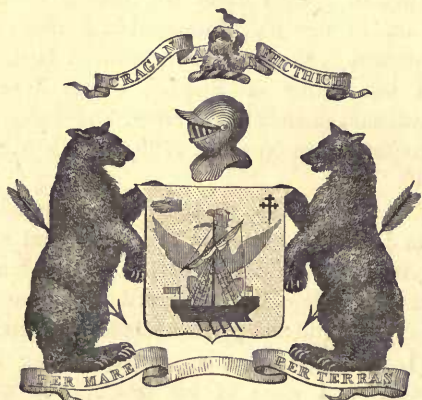
One of the attendants of Prince Charles, who, after Culloden, embarked with him for France, was Neil MacEachan Macdonald, a gentleman sprung from the branch of the Clanranald in Uist. He served in France as a lieutenant in the Scottish regiment of Ogilvie, and was father of Stephen James Joseph Macdonald, marshal of France, and Duke of Tarentum, born Nov. 17, 1765; died Sept. 24, 1840.

The MACDONALDS of GLENCOE are descended from John Og, surnamed *Fraoch*, natural son of Angus Og of Isla, and brother of John, first Lord of the Isles. He settled in Glencoe, which is a wild and gloomy vale in the district of Lorn, Argyleshire, as a vassal under his brother, and some of his descendants still possess lands there. This branch of the Macdonalds was known as the clan Ian Abrach, it is supposed from one of the family being fostered in Lochaber. After the Revolution, MacIan or Alexander Macdonald of Glencoe, was one of the chiefs who supported the cause of King James, having joined Dundee in Lochaber at the head of his clan, and a mournful interest attaches to the history of this tribe from the dreadful massacre, by which it was attempted to exterminate it in February 1692. The story has often been told, but as full details have been given in the former part of this work, it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

The Macdonalds of Glencoe joined Prince Charles on the breaking out of the rebellion in 1745, and General Stewart, in his Sketches of the Highlanders, relates that when the

insurgent army lay at Kirkliston, near the seat of the Earl of Stair, grandson of Secretary Dalrymple, the prince, anxious to save his lordship's house and property, and to remove from his followers all excitement and revenge, proposed that the Glencoe-men should be marched to a distance, lest the remembrance of the share which his grandfather had in the order for the massacre of the clan should rouse them to retaliate on his descendant. Indignant at being supposed capable of wreaking their vengeance on an innocent man, they declared their resolution of returning home, and it was not without much explanation and great persuasion that they were prevented from marching away the following morning.

MACDONNELL OF GLENGARRY.



BADGE.—Heath.

The GLENGARRY branch of the Macdonalds spell their name MACDONNELL. The word *Dhonuill*, whence the name Donald is derived, is said to signify "brown eye." The most proper way, says Mr Gregory, of spelling the name, according to the pronunciation, was that formerly employed by the Macdonalds of Dunyveg and the Glens, who used *Macdonnell*. Sir James Macdonald, however, the last of this family in the direct male line, signed *Makdonall*.⁹

The family of Glengarry are descended from Alister, second son of Donald, who was eldest son of Reginald or Ranald (progenitor also of the Clanranald), youngest son of John, lord of

the Isles, by Amy, heiress of MacRory. Alexander Macdonnell, who was chief of Glengarry at the beginning of the 16th century, supported the claims of Sir Donald Macdonald of Lochalsh to the lordship of the Isles, and in November 1513 assisted him, with Chisholm of Comer, in expelling the garrison and seizing the Castle of Urquhart in Loch Ness. In 1527 the Earl of Argyll, lieutenant of the Isles, received from Alexander Macranald of Glengarry and North Morar, a bond of manrent or service; and in 1545 he was among the lords and barons of the Isles who, at Knockfergus in Ireland, took the oath of allegiance to the king of England, "at the command of the Earl of Lennox." He married Margaret, eldest daughter of Celestine, brother of John Earl of Ross, and one of the three sisters and coheiresses of Sir Donald Macdonald of Lochalsh. His son, Angus or Æneas Macdonnell of Glengarry, the representative, through his mother, of the house of Lochalsh, which had become extinct in the male line on the death of Sir Donald in 1518, married Janet, only daughter of Sir Hector Maclean of Dowart, and had a son, Donald Macdonnell of Glengarry, styled Donald Mac-Angus MacAlister.

In 1581 a serious feud broke out between the chief of Glengarry, who had inherited one half of the districts of Lochalsh, Lochcarron, and Lochbroom in Wester Ross, and Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, who was in possession of the other half. The Mackenzies, having made aggressions upon Glengarry's portion, the latter, to maintain his rights, took up his temporary residence in Lochcarron, and placed a small garrison in the castle of Strone in that district. With some of his followers he unfortunately fell into the hands of a party of the Mackenzies, and after being detained in captivity for a considerable time, only procured his release by yielding the castle of Lochcarron to the Mackenzies. The other prisoners, including several of his near kinsmen, were put to death. On complaining to the privy council, they caused Mackenzie of Kintail to be detained for a time at Edinburgh, and subsequently in the castle of Blackness. In 1602, Glengarry, from his ignorance of the laws, was, by the craft of the clan Kenzie, as Sir

⁹ *Highlands and Isles*, p. 417, Note.

Robert Gordon says, "easalie intrapped within the compass thereof," on which they procured a warrant for citing him to appear before the justiciary court at Edinburgh. Glengarry, however, paid no attention to it, but went about revenging the slaughter of two of his kinsmen, whom the Mackenzies had killed after the summons had been issued. The consequence was that he and some of his followers were outlawed, and Kenneth Mackenzie, who was now lord of Kintail, procured a commission of fire and sword against Glengarry and his men, in virtue of which he invaded and wasted the district of North Morar, and carried off all the cattle. In retaliation the Macdonalds plundered the district of Applecross, and, on a subsequent occasion, they landed on the coast of Lochalsh, with the intention of burning and destroying all Mackenzie's lands, as far as Easter Ross, but their leader, Allaster MacGorrie, having been killed, they returned home. To revenge the death of his kinsman, Angus Macdonnell, the young chief of Glengarry, at the head of his followers, proceeded north to Lochcarron, where his tribe held the castle of Strone, now in ruins. After burning many of the houses in the district, and killing the inhabitants, he loaded his boats with the plunder, and prepared to return. In the absence of their chief, the Mackenzies, encouraged by the example of his lady, posted themselves at the narrow strait or kyle which separates Skye from the mainland, for the purpose of intercepting them. Night had fallen, however, before they made their appearance, and taking advantage of the darkness, some of the Mackenzies rowed out in two boats towards a large galley, on board of which was young Glengarry, which was then passing the kyle. This they suddenly attacked with a volley of musketry and arrows. Those on board in their alarm crowding to one side, the galley overset, and all on board were thrown into the water. Such of them as were able to reach the shore were immediately despatched by the Mackenzies, and among the slain was the young chief of Glengarry himself. The rest of the Macdonnells, on reaching Strathaird in Skye, left their boats, and proceeded on foot to Morar. Finding that the chief of the Mackenzies had not returned from Mull, a

large party was sent to an island near which he must pass, which he did next day in Maclean's great galley, but he contrived to elude them, and was soon out of reach of pursuit. He subsequently laid siege to the castle of Strone, which surrendered to him, and was blown up.

In 1603, "the Clanranald of Glengarry, under Allan Macranald of Lundie, made an irruption into Brae Ross, and plundered the lands of Kilchrist, and others adjacent, belonging to the Mackenzies. This foray was signalized by the merciless burning of a whole congregation in the church of Kilchrist, while Glengarry's piper marched round the building, mocking the cries of the unfortunate inmates with the well-known pibroch, which has been known, ever since, under the name of Kilchrist, as the family tune of the Clanranald of Glengarry."¹ Eventually, Kenneth Mackenzie, afterwards Lord Kintail, succeeded in obtaining a crown charter to the disputed districts of Lochalsh, Lochcarron, and others, dated in 1607.

Donald MacAngus of Glengarry died in 1603. By his wife, Margaret, daughter of Alexander Macdonald, Captain of Clanranald, he had, besides Angus above mentioned, two other sons, Alexander, who died soon after his father, and Donald Macdonnell of Scothouse.

Alexander, by his wife, Jean, daughter of Allan Cameron of Lochiel, had a son, Æneas Macdonnell of Glengarry, who was one of the first in 1644 to join the royalist army under Montrose, and never left that great commander, "for which," says Bishop Wishart, "he deserves a singular commendation for his bravery and steady loyalty to the king, and his peculiar attachment to Montrose."² Glengarry also adhered faithfully to the cause of Charles II., and was forfeited by Cromwell in 1651. As a reward for his faithful services he was at the Restoration created a peer by the title of Lord Macdonnell and Aross, by patent dated at Whitehall, 20th December 1660, the honours being limited to the heirs male of his body. This led him to claim not only the chiefship of Clanranald, but likewise that of the whole Clاندonald, as

¹ *Gregory's Highlands*, pp. 301-303.

² *Memoirs*, p. 155.

being the representative of Donald, the common ancestor of the clan: and on 18th July 1672, the privy council issued an order, commanding him as chief to exhibit before the council several persons of the name of Macdonald, to find caution to keep the peace.

The three branches of the Clanranald engaged in all the attempts which were made for the restoration of the Stuarts. On 27th August 1715, Glengarry was one of the chiefs who attended the pretended grand hunting match at Braemar, appointed by the Earl of Mar, previous to the breaking out of the rebellion of that year. After the suppression of the rebellion, the chief of Glengarry made his submission to General Cadogan at Inverness. He died in 1724. By his wife, Lady Mary Mackenzie, daughter of the third Earl of Seaforth, he had a son, John Macdonnell, who succeeded him.

In 1745, six hundred of the Macdonnells of Glengarry joined Prince Charles, under the command of Macdonnell of Lochgarry, who afterwards escaped to France with the prince, and were at the battles of Preston, Falkirk, and Culloden. The chief himself seems not to have engaged in the rebellion. He was however arrested, and sent to London.

General Sir James Macdonnell, G.C.B., who distinguished himself when lieutenant-col. in the guards, by the bravery with which he held the buildings of Hougomont, at the battle of Waterloo, was third son of Duncan Macdonnell, Esq. of Glengarry. He was born at the family seat, Inverness-shire, and died May 15, 1857.

Colonel Alexander Ranaldson Macdonnell of Glengarry, who, in January 1822, married Rebecca, second daughter of Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, baronet, was the last genuine specimen of a Highland chief. His character in its more favourable features was drawn by Sir Walter Scott, in his romance of Waverley, as Fergus MacIvor. He always wore the dress and adhered to the style of living of his ancestors, and when away from home in any of the Highland towns, he was followed by a body of retainers, who were regularly posted as sentinels at his door. He revived the claims of his family to the chiefship of the Macdonalds, styling himself also of Clanranald.

In January 1828 he perished in endeavouring to escape from a steamer which had gone ashore. As his estate was very much mortgaged and encumbered, his son was compelled to dispose of it, and to emigrate to Australia, with his family and clan. The estate was purchased by the Marquis of Huntly from the chief, and in 1840 it was sold to Lord Ward (Earl of Dudley, Feb. 13, 1860,) for £91,000. In 1860 his lordship sold it to Edward Ellice, Esq. of Glenquoich, for £120,000.

The principal families descended from the house of Glengarry, were the Macdonnells of Barrisdale, in Knoydart, Greenfield, and Lundie.

The strength of the Macdonalds has at all times been considerable. In 1427, the Macdonnells of Garmoran and Lochaber mustered 2000 men; in 1715, the whole clan furnished 2820; and in 1745, 2330. In a memorial drawn up by President Forbes of Culloden, and transmitted to the government soon after the insurrection in 1745, the force of every clan is detailed, according to the best information which the author of the report could procure at the time. This enumeration, which proceeds upon the supposition that the chieftain calculated on the military services of the youthful, the most hardy, and the bravest of his followers, omitting those who, from advanced age, tender years, or natural debility, were unable to carry arms, gives the following statement of the respective forces of the different branches of the Macdonalds:—

	Men.
Macdonald of Sleat, . . .	700
Macdonald of Clanranald, . . .	700
Macdonell of Glengarry, . . .	500
Macdonell of Keppoch, . . .	300
Macdonald of Glencoe, . . .	130
In all, . . .	2330

Next to the Campbells, therefore, who could muster about 5000 men, the Macdonalds were by far the most numerous and powerful clan in the Highlands of Scotland.

"The clans or septs," says Mr Smibert,³ "sprung from the Macdonalds, or adhering to and incorporated with that family, though bearing subsidiary names, were very numerous.

³ *Clans*, 29.



MACDOUGALL.

One point peculiarly marks the Gael of the coasts, as this great connection has already been called, and that is the device of a *Lym-phad* or old-fashioned *Oared Galley*, assumed and borne in their arms. It indicates strongly a common origin and site. The Macdonalds, MacIachlans, Macdougalls, Macneils, Macleans, and Campbells, as well as the Macphersons, Mackintoshes, and others, carry, and have always carried, such a galley in their armorial shields. Some families of Macdonald descent do not bear it; and indeed, at most, it simply proves a common coast origin, or an early location by the western lochs and lakes."

CHAPTER III.

The Macdougalls—Bruce's adventures with the Macdougalls of Lorn—The Brooch of Lorn—The Stewarts acquire Lorn—Macdougalls of Raray, Gallanach, and Seraba—Macalisters—Siol Gillevray—Macneills—Partly of Norse descent—Two branches of Barra and Gigha—Sea exploits of the former—Ruari the Turbulent's two families—Gigha Macneills—Macneills of Gullochallie, Carskeay, and Tirfergus—The chiefship—Macneills of Colonsay—MacIachlans—Kindred to the Lamonds and MacEwens of Otter—Present representative—Castle Lachlan—Force of the clan—Cadets—MacEwens—Macdougall Campbells of Craignish—Policy of Argyll Campbells—Lamonds—Massacred by the Campbells—The laird of Lamond and MacGregor of Glenstrae.

MACDOUGALL.



BADGE.—Cypress; according to others, Bell Heath.

THE next clan that demands our notice is that of the Macdougalls, Macdugalls, Macdovals, Macdowalls, for in all these ways is the name spelled. The clan derives its descent from

Dugall, who was the eldest son of Somerled, the common ancestor of the clan Donald; and it has hitherto been supposed, that Alexander de Ergadia, the undoubted ancestor of the clan Dugall, who first appears in the year 1284, was the son of Ewen de Ergadia, who figured so prominently at the period of the cession of the Isles. This opinion, however, Mr Skene conceives to be erroneous; first, because Ewen would seem to have died without leaving male issue; and, secondly, because it is contradicted by the manuscript of 1450, which states that the clan Dugall, as well as the clan Rory and the clan Donald, sprung not from Ewen, but from Ranald, the son of Somerled, through his son Dugall, from whom indeed they derived their name. Mr Smibert's remarks, however, on this point are deserving of attention. "It seems very evident," he says, "that they formed one of the primitive branches of the roving or stranger tribes of visitants to Scotland of the Irish, or at least Celtic race. Their mere name puts the fact almost beyond doubt. It also distinguishes them clearly from the Norsemen of the Western Isles, who were always styled *Fion-galls*, that is, Fair Strangers (Rovers, or Pirates). The common account of the origin of the Macdougalls is, that they sprung from a son or grandson of Somerled, of the name of Dougal. But though a single chieftain of that appellation may have flourished in the primitive periods of Gaelic story, it appears most probable, from many circumstances, that the clan derived their name from their descent and character generally. They were Dhu-Galls, 'black strangers.' The son or grandson of Somerled, who is said to have specially founded the Macdougall clan, lived in the 12th century. In the 13th, however, they were numerous and strong enough to oppose Bruce, and it is therefore out of the question to suppose that the descendant of Somerled could do more than consolidate or collect an already existing tribe, even if it is to be admitted as taking from him its name."⁴

The first appearance which this family makes in history is at the convention which was held in the year 1284. In the list of those who

⁴ *Clans*, 44, 45.

attended on that occasion, we find the name of Alexander de Ergadia, whose presence was probably the consequence of his holding his lands by a crown charter; but from this period we lose sight of him entirely, until the reign of Robert Bruce, when the strenuous opposition offered by the Lord of Lorn and by his son John to the succession of that king, restored his name to history, in connection with that of Bruce. Alister having married the third daughter of the Red Comyn, whom Bruce slew in the Dominican church at Dumfries, became the mortal enemy of the king; and, upon more than one occasion, during the early part of his reign, succeeded in reducing him to the greatest straits.

Bruce, after his defeat at Methven, on the 19th of June 1306, withdrew to the mountainous parts of Breadalbane, and approached the borders of Argyleshire. His followers did not exceed three hundred men, who, disheartened by defeat, and exhausted by privation, were not in a condition to encounter a superior force. In this situation, however, he was attacked by Macdougall of Lorn, at the head of a thousand men, part of whom were Macnabs, who had joined the party of John Baliol; and, after a severe conflict, he was compelled to abandon the field. In the retreat from Dalree, where the battle had been fought, the king was hotly pursued, and especially by three of the clansmen of Lorn, probably personal attendants or *henchmen* of the Macdougalls, who appear to have resolved to slay the Bruce or die. These followed the retreating party, and when King Robert entered a narrow pass, threw themselves suddenly upon him. The king turning hastily round, cleft the skull of one with his battle-axe. "The second had grasped the stirrup, and Robert fixed and held him there by pressing down his foot, so that the captive was dragged along the ground as if chained to the horse. In the meantime, the third assailant had sprung from the hillside to the back of the horse, and sat behind the king. The latter turned half round and forced the Highlander forward to the front of the saddle, where 'he clave the head to the harns.' The second assailant was still hanging by the stirrup, and Robert now struck at him vigorously, and

slew him at the first blow." Whether the story is true or not, and it is by no means improbable, it shows the reputation for gigantic strength which the doughty Bruce had in his day. It is said to have been in this contest that the king lost the magnificent brooch, since famous as the "brooch of Lorn." This highly-prized trophy was long preserved as a remarkable relic in the family of Macdougall of Dunolly, and after having been carried off during the siege of Dunolly Castle, the family residence, it was, about forty years ago, again restored to the family.⁵ In his day of adversity the Macdougalls were the most persevering and dangerous of all King Robert's enemies.

But the time for retribution at length arrived. When Robert Bruce had firmly established himself on the throne of Scotland, one of the first objects to which he directed his attention, was to crush his old enemies the Macdougalls,⁶ and to revenge the many injuries he had suffered at their hands. With this view, he marched into Argyleshire, determined to lay waste the country, and take possession of Lorn. On advancing, he found John of Lorn and his followers posted in a formidable defile between Ben Cruachan and Loch Awe, which it seemed impossible to force, and almost hopeless to turn. But having sent a party to ascend the mountain, gain the heights, and threaten the

⁵ Mr Smibert (*Clans*, p. 46) thus describes this interesting relic:—"That ornament, as observed, is silver, and consists of a circular plate, about four inches in diameter, having a tongue like that of a common buckle on the under side. The upper side is magnificently ornamented. First, from the margin rises a neatly-formed rim, with hollows cut in the edge at certain distances, like the embrasures in an embattled wall. From a circle within this rim rise eight round tapering obelisks, about an inch and a quarter high, finely cut, and each studded at top with a river pearl. Within this circle of obelisks there is a second rim, also ornamented with carved work, and within which rises a neat circular case, occupying the whole centre of the brooch, and slightly overtopping the obelisks. The exterior of this case, instead of forming a plain circle, projects into eight semi-cylinders, which relieve it from all appearance of heaviness. The upper part is likewise carved very elegantly, and in the centre there is a large gem. This case may be taken off, and within there is a hollow, which might have contained any small articles upon which a particular value was set."

⁶ In referring to this incident in the first part of this work (p. 63), the name "Stewart" (which had crept into the old edition) was allowed to remain instead of that of "Macdougall." The Stewarts did not possess Lorn till some years after.

enemy's rear, Bruce immediately attacked them in front, with the utmost fury. For a time the Macdougalls sustained the onset bravely ; but at length, perceiving themselves in danger of being assailed in the rear, as well as the front, and thus completely isolated in the defile, they betook themselves to flight. Unable to escape from the mountain gorge, they were slaughtered without mercy, and by this reverse, their power was completely broken. Bruce then laid waste Argyleshire, besieged and took the castle of Dunstaffnage, and received the submission of Alister of Lorn, the father of John, who now fled to England. Alister was allowed to retain the district of Lorn : but the rest of his possessions were forfeited and given to Angus of Isla, who had all along remained faithful to the king's interests.

When John of Lorn arrived as a fugitive in England, King Edward was making preparations for that expedition, which terminated in the ever-memorable battle of Bannockburn. John was received with open arms, appointed to the command of the English fleet, and ordered to sail for Scotland, in order to co-operate with the land forces. But the total defeat and dispersion of the latter soon afterwards confirmed Bruce in possession of the throne ; and being relieved from the apprehension of any further aggression on the part of the English kings he resolved to lose no time in driving the Lord of Lorn from the Isles, where he had made his appearance with the fleet under his command. Accordingly, on his return from Ireland, whither he had accompanied his brother Edward, he directed his course towards the Isles, and having arrived at Tarbet, is said to have caused his galleys to be dragged over the isthmus which connects Kintyre and Knapdale. This bold proceeding was crowned with success. The English fleet was surprised and dispersed ; and its commander having been made prisoner, was sent to Dumbarton, and afterwards to Lochleven, where he was detained in confinement during the remainder of King Robert's reign.

In the early part of the reign of David II., John's son, John or Ewen, married a grand-daughter of Robert Bruce, and through her not only recovered the ancient possessions of his family, but even obtained a grant of the

property of Glenlyon. These extensive territories, however, were not destined to remain long in the family. Ewen died without male issue ; and his two daughters having married, the one John Stewart of Innermeath, and the other his brother Robert Stewart, an arrangement was entered into between these parties, in virtue of which the descendants of John Stewart acquired the whole of the Lorn possessions, with the exception of the castle of Dunolly and its dependencies, which remained to the other branch of the family ; and thus terminated the power of this branch of the descendants of Somerled. The chieftainship of the clan now descended to the family of Dunolly, which continued to enjoy the small portion which remained to them of their ancient possessions until the year 1715, when the representative of the family incurred the penalty of forfeiture for his accession to the insurrection of that period ; thus, by a singular contrast of circumstances, "losing the remains of his inheritance to replace upon the throne the descendants of those princes, whose accession his ancestors had opposed at the expense of their feudal grandeur." The estate, however, was restored to the family in 1745, as a reward for their not having taken any part in the more formidable rebellion of that year. In President Forbes's Report on the strength of the clans, the force of the Macdougalls is estimated at 200 men.

The Macdougalls of Raray, represented by Macdougall of Ardencaple, were a branch of the house of Lorn. The principal cadets of the family of Donolly were those of Gallanach and Soraba. The Macdougalls still hold possessions in Galloway, where, however, they usually style themselves Macdowall.

MACALISTERS.

A clan at one time of considerable importance, claiming connection with the great clan Donald, is the Macalisters, or MacAlesters, formerly inhabiting the south of Knapdale, and the north of Kintyre in Argyleshire. They are traced to Alister or Alexander, a son of Angus Mor, of the clan Donald. Exposed to the encroachments of the Campbells, their principal possessions became, ere long, absorbed by different branches of that powerful clan. The

chief of this sept of the Macdonalds is Somerville MacAlester of Loup in Kintyre, and Kennox in Ayrshire. In 1805 Charles Somerville MacAlester, Esq. of Loup, assumed the name and arms of Somerville in addition to his own, in right of his wife, Janet Somerville, inheritrix of the entailed estate of Kennox, whom he had married in 1792.

From their descent from Alexander, eldest son of Angus Mor, Lord of the Isles and Kintyre in 1284, the grandson of Somerled, thane of Argyle, the MacAlesters claim to be the representatives, after MacDonell of Glen-garry, of the ancient Lords of the Isles, as heirs male of Donald, grandson of Somerled.

After the forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles in 1493, the MacAlesters became so numerous as to form a separate and independent clan. At that period their chief was named John or Ian Dubh, whose residence was at Ard Phadriuc or Ardpatrik in South Knapdale. One of the family, Charles MacAlester, is mentioned as steward of Kintyre in 1481.

Alexander MacAlester was one of those Highland chieftains who were held responsible, by the act "called the Black Band," passed in 1587, for the peaceable behaviour of their clansmen and the "broken men" who lived on their lands. He died when his son, Godfrey or Gorrie MacAlester, was yet under age.

In 1618 the laird of Loup was named one of the twenty barons and gentlemen of the shire of Argyle who were made responsible for the good rule of the earldom during Argyll's absence. He married Margaret, daughter of Colin Campbell of Kilberry, and though, as a vassal of the Marquis of Argyll, he took no part in the wars of the Marquis of Montrose, many of his clan fought on the side of the latter.

The principal cadet of the family of Loup was MacAlester of Tarbert. There is also MacAlister of Glenbarr, county of Argyle.

SIOL GILLEVRAY.

Under the head of the Siol or clan Gillevray, Mr Skene gives other three clans said by the genealogists to have been descended from the family of Somerled, and included by Mr Skene under the Gallgael. The three clans are those of the Macneills, the Maclauchlans, and the

Macewens. According to the MS. of 1450, the Siol Gillevray are descended from a certain Gillebride, surnamed King of the Isles, who lived in the 12th century, and who derived his descent from a brother of Suibne, the ancestor of the Macdonalds, who was slain in the year 1034. Even Mr Skene, however, doubts the genealogy by which this Gillebride is derived from an ancestor of the Macdonalds in the beginning of the 11th century, but nevertheless, the traditionary affinity which is thus shown to have existed between these clans and the race of Somerled at so early a period, he thinks seems to countenance the notion that they had all originally sprung from the same stock. The original seat of this race appears to have been in Lochaber. On the conquest of Argyle by Alexander II., they were involved in the ruin which overtook all the adherents of Somerled; with the exception of the Macneills, who consented to hold their lands of the crown, and the Maclauchlans, who regained their former consequence by means of marriage with an heiress of the Lamonds. After the breaking up of the clan, the other branches appear to have followed, as their chief, Macdougall Campbell of Craignish, the head of a family, which is descended from the kindred race of MacInnes of Ardgour.

MACNEILL.



BADGE.—Sea Ware.

The Macneills consisted of two independent branches, the Macneills of Barra and the Macneills of Gigha, said to be descended from brothers. Their badge was the sea ware, but



MACNEILL

they had different armorial bearings, and from this circumstance, joined to the fact that they were often opposed to each other in the clan fights of the period, and that the Christian names of the one, with the exception of Neill, were not used by the other, Mr Gregory thinks the tradition of their common descent erroneous. Part of their possessions were completely separated, and situated at a considerable distance from the rest.

The clan Neill were among the secondary vassal tribes of the lords of the Isles, and its heads appear to have been of Norse or Danish origin. Mr Smibert thinks this probable from the fact that the Macneills were lords of Castle Swen, plainly a Norse term. "The clan," he says,⁷ "was in any case largely Gaelic, to a certainty. We speak of the fundamental line of the chiefs mainly, when we say that the Macneills appear to have at least shared the blood of the old Scandinavian inhabitants of the western islands. The names of those of the race first found in history are partly indicative of such a lineage. The isle of Barra and certain lands in Uist were chartered to a Macneill in 1427; and in 1472, a charter of the Macdonald family is witnessed by Hector *Mactorquil* Macneill, keeper of Castle Swen. The appellation 'Mac-Torquil,' half Gaelic, half Norse, speaks strongly in favour of the supposition that the two races were at this very time in the act of blending with one people. After all, we proceed not beyond the conclusion, that, by heirs male or heirs female, the founders of the house possessed a sprinkling of the blood of the ancient Norwegian occupants of the western isles and coasts, inter-fused with that of the native Gael of Albyn, and also of the Celtic visitants from Ireland. The proportion of Celtic blood, beyond doubt, is far the largest in the veins of the clan generally."

About the beginning of the 15th century, the Macneills were a considerable clan in Knapdale, Argyleshire. As this district was not then included in the sheriffdom of Argyle, it is probable that their ancestor had consented to hold his lands of the crown.

The first of the family on record is

Nigellus Og, who obtained from Robert Bruce a charter of Barra and some lands in Kintyre. His great-grandson, Gilleonan Roderick Muchard Macneill, in 1427, received from Alexander, Lord of the Isles, a charter of that island. In the same charter were included the lands of Boisdale in South Uist, which lies about eight miles distant from Barra. With John Garve Maclean he disputed the possession of that island, and was killed by him in Coll. His grandson, Gilleonan, took part with John, the old Lord of the Isles, against his turbulent son, Angus, and fought on his side at the battle of Bloody Bay. He was chief of this sept or division of the Macneills in 1493, at the forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles.

The Gigha Macneills are supposed to have sprung from Torquil Macneill, designated in his charter, "filius Nigelli," who, in the early part of the 15th century, received from the Lord of the Isles a charter of the lands of Gigha and Tainish, with the constabulary of Castle Sweyn, in Knapdale. He had two sons, Neill his heir, and Hector, ancestor of the family of Tainish. Malcolm Macneill of Gigha, the son of Neill, who is first mentioned in 1478, was chief of this sept of the Macneills in 1493. After that period the Gigha branch followed the banner of Macdonald of Isla and Kintyre, while the Barra Macneills ranged themselves under that of Maclean of Dowart.

In 1545 Gilliganan Macneill of Barra was one of the barons and council of the Isles who accompanied Donald Dubh, styling himself Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, to Ireland, to swear allegiance to the king of England. His elder son, Roderick or Ruari Macneill, was killed at the battle of Glenlivet, by a shot from a fieldpiece, on 3d Oct. 1594. He left three sons—Roderick, his heir, called Ruari the turbulent, John, and Murdo. During the memorable and most disastrous feud which happened between the Macleans and the Macdonalds at this period, the Barra Macneills and the Gigha branch of the same clan fought on different sides.

The Macneills of Barra were expert seamen, and did not scruple to act as pirates upon occasion. An English ship having been

⁷ *Clans*, p. 84.

seized off the island of Barra by Ruari the turbulent, Queen Elizabeth complained of this act of piracy. The laird of Barra was in consequence summoned to appear at Edinburgh, to answer for his conduct, but he treated the summons with contempt. All the attempts made to apprehend him proving unsuccessful, Mackenzie, tutor of Kintail, undertook to effect his capture by a stratagem frequently put in practice against the island chiefs when suspecting no hostile design. Under the pretence of a friendly visit, he arrived at Macneill's castle of Chisamul (pronounced Kisimul), the ruins of which stand on an insulated rock in Castlebay, on the south-east end of Barra, and invited him and all his attendants on board his vessel. There they were well plied with liquor, until they were all overpowered with it. The chief's followers were then sent on shore, while he himself was carried a prisoner to Edinburgh. Being put upon his trial, he confessed his seizure of the English ship, but pleaded in excuse that he thought himself bound by his loyalty to avenge, by every means in his power, the fate of his majesty's mother, so cruelly put to death by the queen of England. This politic answer procured his pardon, but his estate was forfeited, and given to the tutor of Kintail. The latter restored it to its owner, on condition of his holding it of him, and paying him sixty merks Scots, as a yearly feu duty. It had previously been held of the crown. Some time thereafter Sir James Macdonald of Sleat married a daughter of the tutor of Kintail, who made over the superiority to his son-in-law, and it is now possessed by Lord Macdonald, the representative of the house of Sleat.

The old chief of Barra, Ruari the turbulent, had several sons by a lady of the family of Maclean, with whom, according to an ancient practice in the Highlands, he had *handfasted*, instead of marrying her. He afterwards married a sister of the captain of the Clanranald, and by her also he had sons. To exclude the senior family from the succession, the captain of the Clanranald took the part of his nephews, whom he declared to be the only legitimate sons of the Barra chief. Having apprehended the eldest son of the first family for having been concerned in the piratical seizure of a

ship of Bourdeaux, he conveyed him to Edinburgh for trial, but he died there soon after. His brothers-german, in revenge, assisted by Maclean of Dowart, seized Neill Macneill, the eldest son of the second family, and sent him to Edinburgh, to be tried as an actor in the piracy of the same Bourdeaux ship; and, thinking that their father was too partial to their half brothers, they also seized the old chief, and placed him in irons. Neill Macneill, called Weyislache, was found innocent, and liberated through the influence of his uncle. Barra's elder sons, on being charged to exhibit their father before the privy council, refused, on which they were proclaimed rebels, and commission was given to the captain of the Clanranald against them. In consequence of these proceedings, which occurred about 1613, Clanranald was enabled to secure the peaceable succession of his nephew to the estate of Barra, on the death of his father, which happened soon after.⁸

The island of Barra and the adjacent isles are still possessed by the descendant and representative of the family of Macneill. Their feudal castle of Chisamul has been already mentioned. It is a building of hexagonal form, strongly built, with a wall above thirty feet high, and anchorage for small vessels on every side of it. Martin, who visited Barra in 1703, in his *Description of the Western Islands*, says that the Highland Chroniclers or sennachies alleged that the then chief of Barra was the 34th lineal descendant from the first Macneill who had held it. He relates that the inhabitants of this and the other islands belonging to Macneill were in the custom of applying to him for wives and husbands, when he named the persons most suitable for them, and gave them a bottle of strong waters for the marriage feast.

The chief of the Macneills of Gigha, in the first half of the 16th century, was Neill Macneill, who was killed, with many gentlemen of his tribe, in 1530, in a feud with Allan Maclean of Torlusk, called *Ailen nan Sop*, brother of Maclean of Dowart. His only daughter, Annabella, made over the lands of Gigha to her natural brother, Neill. He sold Gigha to

⁸ Gregory's *Highlands and Isles*, p. 346.



MACLACHLAN

James Macdonald of Isla in 1554, and died without legitimate issue in the latter part of the reign of Queen Mary.

On the extinction of the direct male line, Neill Macneill vic Eachan, who had obtained the lands of Taynish, became heir male of the family. His descendant, Hector Macneill of Taynish, purchased in 1590 the island of Gigha from John Campbell of Calder, who had acquired it from Macdonald of Isla, so that it again became the property of a Macneill. The estates of Gigha and Taynish were possessed by his descendants till 1780, when the former was sold to Macneill of Colonsay, a cadet of the family.

The representative of the male line of the Macneills of Taynish and Gigha, Roger Hamilton Macneill of Taynish, married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Hamilton Price, Esq. of Raploch, Lanarkshire, with whom he got that estate, and assumed, in consequence, the name of Hamilton. His descendants are now designated of Raploch.

The principal cadets of the Gigha Macneills, besides the Taynish family, were those of Gallochallie, Carskeay, and Tirfergus. Torquill, a younger son of Lachlan Macneill Buy of Tirfergus, acquired the estate of Ugadale in Argyleshire, by marriage with the heiress of the Mackays in the end of the 17th century. The present proprietor spells his name Macneal. From Malcolm Beg Macneill, celebrated in Highland tradition for his extraordinary prowess and great strength, son of John Oig Macneill of Gallochallie, in the reign of James VI., sprung the Macneills of Arichonan. Malcolm's only son, Neill Oig, had two sons, John, who succeeded him, and Donald Macneill of Crerar, ancestor of the Macneills of Colonsay, now the possessors of Gigha. Many cadets of the Macneills of Gigha settled in the north of Ireland.

Both branches of the clan Neill laid claim to the chiefship. According to tradition, it has belonged, since the middle of the 16th century, to the house of Barra. Under the date of 1550, a letter appears in the register of the privy council, addressed to "Torkill Macneill, chief and principal of the clan and surname of Macnelis." Mr Skene conjectures this Torkill to have been the hereditary keeper

of Castle Sweyn, and connected with neither branch of the Macneills. He is said, however, to have been the brother of Neill Macneill of Gigha, killed in 1530, as above mentioned, and to have, on his brother's death, obtained a grant of the non-entries of Gigha as representative of the family. If this be correct, according to the above designation, the chiefship was in the Gigha line. Torquill appears to have died without leaving any direct succession.

The first of the family of Colonsay, Donald Macneill of Crerar, in South Knapdale, exchanged that estate in 1700, with the Duke of Argyll, for the islands of Colonsay and Oronsay. The old possessors of these two islands, which are only separated by a narrow sound, dry at low water, were the Macduffies or Macphies. Donald's great-grandson, Archibald Macneill of Colonsay, sold that island to his cousin, John Macneill, who married Hester, daughter of Duncan Macneill of Dunmore, and had six sons. His eldest son, Alexander, younger of Colonsay, became the purchaser of Gigha. Two of his other sons, Duncan, Lord Colonsay, and Sir John Macneill, have distinguished themselves, the one as a lawyer and judge, and the other as a diplomatist.

MACLACHLAN.



BADGE.—Mountain Ash.

Maclachlan, or Maclauchlan, is the name of another clan classified by Skene as belonging to the great race of the Siol Conn, and in the MS., so much valued by this writer, of 1450, the Maclachlans are traced to Gilchrist, a grandson of that Anradan or Henry, from whom all

the clans of the Siol Gillevray are said to be descended. They possessed the barony of Strathlachlan in Cowal, and other extensive possessions in the parishes of Glassrie and Kilmartin, and on Loch Awe side, which were separated from the main seat of the family by Loch Fyne.

They were one of those Gaelic tribes who adopted the oared galley for their special device, as indicative of their connection, either by residence or descent, with the Isles. An ancestor of the family, Lachlan Mor, who lived in the 13th century, is described in the Gaelic MS. of 1450, as "son of Patrick, son of Gilchrist, son of De dalan, called the clumsy, son of Anradan, from whom are descended also the clan Neill."

By tradition the Maclachlans are said to have come from Ireland, their original stock being the O'Loughlins of Meath.

According to the Irish genealogies, the clan Lachlan, the Lamonds, and the MacEwens of Otter, were kindred tribes, being descended from brothers who were sons of De dalan above referred to, and tradition relates that they took possession of the greater part of the district of Cowal, from Toward Point to Strachur at the same time; the Lamonds being separated from the MacEwens by the river of Kilfinan, and the MacEwens from the Maclachlans by the stream which separates the parishes of Kilfinan and Strath Lachlan. De dalan, the common ancestor of these families, is stated in ancient Irish genealogies to have been the grandson of Hugh Atlaman, the head of the great family of O'Neils, kings of Ireland.

About 1230, Gilchrist Maclachlan, who is mentioned in the manuscript of 1450 as chief of the family of Maclachlan at the time, is a witness to a charter of Kilfinan granted by Laumanus, ancestor of the Lamonds.

In 1292, Gilleskel Maclachlan got a charter of his lands in Ergadia from Baliol.

In a document preserved in the treasury of Her Majesty's Exchequer, entitled "*Les petitions de terre demandeés en Escoce*," there is the following entry,—"*Item Gillescop Macloghlan ad demandi la Baronie de Molbryde juvene, apelle Strath, que fu pris contre le foi de Roi.*" From this it appears that Gillespie

Maclachlan was in possession of the lands still retained by the family, during the occupation of Scotland by Edward I. in 1296.⁹

In 1314, Archibald Maclachlan in Ergadia, granted to the Preaching Friars of Glasgow forty shillings to be paid yearly out of his lands of Kilbride, "*juxta castrum meum quod dicitur Castellachlan.*" He died before 1322, and was succeeded by his brother Patrick. The latter married a daughter of James, Steward of Scotland, and had a son, Lachlan, who succeeded him. Lachlan's son, Donald, confirmed in 1456, the grant by his predecessor Archibald, to the Preaching Friars of Glasgow of forty shillings yearly out of the lands of Kilbride, with an additional annuity of six shillings and eightpence "*from his lands of Kilbryde near Castellachlan.*"¹

Lachlan, the 15th chief, dating from the time that written evidence can be adduced, was served heir to his father, 23d September 1719. He married a daughter of Stewart of Appin, and was killed at Culloden, fighting on the side of Prince Charles. The 18th chief, his great-grandson, Robert Maclachlan of Maclachlan, convener and one of the deputy-lieutenants of Argyshire, married in 1823, Helen, daughter of William A. Carruthers of Dormont, Dumfries-shire, without issue. His brother, the next heir, George Maclachlan, Esq., has three sons and a daughter. The family seat, Castle Lachlan, built about 1790, near the old and ruinous tower, formerly the residence of the chiefs, is situated in the centre of the family estate, which is eleven miles in length, and, on an average, a mile and a half in breadth, and stretches in one continued line along the eastern side of Loch Fyne. The effective force of the clan previous to the rebellion of 1745, was estimated at 300 men. Their original seat, according to Mr Skene, appears to have been in Lochaber, where a very old branch of the family has from the earliest period been settled as native men of the Camerons.

In Argyshire also are the families of Maclachlan of Craiginterve, Inchconnell, &c.,

⁹ See *Sir Francis Palgrave's Scottish Documents*, vol. i. p. 319.

¹ *Munimenta Fratrum Predicatorum de Glasgu. Maitland Club.*

and in Stirlingshire, of Auchintroig. The MacIachlans of Drumblane in Monteith were of the Lochaber branch.

MACEWENS.

Upon a rocky promontory situated on the coast of Lochfyne, may still be discerned the vestige of a building, called in Gaelic Chaistel Mhic Eobhuin, or the castle of MacEwen. In the Old Statistical Account of the parish of Kilfinnan, quoted by Skene, this MacEwen is described as the chief of a clan, and proprietor of the northern division of the parish called Otter; and in the manuscript of 1450, which contains the genealogy of the *Clan Eoghan na Hoitreic*, or Clan Ewen of Otter, they are derived from Anradan, the common ancestor of the MacIachlans and the Macneills. This family soon became extinct, and their property gave title to a branch of the Campbells, by whom it appears to have been subsequently acquired, though in what manner we have no means of ascertaining.

SIOL EACHERN.

Under the name of *Siol Eachern* are included by Mr Skene the Macdougall Campbells of Craignish, and the Lamonds of Lamond, both very old clans in Argyleshire, and supposed to have been originally of the same race.

MACDOUGALL CAMPBELLS OF CRAIGNISH.

"The policy of the Argyll family," says Mr Skene, "led them to employ every means for the acquisition of property, and the extension of the clan. One of the arts which they used for the latter purpose was to compel those clans which had become dependant upon them to adopt the name of Campbell; and this, when successful, was generally followed at an after period, by the assertion that that clan was descended from the house of Argyll. In general, the clans thus adopted into the race of Campbell, are sufficiently marked out by their being promoted only to the honour of their being an illegitimate branch; but the tradition of the country invariably distinguishes between the real Campbells, and those who were compelled to adopt their name." Of the policy in question, the Campbells of Craignish are said to have afforded a remarkable

instance. According to the Argyll system, as here described, they are represented as the descendants of Dugall, an illegitimate son of a Campbell, who lived in the twelfth century. But the common belief amongst the people is, that their ancient name was MacEachern, and that they were of the same race with the Macdonalds; nor are there wanting circumstances which seem to give countenance to this tradition. Their arms are charged with the galley of the Isles, from the mast of which depends a shield exhibiting some of the distinctive bearings of the Campbells; and, what is even more to the purpose, the manuscript of 1450 contains a genealogy of the MacEacherns, in which they are derived from a certain Nicol MacMurdoch, who lived in the twelfth century. Besides, when the MacGillevrays and MacIans of Morvern and Ardgour were broken up and dispersed, many of their septs, although not resident on the property of the Craignish family, acknowledged its head as their chief. But as the MacGillevrays and the MacIans were two branches of the same clan, which had separated as early as the twelfth century; and as the MacEacherns appear to have been of the same race, Murdoch, the first of the clan, being contemporary with Murdoch the father of Gillebride, the ancestor of the Siol Gillevrays; it may be concluded that the Siol Eachern and the MacIans were of the same clan; and this is further confirmed by the circumstance, that there was an old family of MacEacherns which occupied Kingerloch, bordering on Ardgour, the ancient property of the MacIans. That branch of the Siol Eachern which settled at Craignish, were called Clan Dugall Craignish, and obtained, it is said, the property known by this name from the brother of Campbell of Lochow, in the reign of David II.² The lands of Colin Campbell of Lochow having been forfeited in that reign, his brother, Gillespie Campbell, appears to have obtained a grant of them from the

² "Nisbet, that acute heraldist," says Smibert, "discovered an old seal of the family, on which the words are, as nearly as they can be made out, *S(igillum) Dugalli de Craignish*, showing that the Campbells of Craignish were simply of the Dhu-Gall race. The seal is very old, though noticed only by its use in 1500. It has the grand mark upon it of the bearings of all the Gael of the Western Coasts, namely, the Oared Galley."

crown; and it is not improbable that the clan Dugall Craignish acquired from the latter their right to the property of Craignish. After the restoration of the Lochow family, by the removal of the forfeiture, that of Craignish were obliged to hold their lands, not of the crown, but of the house of Argyll. Nevertheless, they continued for some time a considerable family, maintaining a sort of independence, until at length, yielding to the influence of that policy which has already been described, they merged, like most of the neighbouring clans, in that powerful race by whom they were surrounded.³



BADGE.—Crab-Apple Tree.

It is an old and accredited tradition in the Highlands, that the Lamonds or Lamonts were the most ancient proprietors of Cowal, and that the Stewarts, Maclauchlans, and Campbells obtained possession of their property in that district by marriage with daughters of the family. At an early period a very small part only of Cowal was included in the sheriffdom of Upper Argyll, the remainder being comprehended in that of Perth. It may, therefore, be presumed that, on the conquest of Argyll by Alexander II., the lord of Lower Cowal had submitted to the king, and obtained a crown charter. But, in little more than half a century after that event, we find the High Steward in possession of Lower Cowal, and the Maclauchlans in possession of Strathlachlan. It appears, indeed, that, in 1242, Alexander the High

Steward of Scotland, married Jean, the daughter of James, son of Angus MacRory, who is styled Lord of Bute; and, from the manuscript of 1450, we learn that, about the same period, Gilchrist Maclauchlan married the daughter of Lachlan MacRory; from which it is probable that this Roderic or Rory was the third individual who obtained a crown charter for Lower Cowal, and that by these intermarriages the property passed from his family into the hands of the Stewarts and the Maclauchlans. The coincidence of these facts, with the tradition above-mentioned, would seem also to indicate that Angus MacRory was the ancestor of the Lamonds.

After the marriage of the Steward with the heiress of Lamond, the next of that race of whom any mention is made is Duncan Mac Fercher, and "Laumanus," son of Malcolm, and grandson of the same Duncan, who appear to have granted to the monks of Paisley a charter of the lands of Kilmore, near Lochgilp, and also of the lands "which they and their predecessors held at Kilmun" (*quas nos et antecessores nostri apud Kilmun habuerunt*). In the same year, "Laumanus," the son of Malcolm, also granted a charter of the lands of Kilfinnan, which, in 1295, is confirmed by Malcolm, the son and heir of the late "Laumanus" (*domini quondam Laumanis*). But in an instrument, or deed, dated in 1466, between the monastery of Paisley and John Lamond of Lamond, regarding the lands of Kilfinan, it is expressly stated, that these lands had belonged to the ancestors of John Lamond; and hence, it is evident, that the "Laumanus," mentioned in the previous deed, must have been one of the number, if not indeed the chief and founder of the family. "From Laumanus," says Mr Skene, "the clan appear to have taken the name of Maclaman or Lamond, having previously to this time borne the name of Macerachar, and Clan Mhic Earachar."

The connection of this clan with that of Dugall Craignish, is indicated by the same circumstances which point out the connection of other branches of the tribe; for whilst the Craignish family preserved its power it was followed by a great portion of the Clan Mhic Earachar, although it possessed no feudal right

³ Skene's *Highlanders*.

to their services. "There is one peculiarity connected with the Lamonds," says Mr Skene, "that although by no means a powerful clan, their genealogy can be proved by charters, at a time when most other Highland families are obliged to have recourse to tradition, and the genealogies of their ancient sennachies; but their antiquity could not protect the Lamonds from the encroachments of the Campbells, by whom they were soon reduced to as small a portion of their original possessions in Lower Cowal, as the other Argyleshire clans had been of theirs."⁴ The Lamonds were a clan of the same description as the Maclauchlans, and, like the latter, they have, notwithstanding "the encroachments of the Campbells," still retained a portion of their ancient possessions. The chief of this family is Lamond of Lamond.

According to Nisbet, the clan Lamond were originally from Ireland, but whether they sprung from the Dalriadic colony, or from a still earlier race in Cowal, it is certain that they possessed, at a very early period, the superiority of the district. Their name continued to be the prevailing one till the middle of the 17th century. In June 1646, certain chiefs of the clan Campbell in the vicinity of Dunoon castle, determined upon obtaining the ascendancy, took advantage of the feuds and disorders of the period, to wage a war of extermination against the Lamonds. The massacre of the latter by the Campbells, that year, formed one of the charges against the Marquis of Argyll in 1661, although he does not seem to have been any party to it.

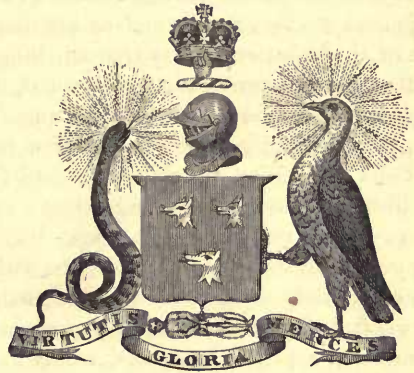
An interesting tradition is recorded of one of the lairds of Lamond, who had unfortunately killed, in a sudden quarrel, the son of MacGregor of Glenstrae, taking refuge in the house of the latter, and claiming his protection, which was readily granted, he being ignorant that he was the slayer of his son. On being informed, MacGregor escorted him in safety to his own people. When the MacGregors were proscribed, and the aged chief of Glenstrae had become a wanderer, Lamond hastened to protect him and his family, and received them into his house.

⁴ Skene's *Highlanders*, vol. ii. part ii. chap. 4.

CHAPTER IV.

Robertsons or Clan Donnachie—Macfarlanes—Campbells of Argyll and offshoots—Royal Marriage—Campbells of Breadalbane—Macarthur Campbells of Strachur—Campbells of Cawdor, Aberuchill, Ardnamurchan, Auchinbreck, Ardkinglass, Barcaldine, Dunstaffnage, Monzie—The Macleods of Lewis and Harris—Macleods of Rasay.

ROBERTSON.



BADGE.—Fern or Brackens.

BESIDES the clans already noticed, there are other two which, according to Skene, are set down by the genealogists as having originally belonged to the Gallgael or Celts of the Western Isles; these are the Robertsons or clan Donnachie, and the Macfarlanes.

Tradition claims for the clan Donnachie a descent from the great sept of the Macdonalds, their remote ancestor being said to have been Duncan (hence the name *Donnachie*) the Fat, son of Angus Mor, Lord of the Isles, in the reign of William the Lion. Smibert thinks this is certainly the most feasible account of their origin. Skene, however, endeavours to trace their descent from Duncan, King of Scotland, eldest son of Malcolm III., their immediate ancestor, according to him, having been Conan, second son of Henry, fourth and last of the ancient Celtic Earls of Athole. This Conan, it is said, received from his father, in the reign of Alexander II., the lands of Generochy, afterwards called Strowan, in Gaelic *Struthan*—that is, streamy. Conan's great-grandson, Andrew, was styled of Athole, *de Atholia*, which was the uniform designation of

the family, indicative, Mr Skene thinks, of their descent from the ancient Earls of Athole. According to the same authority, it was from Andrew's son, Duncan, that the clan derived their distinctive appellation of the clan *Donnachie*, or children of Duncan. Duncan is said to have been twice married, and acquired by both marriages considerable territory in the district of Rannoch. By his first wife he had a son, Robert de Atholia.

As it is well known that Mr Skene's Celtic prejudices are very strong, and as his derivation of the Robertsons from Duncan, king of Scotland, is to a great extent conjectural, it is only fair to give the other side of the question, viz., the probability of their derivation from the Celts of the Western Isles. We shall take the liberty of quoting here Mr Smibert's judicious and acute remarks on this point. "There unquestionably exist doubts about the derivation of the Robertsons from the Macdonalds; but the fact of their acquiring large possessions at so early a period in Athole, seems to be decisive of their descent from some great and strong house among the Western Celts. And what house was more able so to endow its scions than that of Somerled, whose heads were the kings of the west of Scotland? The Somerled or Macdonald power, moreover, extended into Athole beyond all question; and, indeed, it may be said to have been almost the sole power which could so have planted there one of its offshoots, apart from the regal authority. Accordingly, though Duncan may not have been the son of Angus Mor (Macdonald), a natural son of the Lord of the Isles, as has been commonly averred, it by no means follows that the family were not of the Macdonald race. The proof may be difficult, but probability must be accepted in its stead. An opposite course has been too long followed on all sides. Why should men conceal from themselves the plain fact that the times under consideration were barbarous, and that their annals were necessarily left to us, not by the pen of the accurate historian, but by the dealers in song and tradition?"

Referring to the stress laid by Mr Skene upon the designation *de Atholia*, which was uniformly assumed by the Robertsons, Mr Smibert remarks,—“In the first place, the

designation *De Atholia* can really be held to prove nothing, since, as in the case of *De Insulis*, such phrases often pointed to mere residence, and were especially used in reference to large districts. A gentleman 'of Athole' is not necessarily connected with the Duke; and, as we now use such phrases without any meaning of that kind, much more natural was the custom of old, when general localities alone were known generally. In the second place, are the Robertsons made more purely Gaelic, for such is partly the object in the view of Mr Skene, by being traced to the ancient Athole house? That the first lords of the line were Celts may be admitted; but heiresses again and again interrupted the male succession. While one wedded a certain Thomas of London, another found a mate in a person named David de Hastings. These strictly English names speak for themselves; and it was by the Hastings marriage, which took place shortly after the year 1200, that the first house of Athole was continued. It is clear, therefore, that the supposition of the descent of the Robertsons from the first lords of Athole leaves them still of largely mingled blood—Norman, Saxon, and Gaelic. Such is the result, even when the conjecture is admitted.

As a Lowland neighbourhood gave to the race of Robert, son of Duncan, the name of Robertson, so would it also intermingle their race and blood with those of the Lowlanders."

It is from the grandson of Robert of Athole, also named Robert, that the clan Donnachie derive their name of Robertson. This Robert was noted for his predatory incursions into the Lowlands, and is historically known as the chief who arrested and delivered up to the vengeance of the government Robert Graham and the Master of Athole, two of the murderers of James I., for which he was rewarded with a crown charter, dated in 1451, erecting his whole lands into a free barony. He also received the honourable augmentation to his arms of a naked man manacled under the achievement, with the motto, *Virtutis gloria merces*. He was mortally wounded in the head near the village of Auchtergaven, in a

⁵ Smibert's *Clans*, pp. 77, 78.

conflict with Robert Forrester of Torwood, with whom he had a dispute regarding the lands of Little Dunkeld. Binding up his head with a white cloth, he rode to Perth, and obtained from the king a new grant of the lands of Strowan. On his return home, he died of his wounds. He had three sons, Alexander, Robert, and Patrick. Robert, the second son, was the ancestor of the Earls of Portmore, a title now extinct.

The eldest son, Alexander, was twice married, his sons becoming progenitors of various families of Robertsons. He died in, or shortly prior to, 1507, and was succeeded by his grandson, William. This chief had some dispute with the Earl of Athole concerning the marches of their estates, and was killed by a party of the earl's followers, in 1530. Taking advantage of a wadset or mortgage which he held over the lands of Strowan, the earl seized nearly the half of the family estate, which the Robertsons could never again recover. William's son, Robert, had two sons—William, who died without issue, and Donald, who succeeded him.

Donald's grandson, 11th laird of Strowan, died in 1636, leaving an infant son, Alexander, in whose minority the government of the clan devolved upon his uncle, Donald. Devoted to the cause of Charles I., the latter raised a regiment of his name and followers, and was with the Marquis of Montrose in all his battles. After the Restoration, the king settled a pension upon him.

His nephew, Alexander Robertson of Strowan, was twice married. By his second wife, Marion, daughter of General Baillie of Letham, he had two sons and one daughter, and died in 1688. Duncan, the second son by the second marriage, served in Russia, with distinction, under Peter the Great.

Alexander, the elder son of the second marriage, was the celebrated Jacobite chief and poet. Born about 1670, he was destined for the church, and sent to the university of St Andrews; but his father and brother by the first marriage dying within a few months of each other, he succeeded to the family estate and the chiefship in 1688. Soon after, he joined the Viscount Dundee, when he appeared in arms in the Highlands for the cause of King

James; but though he does not appear to have been at Killiecrankie, and was still under age, he was, for his share in this rising, attainted by a decret of parliament in absence in 1690, and his estates forfeited to the crown. He retired, in consequence, to the court of the exiled monarch at St Germain, where he lived for several years, and served one or two campaigns in the French army. In 1703, Queen Anne granted him a remission, when he returned to Scotland, and resided unmolested on his estates, but neglecting to get the remission passed the seals, the forfeiture of 1690 was never legally repealed. With about 500 of his clan he joined the Earl of Mar in 1715, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Sheriffmuir, but rescued. Soon after, however, he fell into the hands of a party of soldiers in the Highlands, and was ordered to be conducted to Edinburgh; but, with the assistance of his sister, he contrived to escape on the way, when he again took refuge in France. In 1723, the estate of Strowan was granted by the government to Margaret, the chief's sister, by a charter under the great seal, and in 1726 she disposed the same in trust for the behoof of her brother, substituting, in the event of his death without lawful heirs of his body, Duncan, son of Alexander Robertson of Drumachune, her father's cousin, and the next lawful heir male of the family. Margaret died unmarried in 1727. Her brother had returned to Scotland the previous year, and obtaining in 1731 a remission for his life, took possession of his estate. In 1745 he once more "marshalled his clan" in behalf of the Stuarts, but his age preventing him from personally taking any active part in the rebellion, his name was passed over in the list of proscriptions that followed. He died in his own house of Carie, in Rannoch, April 18, 1749, in his 81st year, without lawful issue, and in him ended the direct male line. A volume of his poems was published after his death. An edition was reprinted at Edinburgh in 1785, 12mo, containing also the "History and Martial Achievements of the Robertsons of Strowan." He is said to have formed the prototype of the Baron of Bradwardine in "Waverley."

The portion of the original estate of Strowan

which remained devolved upon Duncan Robertson of Drumachune, a property which his great-grandfather, Duncan *Mor* (who died in 1687), brother of Donald the tutor, had acquired from the Athole family. As, however, his name was not included in the last act of indemnity passed by the government, he was dispossessed of the estate in 1752, when he and his family retired to France. His son, Colonel Alexander Robertson, obtained a restitution of Strowan in 1784, and died, unmarried, in 1822. Duncan *Mor's* second son, Donald, had a son, called Robert *Bane*, whose grandson, Alexander Robertson, now succeeded to the estate.

The son of the latter, Major-general George Duncan Robertson of Strowan, C.B., passed upwards of thirty years in active service, and received the cross of the Imperial Austrian order of Leopold. He was succeeded by his son, George Duncan Robertson, born 26th July 1816, at one time an officer in the 42d Highlanders.

The force which the Robertsons could bring into the field was estimated at 800 in 1715, and 700 in 1745.

Of the branches of the family, the Robertsons of Lude, in Blair-Athole, are the oldest, being of contemporary antiquity to that of Strowan.

Patrick de Atholia, eldest son of the second marriage of Duncan de Atholia, received from his father, at his death, about 1358, the lands of Lude. He is mentioned in 1391, by Wynthoun (Book ii. p. 367) as one of the chieftains and leaders of the clan. He had, with a daughter, married to Donald, son of Farquhar, ancestor of the Farquharsons of Invercauld, two sons, Donald and Alexander. The latter, known by the name of *Rua* or *Red*, from the colour of his hair, acquired the estate of Straloch, for which he had a charter from James II. in 1451, and was ancestor of the Robertsons of Straloch, Perthshire. His descendants were called the Barons *Rua*. The last of the Barons *Rua*, or *Red*, was Alexander Robertson of Straloch, who died about the end of the last century, leaving an only son, John, who adopted the old family *soubriquet*, and called himself Reid (probably hoping to be recognised as the chief of the Reids). John

Reid entered the army, where he rose to the rank of General, and died in 1803, leaving the reversion of his fortune (amounting to about £70,000) for the endowment of a chair of music, and other purposes, in the University of Edinburgh. This ancient family is represented by Sir Archibald Ava Campbell, Bart.

Donald, the elder son, succeeded his father. He resigned his lands of Lude into the king's hand on February 7, 1447, but died before he could receive his infeftment. He had two sons: John, who got the charter under the great seal, dated March 31, 1448, erecting the lands of Lude into a barony, proceeding on his father's resignation; and Donald, who got as his patrimony the lands of Strathgarry. This branch of Lude ended in an heiress, who married an illegitimate son of Stewart of Invermeath. About 1700, Strathgarry was sold to another family of the name of Stewart.

The Robertsons of Inshes, Inverness-shire, are descended from Duncan, second son of Duncan de Atholia, *dominus de Ranagh*, above mentioned.

The Robertsons of Kindeace descend from William Robertson, third son of John, ancestor of the Robertsons of the Inshes, by his wife, a daughter of Fearn of Pitcullen. He obtained from his father, in patrimony, several lands about Inverness, and having acquired great riches as a merchant, purchased, in 1615, the lands of Orkney, Nairnshire, and in 1639, those of Kindeace, Ross-shire; the latter becoming the chief title of the family.

The Robertsons of Kinlochmoidart, Inverness-shire, are descended from John Robertson of Muirton, Elginshire, second son of Alexander Robertson of Strowan, by his wife, Lady Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Athole.

The fifth in succession, the Rev. William Robertson, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, was father of Principal Robertson, and of Mary, who married the Rev. James Syme, and had an only child, Eleonora, mother of Henry, Lord Brougham. The Principal had three sons and two daughters.



BADGE.—Cloudberry bush.

Of the clan Macfarlane, Mr Skene gives the best account, and we shall therefore take the liberty of availing ourselves of his researches. According to him, with the exception of the clan Donnachie, the clan Parlan or Pharlan is the only one, the descent of which from the ancient earls of the district where their possessions were situated, may be established by the authority of a charter. It appears, indeed, that the ancestor of this clan was Gilchrist, the brother of Maldowen or Malduin, the third Earl of Lennox. This is proved by a charter of Maldowen, still extant, by which he gives to his brother Gilchrist a grant "*de terris de superiori Arrochar de Luss*;" and these lands, which continued in possession of the clan until the death of the last chief, have at all times constituted their principal inheritance.

But although the descent of the clan from the Earls of Lennox be thus established, the origin of their ancestors is by no means so easily settled. Of all the native earls of Scotland, those of this district alone have had a foreign origin assigned to them, though, apparently, without any sufficient reason. The first Earl of Lennox who appears on record is *Aluin comes de Levenox*, who lived in the early part of the 13th century; and there is some reason to believe that from this Aluin the later Earls of Lennox were descended. It is, no doubt, impossible to determine now who this Aluin really was; but, in the absence of direct authority, we gather from tradition that the heads of the family of Lennox, before

being raised to the peerage, were hereditary seneschals of Strathearn, and bailies of the Abthantry of Dull, in Athole. Aluin was succeeded by a son of the same name, who is frequently mentioned in the chartularies of Lennox and Paisley, and who died before the year 1225. In Donald, the sixth earl, the male branch of the family became extinct. Margaret, the daughter of Donald, married Walter de Fassalane, the heir male of the family; but this alliance failed to accomplish the objects intended by it, or, in other words, to preserve the honours and power of the house of Lennox. Their son Duncan, the eighth earl, had no male issue; and his eldest daughter Isabella, having married Sir Murdoch Stuart, the eldest son of the Regent, he and his family became involved in the ruin which overwhelmed the unfortunate house of Albany. At the death of Isabella, in 1460, the earldom was claimed by three families; but that of Stewart of Darnley eventually overcame all opposition, and acquired the title and estates of Lennox. Their accession took place in the year 1488; upon which the clans that had been formerly united with the earls of the old stock separated themselves, and became independent.

Of these clans the principal was that of the Macfarlanes, the descendants, as has already been stated, of Gilchrist, a younger brother of Maldowen, Earl of Lennox. In the Lennox charters, several of which he appears to have subscribed as a witness, this Gilchrist is generally designated as *frater comitis*, or brother of the earl. His son Duncan also obtained a charter of his lands from the Earl of Lennox, and appears in the Ragman's roll under the title of "*Duncan Macgilchrist de Levenagh*." From a grandson of this Duncan, who was called in Gaelic *Parlan*, or Bartholomew, the clan appears to have taken the surname of *Macfarlane*; indeed the connection of Parlan both with Duncan and with Gilchrist is clearly established by a charter granted to Malcolm Macfarlane, the son of Parlan, confirming to him the lands of Arrochar and others; and hence Malcolm may be considered as the real founder of the clan. He was succeeded by his son Duncan, who obtained from the Earl of Lennox a charter of the lands of Arrochar

as ample in its provisions as any that had been granted to his predecessors; and married a daughter of Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, as appears from a charter of confirmation granted in his favour by Duncan, Earl of Lennox. Not long after his death, however, the ancient line of the Earls of Lennox became extinct; and the Macfarlanes having claimed the earldom as heirs male, offered a strenuous opposition to the superior pretensions of the feudal heirs. Their resistance, however, proved alike unsuccessful and disastrous. The family of the chief perished in defence of what they believed to be their just rights; the clan also suffered severely, and of those who survived the struggle, the greater part took refuge in remote parts of the country. Their destruction, indeed, would have been inevitable, but for the opportune support given by a gentleman of the clan to the Darnley family. This was Andrew Macfarlane, who, having married the daughter of John Stewart, Lord Darnley and Earl of Lennox, to whom his assistance had been of great moment at a time of difficulty, saved the rest of the clan, and recovered the greater part of their hereditary possessions. The fortunate individual in question, however, though the good genius of the race, does not appear to have possessed any other title to the chiefship than what he derived from his position, and the circumstance of his being the only person in a condition to afford them protection; in fact, the clan refused him the title of chief, which they appear to have considered as incommunicable, except in the right line; and his son, Sir John Macfarlane, accordingly contented himself with assuming the secondary or subordinate designation of captain of the clan.

From this time, the Macfarlanes appear to have on all occasions supported the Earls of Lennox of the Stewart race, and to have also followed their banner in the field. For several generations, however, their history as a clan is almost an entire blank; indeed, they appear to have merged into mere retainers of the powerful family, under whose protection they enjoyed undisturbed possession of their hereditary domains. But in the sixteenth century Duncan Macfarlane of Macfarlane appears as a steady supporter of Matthew, Earl of Lennox.

At the head of three hundred men of his own name, he joined Lennox and Glencairn in 1544, and was present with his followers at the battle of Glasgow-Muir, where he shared the defeat of the party he supported. He was also involved in the forfeiture which followed; but having powerful friends, his property was, through their intercession, restored, and he obtained a remission under the privy seal. The loss of this battle forced Lennox to retire to England; whence, having married a niece of Henry VIII., he soon afterwards returned with a considerable force which the English monarch had placed under his command. The chief of Macfarlane durst not venture to join Lennox in person, being probably restrained by the terror of another forfeiture; but, acting on the usual Scottish policy of that time, he sent his relative, Walter Macfarlane of Tarnet, with four hundred men, to reinforce his friend and patron; and this body, according to Holinshed, did most excellent service, acting at once as light troops and as guides to the main body. Duncan, however, did not always conduct himself with equal caution; for he is said to have fallen in the fatal battle of Pinkie, in 1547, on which occasion also a great number of his clan perished.

Andrew, the son of Duncan, as bold, active, and adventurous as his sire, engaged in the civil wars of the period, and, what is more remarkable, took a prominent part on the side of the Regent Murray; thus acting in opposition to almost all the other Highland chiefs, who were warmly attached to the cause of the queen. He was present at the battle of Langside with a body of his followers, and there "stood the Regent's part in great stead;" for, in the hottest of the fight, he came up with three hundred of his friends and countrymen, and falling fiercely on the flank of the queen's army, threw them into irretrievable disorder, and thus mainly contributed to decide the fortune of the day. The clan boast of having taken at this battle three of Queen Mary's standards, which, they say, were preserved for a long time in the family. Macfarlane's reward was not such as afforded any great cause for admiring the munificence of the Regent; but that his vanity at least might be conciliated, Murray bestowed upon him the crest of a



ARGYLE CAMPBELL.

demi-savage *proper*, holding in his dexter hand a sheaf of arrows, and pointing with his sinister to an imperial crown, *or*, with the motto, *This I'll defend*. Of the son of this chief nothing is known; but his grandson, Walter Macfarlane, returning to the natural feelings of a Highlander, proved himself as sturdy a champion of the royal party as his grandfather had been an uncompromising opponent and enemy. During Cromwell's time, he was twice besieged in his own house, and his castle of Inveruglas was afterwards burned down by the English. But nothing could shake his fidelity to his party. Though his personal losses in adhering to the royal cause were of a much more substantial kind than his grandfather's reward in opposing it, yet his zeal was not cooled by adversity, nor his ardour abated by the vengeance which it drew down on his head.

Although a small clan, the Macfarlanes were as turbulent and predatory in their way as their neighbours the Macgregors. By the Act of the Estates of 1587 they were declared to be one of the clans for whom the chief was made responsible; by another act passed in 1594, they were denounced as being in the habit of committing theft, robbery, and oppression; and in July 1624 many of the clan were tried and convicted of theft and robbery. Some of them were punished, some pardoned; while others were removed to the highlands of Aberdeenshire, and to Strathaven in Banffshire, where they assumed the names of Stewart, Mc'Caudy, Greisock, Mc'James, and Mc'Innes.

Of one eminent member of the clan, the following notice is taken by Mr Skene in his work on the Highlands of Scotland. He says, "It is impossible to conclude this sketch of the history of the Macfarlanes without alluding to the eminent antiquary, Walter Macfarlane of that ilk, who is as celebrated among historians as the indefatigable collector of the ancient records of the country, as his ancestors had been among the other Highland chiefs for their prowess in the field. The family itself, however, is now nearly extinct, after having held their original lands for a period of six hundred years."

Of the lairds of Macfarlane there have been no fewer than twenty-three. The last of them went to North America in the early part of

the 18th century. A branch of the family settled in Ireland in the reign of James VII., and the headship of the clan is claimed by its representative, Macfarlane of Hunstown House, in the county of Dublin. The descendants of the ancient chiefs cannot now be traced, and the lands once possessed by them have passed into other hands.

Under the head of Garmoran, Mr Skene, following the genealogists, includes two western clans, viz., those of Campbell and Macleod. We shall, however, depart from Mr Skene's order, and notice these two important clans here, while treating of the clans of the western coasts and isles. Mr Skene,⁶ on very shadowy grounds, endeavours to make out that there must have been an ancient earldom of Garmoran, situated between north and south Argyle, and including, besides the districts of Knoydart, Morar, Arisaig, and Moydart (forming a late lordship of Garmoran), the districts of Glenelg, Ardnamurchan, and Morvern. He allows, however, that "at no period embraced by the records do we discover Garmoran as an efficient earldom." As to this, Mr E. W. Robertson⁷ remarks that "the same objection may be raised against the earldom of Garmoran which is urged against the earldom of the Merns, the total silence of history respecting it."

ARGYLL CAMPBELL.



BADGE—Myrtle.

The name CAMPBELL is undoubtedly one of considerable antiquity, and the clan has for long

⁶ *Highlanders*, ii. 266.

⁷ *Early Kings*, i. 75.

been one of the most numerous and powerful in the Highlands, although many families have adopted the name who have no connection with the Campbells proper by blood or descent. The Argyll family became latterly so powerful, that many smaller clans were absorbed in it voluntarily or compulsorily, and assumed in course of time its peculiar designation. The origin of the name, as well as of the founder of the family, remains still a matter of the greatest doubt. The attempt to deduce the family from the half-mythical King Arthur, of course, is mere trifling.

The name is by some stated to have been derived from a Norman knight, named de Campo Bello, who came to England with William the Conqueror. As respects the latter part of the statement, it is to be observed that in the list of all the knights who composed the army of the Conqueror on the occasion of his invasion of England, and which is known by the name of the Roll of Battle-Abbey, the name of Campo Bello is not to be found. But it does not follow, as recent writers have assumed, that a knight of that name may not have come over to England at a later period, either of his reign or that of his successors.

It has been alleged, in opposition to this account, that in the oldest form of writing the name, it is spelled Cambel or Kambel, and it is so found in many ancient documents; but these were written by parties not acquainted with the individuals whose name they record, as in the manuscript account of the battle of Halidon Hill, by an unknown English writer, preserved in the British Museum; in the Ragman's Roll, which was compiled by an English clerk, and in Wyntoun's Chronicle. There is no evidence, however, that at any period it was written by any of the family otherwise than as *Campbell*, notwithstanding the extraordinary diversity that occurs in the spelling of other names by their holders, as shown by Lord Lindsay in the account of his clan; and the invariable employment of the letter *p* by the Campbells themselves would be of itself a strong argument for the southern origin of the name, did there not exist, in the record of the parliament of Robert Bruce held in 1320, the name of the then head of the family, entered as Sir Nigel de Campo Bello.

The writers, however, who attempt to sustain the fabulous tales of the sennachies, assign a very different origin to the name. It is personal, say they, "like that of some others of the Highland clans, being composed of the words *cam*, bent or arched, and *beul*, mouth; this having been the most prominent feature of the great ancestor of the clan, Diarmid O'Dubin or O'Duin, a brave warrior celebrated in traditional story, who was contemporary with the heroes of Ossian. In the Gaelic language his descendants are called Siol Diarmid, the offspring or race of Diarmid."

Besides the manifest improbability of this origin on other grounds, two considerations may be adverted to, each of them conclusive:—

First, It is known to all who have examined ancient genealogies, that among the Celtic races personal distinctives never have become hereditary. Malcolm *Canmore*, Donald *Bane*, Rob *Roy*, or Evan *Dhu*, were, with many other names, distinctive of personal qualities, but none of them descended, or could do so, to the children of those who acquired them.

Secondly, It is no less clear that, until after what is called the Saxon Conquest had been completely effected, no hereditary surnames were in use among the Celts of Scotland, nor by the chiefs of Norwegian descent who governed in Argyll and the Isles. This circumstance is pointed out by Tytler in his remarks upon the early population of Scotland, in the second volume of the History of Scotland. The domestic slaves attached to the possessions of the church and of the barons have their genealogies engrossed in ancient charters of conveyances and confirmation copied by him. The names are all Celtic, but in no one instance does the son, even when bearing a second or distinctive name, follow that of his father.

Skene, who maintains the purely native origin of the Campbell, does so in the following remarks:—

"We have shown it to be invariably the case, that when a clan claims a foreign origin, and accounts for their possession of the chiefship and property of the clan by a marriage with the heiress of the old proprietors, they can be proved to be in reality a cadet of that older house who had usurped the chiefship,

while their claim to the chiefship is disputed by an acknowledged descendant of that older house. To this rule the Campbells are no exceptions, for while the tale upon which they found a Norman descent is exactly parallel to those of the other clans in the same situation, the most ancient manuscript genealogies deduce them in the male line from that very family of O'Duin, whose heiress they are said to have married, and the Macarthur Campbells, of Strachur, the acknowledged descendants of the older house, they have at all times disputed the chiefship with the Argyll family. Judging from analogy, we are compelled to admit that the Campbells of Strachur must formerly have been chiefs of the clan, and that the usual causes in such cases have operated to reduce the Strachur family, and to place that of Argyll in that situation, and this is confirmed by the early history of the clan."

We shall take the liberty of quoting here some ingenious speculations on the origin of the name and the founder of the clan, from the pen of a gentleman, a member of the clan, who, for several years, has devoted his leisure to the investigation of the subject, and has placed the results of his researches at our disposal. He declares that the name itself is the most inflexible name in Scotland. In all old documents, he says, in which it occurs, either written by a Campbell, or under his direction, it is spelled always Campbell, or Campo-Bello; and its southern origin he believes is past question. It has always seemed to him to have been the name of some Roman, who, after his countrymen retired from Britain, had settled among the Britons of Strath-Clyde. "I am not one," he continues, "of those who suppose that the fortunes of Campbell depended entirely on the patrimony of his wife. As a family who had been long in the country, the chief of the name (it is improbable that he was then the sole owner of that name, although his family is alone known to history), as a soldier, high in his sovereign's favour, was likely to have possessed lands in Argyle before his marriage took place. Men of mark were then necessary to keep these rather wild and outlandish districts in subjection, and only men high in royal favour were likely to have that trust,—a trust likely to be so well

rewarded, that its holder would be an eligible match for the heiress of Paul In-Sporran.

"It is also quite likely that Eva O'Duin was a king's ward, and on that account her hand would be in the king's gift; and who so likely to receive it as a trusted knight, connected with the district, and one whose loyalty was unquestioned?

"Again, we put little stress on the Celtic origin of the name,—from the crooked mouth of the first chief, as if from *cam*, bent or crooked, and *beul*, mouth. No doubt this etymology is purely fanciful, and may have been invented by some one anxious to prove the purely Celtic origin of the family; but this seems really unnecessary, as a Celtic residence, Celtic alliances, and Celtic associations for nearly 800 years, is a Celtic antiquity in an almost unbroken line such as few families are able to boast of; indeed, no clan can boast of purer Celtic blood than the Campbells, and their present chief."

The conclusion which, we think, any unprejudiced reader must come to, is, that the question of the origin of the Campbells cannot, until further light be thrown upon it, be determined with certainty at the present day. It is possible that the story of the genealogists may be true; they declare that the predecessors of the Argyll^s family, on the female side, were possessors of Lochow or Lochawe in Argyleshire, as early as 404 A.D. Of this, however, there is no proof worthy of the name. The first of the race who comes prominently into notice is one Archibald (also called Gillespie) Campbell, as likely as not, we think, to be a gentleman of Anglo-Norman lineage, who lived in the 11th century. He acquired the lordship of Lochow, or Lochawe, by marriage with Eva, daughter and heiress of Paul O'Duin, Lord of Lochow, denominated Paul In-Sporran, from his being the king's treasurer. Another Gillespie is the first of the house mentioned in authentic history, his name occurring as a witness of the charter of the lands of the burgh of Newburgh by Alexander III. in 1246.

* In March 1870, the present Duke, in answer to inquiries, wrote to the papers stating that he spells his name *Argyll*, because it has been spelled so by his ancestors for generations past.

Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, the real founder of the family, sixth in descent from the first Gillespie, distinguished himself by his warlike actions, and was knighted by King Alexander the Third in 1280. He added largely to his estates, and on account of his great prowess he obtained the surname of Mohr or More ("great"); from him the chief of the Argyll family is in Gaelic styled Mac Chaillan More.⁹

Sir Colin Campbell had a quarrel with a powerful neighbour of his, the Lord of Lorn, and after he had defeated him, pursuing the victory too eagerly, was slain (in 1294) at a place called the String of Cowal, where a great obelisk was erected over his grave. This is said to have occasioned bitter feuds betwixt the houses of Lochow and Lorn for a long period of years, which were put an end to by the marriage of the daughter of the Celtic proprietor of Lorn, with John Stewart of Innermeath about 1386. Sir Colin married a lady of the name of Sinclair, by whom he had five sons.

Sir Niel Campbell of Lochow, his eldest son, swore fealty to Edward the First, but afterwards joined Robert the Bruce, and fought by his side in almost every encounter, from the defeat at Methven to the victory at Bannockburn. King Robert rewarded his services by giving him his sister, the Lady Mary Bruce, in marriage, and conferring on him the lands forfeited by the Earl of Athole. His next brother Donald was the progenitor of the Campbells of Loudon. By his wife Sir Niel had three sons,—Sir Colin; John, created Earl of Athole, upon the forfeiture of David de Strathbogie, the eleventh earl; and Dugal.

Sir Colin, the eldest son, obtained a charter from his uncle, King Robert Bruce, of the lands of Lochow and Artornish, dated at Arbroath, 10th February 1316, in which he is designated *Colinus filius Nigelli Cambel, militis*. As a reward for assisting the Steward of Scotland in 1334 in the recovery of the castle of Dunoon, in Cowal, Sir Colin was made hereditary governor of the castle, and had the

grant of certain lands for the support of his dignity. Sir Colin died about 1340. By his wife, a daughter of the house of Lennox, he had three sons and a daughter.

The eldest son, Sir Gillespie or Archibald, who added largely to the family possessions, was twice married, and had three sons, Duncan, Colin, and David, and a daughter, married to Duncan Macfarlane of Arrochar. Colin, the second son, was designed of Ardkinglass, and of his family, the Campbells of Ardentinn, Dunoon, Carrick, Skipnish, Blythswood, Shawfield, Rachan, Auchwillan, and Dergachie are branches.

Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochow, the eldest son, was one of the hostages in 1424, under the name of Duncan, Lord of Argyll, for the payment of the sum of forty thousand pounds (equivalent to four hundred thousand pounds of our money), for the expense of King James the First's maintenance during his long imprisonment in England, when Sir Duncan was found to be worth fifteen hundred merks a-year. He was the first of the family to assume the designation of Argyll. By King James he was appointed one of his privy council, and constituted his justiciary and lieutenant within the shire of Argyll. He became a lord of parliament in 1445, under the title of Lord Campbell. He died in 1453, and was buried at Kilmun. He married, first, Marjory or Mariota Stewart, daughter of Robert Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, by whom he had three sons,—Celestine, who died before him; Archibald, who also predeceased him, but left a son; and Colin, who was the first of Glenorchy, and ancestor of the Breadalbane family. Sir Duncan married, secondly, Margaret, daughter of Sir John Stewart of Blackhall and Auchingown, natural son of Robert the Third, by whom also he had three sons, namely, Duncan, who, according to Crawford, was the ancestor of the house of Auchinbreck, of whom are the Campbells of Glencardell, Glensaddell, Kildurkland, Kilmorie, Wester Keams, Kilberry, and Dana; Niel, progenitor, according to Crawford, of the Campbells of Ellengreig and Ormadale; and Arthur or Archibald, ancestor of the Campbells of Ottar, now extinct. According to some authorities, the Campbells of Auchinbreck and their cadets, also Ellen-

⁹ This, through the mis-spelling, intentional or unintentional, of Sir Walter Scott, is often popularly corrupted into Maccallum More, which, of course, is wrong, as the *great* or *big* ancestor's name was *Colin*, not *Callum*.

greig and Ormadale, descend from this the youngest son, and not from his brothers.

The first Lord Campbell was succeeded by his grandson Colin, the son of his second son Archibald. He acquired part of the lordship of Campbell in the parish of Dollar,¹ by marrying the eldest of the three daughters of John Stewart, third Lord of Lorn and Innermeath. He did not, as is generally stated, acquire by this marriage any part of the lordship of Lorn (which passed to Walter, brother of John, the fourth Lord Innermeath, and heir of entail), but obtained that lordship by exchanging the lands of Baldunning and Innerdunning, &c., in Perthshire, with the said Walter. In 1457 he was created Earl of Argyll. In 1470 he was created baron of Lorn, and in 1481 he received a grant of many lands in Knapdale, along with the keeping of Castle Sweyn, which had previously been held by the Lord of the Isles. He died in 1493.

By Isabel Stewart, his wife, eldest daughter of John, Lord of Lorn, the first Earl of Argyll had two sons and seven daughters. Archibald, his elder son, became second earl, and Thomas, the younger, was the ancestor of the Campbells of Lundie, in Forfarshire. Another daughter was married to Torquil Macleod of the Lewis.

Archibald, second Earl of Argyll, succeeded his father in 1493. In 1499 he and others received a commission from the king to let on lease, for the term of three years, the entire lordship of the Isles as possessed by the last lord, both in the Isles and on the mainland, excepting only the island of Isla, and the lands of North and South Kintyre. He also received a commission of lieutenancy, with the fullest powers, over the lordship of the Isles; and, some months later, was appointed keeper of the castle of Tarbert, and bailie and governor of the king's lands in Knapdale. From this period the great power formerly enjoyed by the Earls of Ross, Lords of the Isles, was transferred to the Earls of Argyll and Huntly; the former having the chief rule in

the south isles and adjacent coasts. At the fatal battle of Flodden, 9th September 1513, his lordship and his brother-in-law, the Earl of Lennox, commanded the right wing of the royal army, and with King James the Fourth, were both killed. By his wife, Lady Elizabeth Stewart, eldest daughter of John, first Earl of Lennox, he had four sons and five daughters. His eldest son, Colin, was the third Earl of Argyll. Archibald, his second son, had a charter of the lands of Skipnish, and the keeping of the castle thereof, 13th August 1511. His family ended in an heir-female in the reign of Mary. Sir John Campbell, the third son, at first styled of Lorn, and afterwards of Calder, married Muriella, daughter and heiress of Sir John Calder of Calder, now Cawdor, near Nairn.

According to tradition, she was captured in childhood by Sir John Campbell and a party of the Campbells, while out with her nurse near Calder castle. Her uncles pursued and overtook the division of the Campbells to whose care she had been intrusted, and would have rescued her but for the presence of mind of Campbell of Inverliver, who, seeing their approach, inverted a large camp kettle as if to conceal her, and commanding his seven sons to defend it to the death, hurried on with his prize. The young men were all slain, and when the Calders lifted up the kettle, no Muriel was there. Meanwhile so much time had been gained that farther pursuit was useless. The nurse, just before the child was seized, bit off a joint of her little finger, in order to mark her identity—a precaution which seems to have been necessary, from Campbell of Auchinbreck's reply to one who, in the midst of their congratulations on arriving safely in Argyll with their charge, asked what was to be done should the child die before she was marriageable? "She can never die," said he, "as long as a red-haired lassie can be found on either side of Lochawe!" It would appear that the heiress of the Calders had red hair.

Colin Campbell, the third Earl of Argyll, was, immediately after his accession to the earldom, appointed by the council to assemble an army and proceed against Lauchlan Maclean of Dowart, and other Highland chieftains, who had broken out into insurrection,

¹ In 1489, by an act of the Scottish parliament, the name of Castle Gloom, its former designation, was changed to Castle Campbell. It continued to be the frequent and favourite residence of the family till 1644, when it was burnt down by the Macleans in the army of the Marquis of Montrose. The castle and lordship of Castle Campbell remained in the possession of the Argyll family till 1808, when it was sold.

and proclaimed Sir Donald of Lochalsh Lord of the Isles. Owing to the powerful influence of Argyll, the insurgents submitted to the regent, after strong measures had been adopted against them. In 1517 Sir Donald of Lochalsh again appeared in arms, but being deserted by his principal leaders, he effected his escape. Soon after, on his petition, he received a commission of lieutenancy over all the Isles and adjacent mainland.

For some years the Isles had continued at peace, and Argyll employed this interval in extending his influence among the chiefs, and in promoting the aggrandisement of his family and clan, being assisted thereto by his brothers, Sir John Campbell of Calder, so designed after his marriage with the heiress, and Archibald Campbell of Skipnish. The former was particularly active. In 1527 an event occurred, which forms the groundwork of Joanna Baillie's celebrated tragedy of "The Family Legend." It is thus related by Gregory:—"Lauchlan Cattanach Maclean of Dowart had married Lady Elizabeth Campbell, daughter of Archibald, second Earl of Argyll, and, either from the circumstance of their union being unfruitful, or more probably owing to some domestic quarrels, he determined to get rid of his wife. Some accounts say that she had twice attempted her husband's life; but, whatever the cause may have been, Maclean, following the advice of two of his vassals, who exercised a considerable influence over him from the tie of fosterage, caused his lady to be exposed on a rock, which was only visible at low water, intending that she should be swept away by the return of the tide. This rock lies between the island of Lismore and the coast of Mull, and is still known by the name of the 'Lady's Rock.' From this perilous situation the intended victim was rescued by a boat accidentally passing, and conveyed to her brother's house. Her relations, although much exasperated against Maclean, smothered their resentment for a time, but only to break out afterwards with greater violence; for the laird of Dowart being in Edinburgh, was surprised when in bed, and assassinated by Sir John Campbell of Calder, the lady's brother. The Macleans instantly took arms to revenge the death of their chief,

and the Campbells were not slow in preparing to follow up the feud; but the government interfered, and, for the present, an appeal to arms was avoided."²

On the escape of the king, then in his seventeenth year, from the power of the Douglasses, in May 1528, Argyll was one of the first to join his majesty at Stirling. Argyll afterwards received an ample confirmation of the hereditary sheriffship of Argyleshire and of the offices of justiciary of Scotland and master of the household, by which these offices became hereditary in his family. He had the commission of justice-general of Scotland renewed 25th October 1529. He died in 1530.

By his countess, Lady Jane Gordon, eldest daughter of Alexander, third Earl of Huntly, the third Earl of Argyll had three sons and a daughter. His sons were, Archibald, fourth Earl of Argyll; John, ancestor of the Campbells of Lochnell, of which house the Campbells of Balerno and Stonefield are cadets; and Alexander, dean of Moray.

Archibald, the fourth Earl of Argyll, was, on his accession to the title in 1530, appointed to all the offices held by the two preceding earls. A suspicion being entertained by some of the members of the privy council, which is said to have been shared in by the king himself, that many of the disturbances in the Isles were secretly fomented by the Argyll family, that they might obtain possession of the estates forfeited by the chiefs thus driven into rebellion, and an opportunity soon presenting itself, the king eagerly availed himself of it, to curb the increasing power of the Earl of Argyll in that remote portion of the kingdom. Alexander of Isla, being summoned to answer certain charges of Argyll, made his appearance at once, and gave in to the council a written statement, in which, among other things, he stated that the disturbed state of the Isles was mainly caused by the late Earl of Argyll and his brothers, Sir John Campbell of Calder, and Archibald Campbell of Skipnish. The king made such an examination into the complaints of the islanders as satisfied him that the family of Argyll had been acting more for their own benefit than for the welfare

² *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 128.

of the country, and the earl was summoned before his sovereign, to give an account of the duties and rental of the Isles received by him, the result of which was that James committed him to prison soon after his arrival at court. He was soon liberated, but James was so much displeased with his conduct that he deprived him of the offices he still held in the Isles, some of which were bestowed on Alexander of Isla, whom he had accused. After the death of James the Fifth he appears to have regained his authority over the Isles. He was the first of the Scotch nobles who embraced the principles of the Reformation, and employed as his domestic chaplain Mr John Douglas, a converted Carmelite friar, who preached publicly in his house. The Archbishop of St Andrews, in a letter to the earl, endeavoured to induce him to dismiss Douglas, and return to the Romish church, but in vain, and on his death-bed he recommended the support of the new doctrines, and the suppression of Popish superstitions, to his son. He died in August 1558. He was twice married. By his first wife, Lady Helen Hamilton, eldest daughter of James, first Earl of Arran, he had a son, Archibald, fifth Earl of Argyll. His second wife was Lady Mary Graham, only daughter of William, third Earl of Menteith, by whom he had Colin, sixth earl, and two daughters.

Archibald, fifth Earl of Argyll, was educated under the direction of Mr John Douglas, his father's domestic chaplain, and the first Protestant Archbishop of St Andrews, and distinguished himself as one of the most able among the Lords of the Congregation. In the transactions of their times the earl and his successors took prominent parts; but as these are matters of public history, and as so much the history of the Highlands, in which the Argylls took a prominent part, has been already given in the former part of this work, we shall confine our attention here to what belongs to the history of the family and clan.

The earl had married Jean, natural daughter of King James the Fifth by Elizabeth daughter of John, Lord Carmichael, but he does not seem to have lived on very happy terms with her, as we find that John Knox, at the request of Queen Mary, endeavoured, on more occa-

sions than one, to reconcile them after some domestic quarrels.³ Her majesty passed the summer of 1563 at the earl's house in Argyleshire, in the amusement of deer-hunting.

Argyll died on the 12th of September 1575, aged about 43. His countess, Queen Mary's half-sister, having died without issue, was buried in the royal vault in the abbey of Holyrood-house; and he married, a second time, Lady Johanna or Joneta Cunningham, second daughter of Alexander, fifth Earl of Glencairn, but as she also had no children, he was succeeded in his estates and title by his brother.

On the 28th of January 1581, with the king and many of the nobility, the sixth earl subscribed a second Confession of Faith. He died in October 1584, after a long illness. He married, first, Janet, eldest daughter of Henry, first Lord Methven, without issue; secondly, Lady Agnes Keith, eldest daughter of William, fourth Earl Marischal, widow of the Regent Moray, by whom he had two sons, Archibald, seventh Earl of Argyll, and the Hon. Sir Colin Campbell of Lundie, created a baronet in 1627.

In 1594, although then only eighteen, the seventh Earl of Argyll was appointed king's lieutenant against the popish Earls of Huntly and Errol, who had raised a rebellion. In 1599, when measures were in progress for bringing the chiefs of the isles under subjection to the king, the Earl of Argyll and his kinsman, John Campbell of Calder, were accused of having secretly used their influence to prevent Sir James Macdonald of Dunyveg and his clan from being reconciled to the government. The frequent insurrections which occurred in the South Isles in the first fifteen years of the seventeenth century have also been imputed by Mr Gregory to Argyll and the Campbells, for their own purposes. The proceedings of these clans were so violent and illegal, that the king became highly incensed against the Clandonald, and finding, or supposing he had a right to dispose of their possessions both in Kintyre and Isla, he made a grant of them to the Earl of Argyll and the Campbells. This gave rise to a number of bloody conflicts between the Campbells and

³ *Caldewood*, vol. ii. p. 215.

the Clandonald, in the years 1614, 1615, and 1616, which ended in the ruin of the latter, and for the details of which, and the intrigues and proceedings of the Earl of Argyll to possess himself of the lands of that clan, reference may be made to the part of the General History pertaining to this period.

In 1603, the Macgregors, who were already under the ban of the law, made an irruption into the Lennox, and after defeating the Colquhouns and their adherents at Glenfruin, with great slaughter, plundered and ravaged the whole district, and threatened to burn the town of Dumbarton. For some years previously, the charge of keeping this powerful and warlike tribe in order had been committed to the Earl of Argyll, as the king's lieutenant in the "bounds of the clan Gregor," and he was answerable for all their excesses. Instead of keeping them under due restraint, Argyll has been accused by various writers of having from the very first made use of his influence to stir them up to acts of violence and aggression against his own personal enemies, of whom the chief of the Colquhouns was one; and it is further said that he had all along meditated the destruction of both the Macgregors and the Colquhouns, by his crafty and perfidious policy. The only evidence on which these heavy charges rest is the dying declaration of Alistair Macgregor of Glenstrae, the chief of the clan, to the effect that he was deceived by the Earl of Argyll's "falsete and inventiouns," and that he had been often incited by that nobleman to "weir and truble the laird of Luss," and others; but these charges ought to be received with some hesitation by the impartial historian. However this may be, the execution of the severe statutes which were passed against the Macgregors after the conflict at Glenfruin, was intrusted to the Earls of Argyll and Athole, and their chief, with some of his principal followers, was enticed by Argyll to surrender to him, on condition that they would be allowed to leave the country. Argyll received them kindly, and assured them that though he was commanded by the king to apprehend them, he had little doubt he would be able to procure a pardon, and, in the meantime, he would send them to England under an escort, which would convey them off Scottish ground.

It was Macgregor's intention, if taken to London, to procure if possible an interview with the king; but Argyll prevented this; yet, that he might fulfil his promise, he sent them under a strong guard beyond the Tweed at Berwick, and instantly compelled them to retrace their steps to Edinburgh, where they were executed 18th January 1604. How far there may have been deceit used in this matter,—whether, according to Birrel, Argyll "keipit ane Hielandman's promise; in respect he sent the gaird to convey him out of Scottis grund, but thai were not directit to pairt with him, but to fetch him bak agane;" or whether their return was by orders from the king, cannot at the present time be ascertained.

In 1617, after the suppression by him of the Clandonald, Argyll obtained from the king a grant of the whole of Kintyre. For some years Argyll had been secretly a Catholic. His first countess, to whom Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, inscribed his "*Aurora*" in 1604, having died, he had, in November 1610, married a second time, Anne, daughter of Sir William Cornwall of Brome, ancestor of the Marquis Cornwallis. This lady was a Catholic, and although the earl was a warm and zealous Protestant when he married her, she gradually drew him over to profess the same faith with herself. After the year 1615, as Gregory remarks, his personal history presents a striking instance of the mutability of human affairs. In that year, being deep in debt, he went to England; but as he was the only chief that could keep the Macdonalds in order, the Privy Council wrote to the king urging him to send him home; and in his expedition against the clan Donald he was accompanied by his son, Lord Lorn. In 1618, on pretence of going to the Spa for the benefit of his health, he received from the king permission to go abroad; and the news soon arrived that the earl, instead of going to the Spa, had gone to Spain; that he had there made open defection from the Protestant religion, and that he had entered into very suspicious dealings with the banished rebels, Sir James Macdonald and Alistair MacRanald of Keppoch, who had taken refuge in that country. On the 16th of February he was openly declared rebel and traitor, at the market cross of

Edinburgh, and remained under this ban until the 22d of November 1621, when he was declared the king's free liege. Nevertheless, he did not venture to return to Britain till 1638, and died in London soon after, aged 62. From the time of his leaving Scotland, he never exercised any influence over his great estates; the fee of which had, indeed, been previously conveyed by him to his eldest son, Archibald, Lord Lorn, afterwards eighth Earl of Argyll. By his first wife he had, besides this son, four daughters. By his second wife, the earl had a son and a daughter, viz., James, Earl of Irvine, and Lady Mary, married to James, second Lord Rollo.

Archibald, eighth Earl and first Marquis of Argyll, after his father, went to Spain, as has been above said, managed the affairs of his family and clan. So full an account of the conspicuous part played by the first Marquis of Argyll, in the affairs of his time, has been already given in this work, that further detail here is unnecessary. Suffice it to say, that in 1641 he was created Marquis, and was beheaded with the "Maiden," at the cross of Edinburgh, May 27, 1661; and whatever may be thought of his life, his death was heroic and Christian. By his wife, Lady Margaret Douglas, second daughter of William, second Earl of Morton, he had three daughters and two sons. The eldest son Archibald, became ninth Earl of Argyll, the second was Lord Niel Campbell, of Ardmaddie.

On the death of the eighth earl, his estates and title were of course forfeited, but Charles II., in 1663, sensible of the great services of Lord Lorn, and of the injustice with which he had been treated, restored to him the estates and the title of Earl of Argyll. The trivial excuse for the imprisoning and condemning him to death, has been already referred to, and an account has been given of the means whereby he was enabled to make his escape, by the assistance of his step-daughter, Lady Sophia Lindsay. Having taken part in Monmouth's rebellion, he was taken prisoner, and being carried to Edinburgh, was beheaded upon his former unjust sentence, June 30, 1685. Argyll was twice married; first to Lady Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of James, fifth Earl of Moray; and secondly, to Lady Anna Mackenzie,

second daughter of Colin, first Earl of Seaforth, widow of Alexander, first Earl of Balcarres. By the latter, he had no issue; but by the former he had four sons and three daughters. He was succeeded by his son Archibald, tenth Earl and first Duke of Argyll, who was an active promoter of the Revolution, and accompanied the Prince of Orange to England. He was one of the commissioners deputed from the Scots Parliament, to offer the crown of Scotland to the Prince, and to tender him the coronation oath. For this and other services, the family estates, which had been forfeited, were restored to him. He was appointed to several important public offices, and in 1696, was made colonel of the Scots horse-guards, afterwards raising a regiment of his own clan, which greatly distinguished itself in Flanders.

On the 21st of June 1701, he was created, by letters patent, Duke of Argyll, Marquis of Lorn and Kintyre, Earl of Campbell and Cowal, Viscount of Lochow and Glenila, Baron Inverary, Mull, Morvern, and Tiree. He died 28th September, 1703. Though undoubtedly a man of ability, he was too dissipated to be a great statesman. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Lionel Tollmash, by whom he had two sons, the elder being the celebrated Duke of Argyll and Greenwich.

John, second Duke of Argyll, and also Duke of Greenwich, a steady patriot and celebrated general, the eldest son of the preceding, was born October 10, 1678. On the death of his father in 1703, he became Duke of Argyll, and was soon after sworn of the privy council, made captain of the Scots horse-guards, and appointed one of the extraordinary lords of session. He was soon after sent down as high commissioner to the Scots parliament, where, being of great service in promoting the projected Union, for which he became very unpopular in Scotland, he was, on his return to London, created a peer of England by the titles of Baron of Chatham, and Earl of Greenwich.

In 1706 his Grace made a campaign in Flanders, under the Duke of Marlborough, and rendered important services at various sieges and battles on the continent, and on December 20, 1710, he was installed a knight of the Garter. On the accession of George I., he was

made groom of the stole, and was one of the nineteen members of the regency, nominated by his majesty. On the king's arrival in England, he was appointed general and commander-in-chief of the king's forces in Scotland.

At the breaking out of the Rebellion in 1715, his Grace, as commander-in-chief in Scotland, defeated the Earl of Mar's army at Sheriffmuir, and forced the Pretender to retire from the kingdom. In March 1716, after putting the army into winter quarters, he returned to London, but was in a few months, to the surprise of all, divested of all his employments. In the beginning of 1718 he was again restored to favour, created Duke of Greenwich, and made lord steward of the household. In 1737, when the affair of Captain Porteous came before parliament, his Grace exerted himself vigorously and eloquently in behalf of the city of Edinburgh. A bill having been brought in for punishing the Lord Provost of that city, for abolishing the city guard, and for depriving the corporation of several ancient privileges; and the Queen Regent having threatened, on that occasion, to convert Scotland into a hunting park, Argyll replied, that it was then time to go down and gather his beagles.

In April 1740, he delivered a speech with such warmth against the administration, that he was again deprived of all his offices. To these, however, on the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, he was soon restored, but not approving of the measures of the new ministry, he gave up all his posts, and never afterwards engaged in affairs of state. This amiable and most accomplished nobleman has been immortalised by Pope in the lines,

"Argyle, the state's whole thunder born to wield,
And shake alike the senate and the field."

He was twice married. By his first wife, Mary, daughter of John Brown, Esq. (and niece of Sir Charles Duncombe, Lord Mayor of London in 1708), he had no issue. By his second wife, Jane, daughter of Thomas Warburton of Winnington, in Cheshire, one of the maids of honour to Queen Anne, he had five daughters. As the duke died without male issue, his English titles of Duke and Earl of Greenwich, and Baron of Chatham, became extinct, while his Scotch titles and patrimonial estate devolved

on his brother. He died October 4, 1743; and a beautiful marble monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

Archibald, third Duke of Argyll, the brother of the preceding, was born at Ham, Surrey, in June 1682, and educated at the university of Glasgow. In 1705 he was constituted lord high treasurer of Scotland; in 1706 one of the commissioners for treating of the Union between Scotland and England; and 19th October of the same year, for his services in that matter, was created Viscount and Earl of Isla. In 1708 he was made an extraordinary lord of session, and after the Union, was chosen one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland. In 1710 he was appointed justice-general of Scotland, and the following year was called to the privy council. When the rebellion broke out in 1715, he took up arms for the defence of the house of Hanover. By his prudent conduct in the West Highlands, he prevented General Gordon, at the head of three thousand men, from penetrating into the country and raising levies. He afterwards joined his brother, the duke, at Stirling, and was wounded at the battle of Sheriffmuir. In 1725 he was appointed keeper of the privy seal, and in 1734 of the great seal, which office he enjoyed till his death. He excelled in conversation, and besides building a very magnificent seat at Inverary, he collected one of the most valuable private libraries in Great Britain. He died suddenly, while sitting in his chair at dinner, April 15, 1761. He married the daughter of Mr Whitfield, paymaster of marines, but had no issue by her grace.

The third Duke of Argyll was succeeded by his cousin, John, fourth duke, son of the Hon. John Campbell of Mamore, second son of Archibald, the ninth Earl of Argyll (who was beheaded in 1685), by Elizabeth, daughter of John, eighth Lord Elphinstone. The fourth duke was born about 1693. Before he succeeded to the honours of his family, he was an officer in the army, and saw some service in France and Holland. When the rebellion of 1745 broke out, he was appointed to the command of all the troops and garrisons in the west of Scotland, and arrived at Inverary, 21st December of that year, and, with his eldest son joined the Duke of Cumberland at

Perth, on the 9th of the following February. He died 9th November 1770, in the 77th year of his age. He married in 1720 the Hon. Mary Bellenden, third daughter of the second Lord Bellenden, and had four sons and a daughter.

John, fifth Duke of Argyll, born in 1723, eldest son of the fourth duke, was also in the army, and attained the rank of general in March 1778, and of field-marshal in 1796. He was created a British peer, in the lifetime of his father, as Baron Sundridge of Coomb-bank in Kent, 19th December 1766, with remainder to his heirs male, and failing them to his brothers, Frederick and William, and their heirs male successively. He was chosen the first president of the Highland Society of Scotland, to which society, in 1806, he made a munificent gift of one thousand pounds, as the beginning of a fund for educating young men of the West Highlands for the navy. He died 24th May 1806, in the 83d year of his age. He married in 1759, Elizabeth, widow of James, sixth Duke of Hamilton, the second of the three beautiful Miss Gunnings, daughters of John Gunning, Esq. of Castle Coote, county Roscommon, Ireland. By this lady the duke had three sons and two daughters.

George William, sixth Duke of Argyll, was born 22d September 1768. He married, 29th November 1810, Caroline Elizabeth, daughter of the fourth Earl of Jersey, but had no issue. His Grace died 22d October 1839.

His brother, John Douglas Edward Henry (Lord John Campbell of Ardincaple, M.P.) succeeded as seventh duke. He was born 21st December 1777, and was thrice married; first, in August 1802, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William Campbell, Esq. of Fairfield, who died in 1818; secondly, 17th April, 1820, to Joan, daughter and heiress of John Glassel, Esq. of Long Niddry; and thirdly, in January 1831, to Anne Colquhoun, eldest daughter of John Cunningham, Esq. of Craighends. By his second wife he had two sons and a daughter, namely, John Henry, born in January 1821, died in May 1837; George Douglas, who succeeded as eighth duke; and Lady Emma Augusta, born in 1825. His Grace died 26th April 1847.

George John Douglas, the eighth duke, born in 1823, married in 1844, Lady Elizabeth Georgina (born in 1824), eldest daughter of the second Duke of Sutherland; issue, John Douglas Sutherland, Marquis of Lorn (M.P. for Argyleshire), born in 1845, and other children. His Grace has distinguished himself not only in politics, but in science; to geology, in particular, he has devoted much attention, and his writings prove him to be possessed of considerable literary ability. He is author of "An Essay on the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland since the Reformation," "The Reign of Law," &c. He was made Chancellor of the University of St Andrews, 1851; Lord Privy Seal, 1853; Postmaster-general, 1855-8; Knight of the Thistle, 1856; again Lord Privy Seal, 1859; Secretary of State for India, 1868. The Duke of Argyll is hereditary master of the queen's household in Scotland, keeper of the castles of Dunoon, Dunstaffnage, and Carrick, and heritable sheriff of Argyleshire.

It has been foretold, says tradition, that all the glories of the Campbell line are to be renewed in the first chief who, in the line of his locks, approaches to Ian Roy Cean (John Red Head, viz., the second duke). This prophecy some may be inclined to think, has been royally fulfilled in the recent marriage of the present duke's heir, the Marquis of Lorn, with the Princess Louise, daughter of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. This event took place on the 21st March 1871, amid the enthusiastic rejoicings of all Scotchmen, and especially Highlandmen, and with the approval of all the sensible portion of Her Majesty's subjects. Her Majesty conferred the honour of knighthood on the Marquis of Lorn, after the ceremony of the marriage, and invested him with the insignia of the Order of the Thistle.

There are a considerable number of important offshoots from the clan Campbell, the origin of some of which has been noticed above; it is necessary, however, to give a more particular account of the most powerful branch of this extensive clan, viz., the BREADALBANE CAMPBELLS.

BREADALBANE CAMPBELL.



BADGE.—Myrtle.

As we have already indicated, the ancestor of the Breadalbane family, and the first of the house of Glenurchy, was Sir Colin Campbell, the third son of Duncan, first Lord Campbell of Lochow.

In an old manuscript, preserved in Taymouth Castle, named "the Black Book of Taymouth" (printed by the Bannatyne Club, 1853), containing a genealogical account of the Glenurchy family, it is stated that "Duncan Campbell, commonly callit Duncan in Aa, knight of Lochow (lineallie descendit of a valiant man, surnamit Campbell, quha cam to Scotland in King Malcolm Kandmoir, his time, about the year of God 1067, of quhom came the house of Lochow), flourished in King David Bruce his dayes. The foresaid Duncan in Aa had to wyffe Margarit Stewart, dochter to Duke Murdoch [a mistake evidently for Robert], on whom he begat twa sones, the elder callit Archibald, the other namit Colin, wha was first laird of Glenurchay." That estate was settled on him by his father. It had come into the Campbell family, in the reign of King David the Second, by the marriage of Margaret Glenurchy with John Campbell; and was at one time the property of the warlike clan MacGregor, who were gradually expelled from the territory by the rival clan Campbell.

In 1440 he built the castle of Kilchurn, on a projecting rocky elevation at the east end of Lochawe, under the shadow of the majestic

Ben Cruachan, where—now a picturesque ruin,—

"grey and stern
Stands, like a spirit of the past, lone old Kilchurn."

According to tradition, Kilchurn (properly Coalchuirn) Castle was first erected by his lady, and not by himself, he being absent on a crusade at the time, and for seven years the principal portion of the rents of his lands are said to have been expended on its erection. Sir Colin died before June 10, 1478; as on that day the Lords' auditors gave a decreet in a civil suit against "Duncain Cambell, son and air of umquhile Sir Colin Cambell of Glenurquha, knight." He was interred in Argyleshire, and not, as Douglas says, at Finlarig at the north-west end of Lochtay, which afterwards became the burial-place of the family. His first wife had no issue. His second wife was Lady Margaret Stewart, the second of the three daughters and co-heiresses of John Lord Lorn, with whom he got a third of that lordship, still possessed by the family, and thenceforward quartered the galley of Lorn with his paternal achievement. His third wife was Margaret, daughter of Robert Robertson of Strowan, by whom he had a son and a daughter. Sir Colin's fourth wife was Margaret, daughter of Luke Stirling of Keir, by whom he had a son, John, ancestor of the Earls of Loudon, and a daughter, Mariot, married to William Stewart of Baldoran.

Sir Duncan Campbell, the eldest son, obtained the office of bailiary of the king's lands of Discher, Foyer, and Glenlyon, 3d September 1498, for which office, being a hereditary one, his descendant, the second Earl of Breadalbane, received, on the abolition of the heritable jurisdiction in Scotland, in 1747, the sum of one thousand pounds, in full of his claim for six thousand. Sir Duncan also got charters of the king's lands of the port of Lochtay, &c. 5th March 1492; also of the lands of Glenlyon, 7th September 1502; of Finlarig, 22d April 1503; and of other lands in Perthshire in May 1508 and September 1511. He fell at the battle of Flodden. He was twice married. He was succeeded by Sir Colin, the eldest son, who married Lady Marjory Stewart, sixth daughter of John, Earl of Athole, brother uterine

of King James the Second, and had three sons, viz., Sir Duncan, Sir John, and Sir Colin, who all succeeded to the estate. The last of them, Sir Colin, became laird of Glenurchy in 1550, and, according to the "Black Book of Taymouth," he "conquessit" (that is, acquired) "the superiority of M'Nabb, his hail landis." He was among the first to join the Reformation, and sat in the parliament of 1560, when the Protestant doctrines received the sanction of the law. In the "Black Book of Taymouth," he is represented to have been "ane great justiciar all his tyme, throch the quhilk he sustenit the deidly feid of the Clangregor ane lang space; and besides that, he causit execute to the death many notable lymarris, he behiddit the laird of Macgregor himself at Kandmoir, in presence of the Erle of Athol, the justice-clerk, and sundrie other nobilmen." In 1580 he built the castle of Balloch in Perthshire, one wing of which still continues attached to Taymouth Castle, the splendid mansion of the Earl of Breadalbane. He also built Edinample, another seat of the family. Sir Colin died in 1583. By his wife Catherine, second daughter of William, second Lord Ruthven, he had four sons and four daughters.

Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, his eldest son and successor, was, on the death of Colin, sixth Earl of Argyll, in 1584, nominated by that nobleman's will one of the six guardians of the young earl, then a minor. The disputes which arose among the guardians have been already referred to, as well as the assassination of the Earl of Moray and Campbell of Calder, and the plot to assassinate the young Earl of Argyll. Gregory expressly charges Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy with being the principal mover in the branch of the plot which led to the murder of Calder.

In 1617 Sir Duncan had the office of heritable keeper of the forest of Mamlorn, Bendasckerlie, &c., conferred upon him. He afterwards obtained from King Charles the First the sheriffship of Perthshire for life. He was created a baronet of Nova Scotia by patent, bearing date 30th May 1625. Although represented as an ambitious and grasping character, he is said to have been the first who attempted to civilise the people on his exten-

sive estates. He not only set them the example of planting timber trees, fencing pieces of ground for gardens, and manuring their lands, but assisted and encouraged them in their labours. One of his regulations of police for the estate was "that no man shall in any public-house drink more than a chopin of ale with his neighbour's wife, in the absence of her husband, upon the penalty of ten pounds, and sitting twenty-four hours in the stocks, toties quoties." He died in June 1631. He was twice married; by his first wife, Lady Jean Stewart, second daughter of John, Earl of Athole, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, by whom he had seven sons and three daughters. Archibald Campbell of Monzie, the fifth son, was ancestor of the Campbells of Monzie, Lochlane, and Finnab, in Perthshire.

Sir Colin Campbell, the eldest son of Sir Duncan, born about 1577, succeeded as eighth laird of Glenurchy. Little is known of this Sir Colin save what is highly to his honour, namely, his patronage of George Jamesone, the celebrated portrait painter. Sir Colin married Lady Juliana Campbell, eldest daughter of Hugh, first Lord Loudon, but had no issue. He was succeeded by his brother, Sir Robert, at first styled of Glenfalloch, and afterwards of Glenurchy. Sir Robert married Isabel, daughter of Sir Lauchlan Mackintosh, of Torcastle, captain of the clan Chattan, and had five sons and nine daughters. William, the sixth son, was ancestor of the Campbells of Glenfalloch, the representatives of whom have succeeded to the Scottish titles of Earl of Breadalbane, &c. Margaret, the eldest daughter, married to John Cameron of Lochiel, was the mother of Sir Ewen Cameron.

The eldest son, Sir John Campbell of Glenurchy, who succeeded, was twice married. His first wife was Lady Mary Graham, eldest daughter of William, Earl of Strathearn, Menteath, and Airth.

Sir John Campbell of Glenurchy, first Earl of Breadalbane, only son of this Sir John, was born about 1635. He gave great assistance to the forces collected in the Highlands for Charles the Second in 1653, under the command of General Middleton. He subsequently used his utmost endeavours with General Monk to declare for a free parliament, as

the most effectual way to bring about his Majesty's restoration. Being a principal creditor of George, sixth Earl of Caithness, whose debts are said to have exceeded a million of marks, that nobleman, on 8th October 1672, made a disposition of his whole estates, heritable jurisdictions, and titles of honour, after his death, in favour of Sir John Campbell of Glenurchy, the latter taking on himself the burden of his lordship's debts; and he was in consequence duly infefted in the lands and earldom of Caithness, 27th February 1673. The Earl of Caithness died in May 1676, when Sir John Campbell obtained a patent, creating him Earl of Caithness, dated at Whitehall, 28th June 1677. But George Sinclair of Keiss, the heir-male of the last earl, being found by parliament entitled to that dignity, Sir John Campbell obtained another patent, 13th August 1681, creating him instead Earl of Breadalbane and Holland, Viscount of Tay and Paintland, Lord Glenurchy, Benederaloch, Ormelie, and Weik, with the precedence of the former patent, and remainder to whichever of his sons by his first wife he might designate in writing, and ultimately to his heirs-male whatsoever. On the accession of James II., the Earl was sworn a privy councillor. At the Revolution, he adhered to the Prince of Orange; and after the battle of Killiecrankie, and the attempted reduction of the Highlands by the forces of the new government, he was empowered to enter into a negotiation with the Jacobite chiefs to induce them to submit to King William, full details of which, as well as of his share in the massacre of Glencoe, have been given in the former part of the work.

When the treaty of Union was under discussion, his Lordship kept aloof, and did not even attend parliament. At the general election of 1713, he was chosen one of the sixteen Scots representative peers, being then seventy-eight years old. At the breaking out of the rebellion of 1715, he sent five hundred of his clan to join the standard of the Pretender; and he was one of the suspected persons, with his second son, Lord Glenurchy, summoned to appear at Edinburgh within a certain specified period, to give bail for their allegiance to the government, but no further notice was taken

of his conduct. The Earl died in 1716, in his 81st year. He married first, 17th December 1657, Lady Mary Rich, third daughter of Henry, first Earl of Holland, who had been executed for his loyalty to Charles the First, 9th March 1649. By this lady he had two sons — Duncan, styled Lord Ormelie, who survived his father, but was passed over in the succession, and John, in his father's lifetime styled Lord Glenurchy, who became second Earl of Breadalbane. He married, secondly, 7th April 1678, Lady Mary Campbell, third daughter of Archibald, Marquis of Argyll, dowager of George, sixth Earl of Caithness.

John Campbell, Lord Glenurchy, the second son, born 19th November 1662, was by his father nominated to succeed him as second Earl of Breadalbane, in terms of the patent conferring the title. He died at Holyroodhouse, 23d February 1752, in his ninetieth year. He married, first, Lady Frances Cavenish, second of the five daughters of Henry, second Duke of Newcastle. She died, without issue, 4th February 1690, in her thirtieth year. He married, secondly, 23d May 1695, Henrietta, second daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, knight, sister of the first Earl of Jersey, and of Elizabeth, Countess of Orkney, the witty but plain-looking mistress of King William III. By his second wife he had a son, John, third earl, and two daughters.

John, third earl, born in 1696, was educated at the university of Oxford, and after holding many highly important public offices, died at Holyroodhouse, 26th January 1782, in his 86th year. He was twice married, and had three sons, who all predeceased him.

The male line of the first peer having thus become extinct, the clause in the patent in favour of heirs-general transferred the peerage, and the vast estates belonging to it, to his kinsman, John Campbell, born in 1762, eldest son of Colin Campbell of Carwhin, descended from Colin Campbell of Mochaster (who died in 1678), third son of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenurchy. The mother of the fourth Earl and first Marquis of Breadalbane was Elizabeth, daughter of Archibald Campbell of Stonefield, sheriff of Argyllshire, and sister of John Campbell, judicially styled Lord

Stonefield, a lord of session and justiciary. In 1784 he was elected one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland, and was re-chosen at all the subsequent elections, until he was created a peer of the United Kingdom in November 1806, by the title of Baron Breadalbane of Taymouth, in the county of Perth, to himself and the heirs-male of his body. In 1831, at the coronation of William the Fourth, he was created a marquis of the United Kingdom, under the title of Marquis of Breadalbane and Earl of Ormelie. In public affairs he did not take a prominent or ostentatious part, his attention being chiefly devoted to the improvement of his extensive estates, great portions of which, being unfitted for cultivation, he laid out in plantations. In the magnificent improvements at Taymouth, his lordship displayed much taste; and the park has been frequently described as one of the most extensive and beautiful in the kingdom. He married, 2d September 1793, Mary Turner, eldest daughter and coheirress of David Gavin, Esq. of Langton, in the county of Berwick, and by her had two daughters and one son. The elder daughter, Lady Elizabeth Maitland Campbell, married in 1831, Sir John Pringle of Stichell, baronet, and the younger, Lady Mary Campbell, became in 1819 the wife of Richard, Marquis of Chandos, who in 1839 became Duke of Buckingham. The marquis died, after a short illness, at Taymouth Castle, on 29th March 1834, aged seventy-two.

The marquis' only son, John Campbell, Earl of Ormelie, born at Dundee, 26th October 1796, succeeded, on the death of his father, to the titles and estates. He married, 23d November 1821, Eliza, eldest daughter of George Baillie, Esq. of Jerviswood, without issue. He died November 8th, 1862, when the marquisate, with its secondary titles, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, became extinct, and he was succeeded in the Scotch titles by a distant kinsman, John Alexander Gavin Campbell of Glenfalloch, Perthshire, born in 1824. The claim of the latter, however, was disputed by several candidates for the titles and rich estates. As we have already indicated, the title of Glenfalloch to the estates was descended from William, sixth son of Sir

Robert Campbell, ninth laird and third baron of Glenurchy. He married, in 1850, Mary Theresa, daughter of J. Edwards, Esq., Dublin, and had issue two sons, Lord Glenurchy and the Honourable Ivan Campbell; and one daughter, Lady Eva. This the sixth earl died in London, March 20, 1871, and has been succeeded by his eldest son.

Of the MACARTHUR CAMPBELLS OF STRACHUR, the old Statistical Account of the parish of Strachur says:—"This family is reckoned by some the most ancient of the name of Campbell. The late laird of Macfarlane, who with great genius and assiduity had studied the ancient history of the Highlands, was of this opinion. The patronymic name of this family was Macarthur (the son of Arthur), which Arthur, the antiquary above-mentioned maintains, was brother to Colin, the first of the Argyll family, and that the representatives of the two brothers continued for a long time to be known by the names of *Macarthur* and *Maccaellein*, before they took the surname of Campbell. Another account makes Arthur the first laird of Strachur, to have descended of the family of Argyll, at a later period, in which the present laird seems to acquiesce, by taking, with a mark of cadetcy, the arms and livery of the family of Argyll, after they had been quartered with those of Lorn. The laird of Strachur has been always accounted, according to the custom of the Highlands, chief of the clan Arthur or Macarthurs." We have already quoted Mr Skene's opinion as to the claims of the Macarthurs to the chiefship of the clan Campbell; we cannot think these claims have been sufficiently made out.

Macarthur adhered to the cause of Robert the Bruce, and received, as his reward, a considerable portion of the forfeited territory of MacDougall of Lorn, Bruce's great enemy. He obtained also the keeping of the castle of Dunstaffnage. After the marriage of Sir Neil Campbell with the king's sister, the power and possessions of the Campbell branch rapidly increased, and in the reign of David II. they appear to have first put forward their claims to the chieftainship, but were successfully resisted by Macarthur, who obtained a charter "*Arthurus Campbell quod nulli subijcitur pro terris nisi regi.*"

In the reign of James I., the chief's name was John Macarthur, and so great was his following, that he could bring 1,000 men into the field. In 1427 that king, in a progress through the north, held a parliament at Inverness, to which he summoned all the Highland chiefs, and among others who then felt his vengeance, was John Macarthur, who was beheaded, and his whole lands forfeited. From that period the chieftainship, according to Skene, was lost to the Macarthurs; the family subsequently obtained Strachur in Cowal, and portions of Glenfalloch and Glendochart in Perthshire. Many of the name of Macarthur are still found about Dunstaffnage, but they have long been merely tenants to the Campbells. The Macarthurs were hereditary pipers to the MacDonalds of the Isles, and the last of the race was piper to the Highland Society.

In the history of the main clan, we have noted the origin of most of the offshoots. It may, however, not be out of place to refer to them again explicitly.

The CAMPBELLS of CAWDOR or CALDER, now represented by the Earl of Cawdor, had their origin in the marriage in 1510, of Muriella heiress of the old Thanes of Cawdor, with Sir John Campbell, third son of the second Earl of Argyll. In the general account of the clan, we have already detailed the circumstances connected with the bringing about of this marriage.

The first of the CAMPBELLS of ABERUCHILL, in Perthshire, was Colin Campbell, second son of Sir John Campbell of Lawers, and uncle of the first Earl of Loudon. He got from the Crown a charter of the lands of Aberuchill, in 1596. His son, Sir James Campbell, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in the 17th century.

The CAMPBELLS of ARDNAMURCHAN are descended from Sir Donald Campbell, natural son of Sir John Campbell of Calder, who, as already narrated, was assassinated in 1592. For services performed against the Macdonalds, he was in 1625 made heritable proprietor of the district of Ardnamurchan and Sunart, and was created a baronet in 1628.

The AUCHINBRECK family is descended from Sir Dugald Campbell of Auchinbreck, who was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1628.

The CAMPBELLS of ARDKINGGLASS were an old branch of the house of Argyll, Sir Colin Campbell, son and heir of James Campbell of Ardkinglass, descended from the Campbells of Lorn, by Mary, his wife, daughter of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenurchy, was made a baronet in 1679. The family ended in an heiress, who married into the Livingstone family; and on the death of Sir Alexander Livingstone Campbell of Ardkinglass, in 1810, the title and estate descended to Colonel James Callander, afterwards Sir James Campbell, his cousin, son of Sir John Callander of Craigforth, Stirlingshire. At his death in 1832, without legitimate issue, the title became extinct.

The family of BARCALDINE and GLENURE, in Argyshire, whose baronetcy was conferred in 1831, is descended from a younger son of Sir Duncan Campbell, ancestor of the Marquis of Breadalbane.

The CAMPBELLS of DUNSTAFFNAGE descend from Colin, first Earl of Argyll. The first baronet was Sir Donald, so created in 1836.

The ancient family of CAMPBELL of MONZIE, in Perthshire, descend, as above mentioned, from a third son of the family of Glenurchy.

We have already devoted so much space to the account of this important clan, that it is impossible to enter more minutely into the history of its various branches, and of the many eminent men whom it has produced. In the words of Smibert, "pages on pages might be expended on the minor branches of the Campbell house, and the list still be defective." The gentry of the Campbell name are decidedly the most numerous, on the whole, in Scotland, if the clan be not indeed the largest. But, as has been before observed, the great power of the chiefs called into their ranks, nominally, many other families besides the real Campbells. The lords of that line, in short, obtained so much of permanent power in the district of the *Dhu-Galls*, or Irish Celts, as to bring these largely under their sway, giving to them at the same time that general clan-designation, respecting the origin of which enough has already been said.

The force of the clan was, in 1427, 1000; in 1715, 4000; and in 1745, 5000.

Although each branch of the Campbells

has its own peculiar arms, still there runs through all a family likeness, the difference generally being very small. All the families of the Campbell name bear the oared galley in their arms, showing the connection by origin or intermarriage with the Western Gaels, the Island Kings. Breadalbane quarters with the Stewart of Lorn, having for supporters two stags, with the motto *Follow Me*.



BADGE.—Red Whortleberry.

The clan LEOD or MACLEOD is one of the most considerable clans of the Western Isles, and is divided into two branches independent of each other, the Macleods of Harris and the Macleods of Lewis.

To the progenitors of this clan, a Norwegian origin has commonly been assigned. They are also supposed to be of the same stock as the Campbells, according to a family history referred to by Mr Skene, which dates no farther back than the early part of the 16th century.

The genealogy claimed for them asserts that the ancestor of the chiefs of the clan, and he who gave it its clan name, was Loyd or Leod, eldest son of King Olave the Black, brother of Magnus, the last king of Man and the Isles. This Leod is said to have had two sons: Tormod, progenitor of the Macleods of Harris, hence called the Siol Tormod, or race of Tormod; and Torquil, of those of Lewis, called the Siol Torquil, or race of Torquil. Although, however, Mr Skene and others are of opinion that there is

no authority whatever for such a descent, and "The Chronicle of Man" gives no countenance to it, we think the probabilities are in its favour, from the manifestly Norwegian names borne by the founders of the clan, namely, Tormod or Gorman and Torquil, and from their position in the Isles, from the very commencement of their known history. The clan itself, there can be no doubt, are mainly the descendants of the ancient Celtic inhabitants of the western isles.

Tormod's grandson, Malcolm, got a charter from David II., of two-thirds of Glenelg, on the mainland, a portion of the forfeited lands of the Bissets, in consideration for which he was to provide a galley of 36 oars, for the king's use whenever required. This is the earliest charter in possession of the Macleods. The same Malcolm obtained the lands in Skye which were long in possession of his descendants, by marriage with a daughter of MacArait, said to have been one of the Norwegian nobles of the Isles. From the name, however, we would be inclined to take this MacArait for a Celt. The sennachies sometimes made sad slips.

MACLEOD of HARRIS, originally designated "de Glenelg," that being the first and principal possession of the family, seems to have been the proper chief of the clan Leod. The island, or rather peninsula of Harris, which is adjacent to Lewis, belonged, at an early period, to the Macruaries of Garmoran and the North Isles, under whom the chief of the Siol Tormod appears to have possessed it. From this family, the superiority of the North Isles passed to the Macdonalds of Isla by marriage, and thus Harris came to form a part of the lordship of the Isles. In the isle of Skye the Siol Tormod possessed the districts of Dunvegan, Duirinish, Bracadale, Lyndale, Trotternish, and Minganish, being about two-thirds of the whole island. Their principal seat was Dunvegan, hence the chief was often styled of that place.

The first charter of the MACLEODS OF LEWIS, or Siol Torquil, is also one by King David II. It contained a royal grant to Torquil Macleod of the barony of Assynt, on the north-western coast of Sutherlandshire. This barony, however, he is said to have obtained by marriage

with the heiress, whose name was Macnicol. It was held from the crown. In that charter he has no designation, hence it is thought that he had then no other property. The Lewis Macleods held that island as vassals of the Macdonalds of Isla from 1344, and soon came to rival the Harris branch of the Macleods in power and extent of territory, and even to dispute the chiefship with them. Their armorial bearings, however, were different, the family of Harris having a castle, while that of Lewis had a burning mount. The possessions of the Siol Torquil were very extensive, comprehending the isles of Lewis and Rasay, the district of Waterness in Skye, and those of Assynt, Cogeach, and Gairloch, on the mainland.

To return to the Harris branch. The grandson of the above-mentioned Malcolm, William Macleod, surnamed *Achlerach*, or the clerk, from being in his youth designed for the church, was one of the most daring chiefs of his time. Having incurred the resentment of his superior, the Lord of the Isles, that powerful chief invaded his territory with a large force, but was defeated at a place called Lochsligachan. He was, however, one of the principal supporters of the last Lord of the Isles in his disputes with his turbulent and rebellious son, Angus, and was killed, in 1481, at the battle of the Bloody Bay, where also the eldest son of Roderick Macleod of the Lewis was mortally wounded. The son of William of Harris, Alexander Macleod, called Allaster *Crottach*, or the Humpbacked, was the head of the Siol Tormod at the time of the forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles in 1493, when Roderick, grandson of the above-named Roderick, was chief of the Siol Torquil. This Roderick's father, Torquil, the second son of the first Roderick, was the principal supporter of Donald Dubh, when he escaped from prison and raised the banner of insurrection in 1501, for the purpose of regaining the lordship of the Isles, for which he was forfeited. He married Katherine, daughter of the first Earl of Argyll, the sister of Donald Dubh's mother. The forfeited estate of Lewis was restored in 1511 to Malcolm, Torquil's brother. Alexander the Humpback got a charter, under the great seal, of all his lands

in the Isles, from James IV., dated 15th June, 1468, under the condition of keeping in readiness for the king's use one ship of 26 oars and two of 16. He had also a charter from James V. of the lands of Glenelg, dated 13th February, 1539.

With the Macdonalds of Sleat, the Harris Macleods had a feud regarding the lands and office of bailiary of Trotternish, in the isle of Skye, held by them under several crown charters. The feud was embittered by Macleod having also obtained a heritable grant of the lands of Sleat and North Uist; and the Siol Torquil, who had also some claim to the Trotternish bailiary and a portion of the lands, siding with the Macdonalds, the two leading branches of the Macleods came to be in opposition to each other. Under Donald Gruamach ("grim-looking") aided by the uterine brother of their chief, John MacTorquil Macleod, son of Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, forfeited in 1506, the Macdonalds succeeded in expelling Macleod of Harris or Dunvegan from Trotternish, as well as in preventing him from taking possession of Sleat and North Uist. The death of his uncle, Malcolm Macleod, and the minority of his son, enabled Torquil, with the assistance of Donald Gruamach, in his turn, to seize the whole barony of Lewis, which, with the leadership of the Siol Torquil, he held during his life. His daughter and heiress married Donald Gorme of Sleat, a claimant for the lordship of the Isles, and the son and successor of Donald Gruamach. An agreement was entered into between Donald Gorme and Ruari or Roderick Macleod, son of Malcolm, the last lawful possessor of the Lewis, whereby Roderick was allowed to enter into possession of that island, and in return Roderick became bound to assist in putting Donald Gorme in possession of Trotternish, against all the efforts of the chief of Harris or Dunvegan, who had again obtained possession of that district. In May 1539, accordingly, Trotternish was invaded and laid waste by Donald Gorme and his allies of the Siol Torquil; but the death soon after of Donald Gorme, by an arrow wound in his foot, under the walls of Mackenzie of Kintail's castle of Ellandonan, put an end to his rebellion and his pretensions together. When the powerful

fleet of James V. arrived at the isle of Lewis the following year, Roderick Macleod and his principal kinsmen met the king, and were made to accompany him in his farther progress through the Isles. On its reaching Skye, Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan was also constrained to embark in the royal fleet. With the other captive chiefs they were sent to Edinburgh, and only liberated on giving hostages for their obedience to the laws.

Alexander the Humpback, chief of the Harris Macleods, died at an advanced age in the reign of Queen Mary. He had three sons, William, Donald, and Tormod, who all succeeded to the estates and authority of their family. He had also two daughters, the elder of whom was thrice married, and every time to a Macdonald. Her first husband was James, second son of the fourth laird of Sleat. Her second was Allan MacIan, captain of the Clanranald; and her third husband was Macdonald of Keppoch. The younger daughter became the wife of Maclean of Lochbuy.

William Macleod of Harris had a daughter, Mary, who, on his death in 1554, became under a particular destination, his sole heiress in the estates of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg. His claim to the properties of Sleat, Trotternish, and North Uist, of which he was the nominal proprietor, but which were held by the Clandonald, was inherited by his next brother and successor, Donald. This state of things placed the latter in a very anomalous position, which may be explained in Mr Gregory's words:—"The Siol Tormod," he says, "was now placed in a position, which, though quite intelligible on the principles of feudal law, was totally opposed to the Celtic customs that still prevailed, to a great extent, throughout the Highlands and Isles. A female and a minor was the legal proprietrix of the ancient possessions of the tribe, which, by her marriage, might be conveyed to another and a hostile family; whilst her uncle, the natural leader of the clan according to ancient custom, was left without any means to keep up the dignity of a chief, or to support the clan against its enemies. His claims on the estates possessed by the Clandonald were

worse than nugatory, as they threatened to involve him in a feud with that powerful and warlike tribe, in case he should take any steps to enforce them. In these circumstances, Donald Macleod seized, apparently with the consent of his clan, the estates which legally belonged to his niece, the heiress; and thus, in practice, the feudal law was made to yield to ancient and inveterate custom. Donald did not enjoy these estates long, being murdered in Trotternish, by a relation of his own, John Oig Macleod, who, failing Tormod, the only remaining brother of Donald, would have become the heir male of the family. John Oig next plotted the destruction of Tormod, who was at the time a student in the university of Glasgow; but in this he was foiled by the interposition of the Earl of Argyll. He continued, notwithstanding, to retain possession of the estates of the heiress, and of the command of the clan, till his death in 1559." The heiress of Harris was one of Queen Mary's maids of honour, and the Earl of Argyll, having ultimately become her guardian, she was given by him in marriage to his kinsman, Duncan Campbell, younger of Auchinbreck. Through the previous efforts of the earl, Tormod Macleod, on receiving a legal title to Harris and the other estates, renounced in favour of Argyll all his claims to the lands of the Clandonald, and paid 1000 merks towards the dowry of his niece. He also gave his bond of service to Argyll for himself and his clan. Mary Macleod, in consequence, made a complete surrender to her uncle of her title to the lands of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg, and Argyll obtained for him a crown charter of these estates, dated 4th August, 1579. Tormod adhered firmly to the interest of Queen Mary, and died in 1584. He was succeeded by his eldest son, William, under whom the Harris Macleods assisted the Macleans in their feuds with the Macdonalds of Isla and Skye, while the Lewis Macleods supported the latter. On his death in 1590, his brother, Roderick, the Rory Mor of tradition, became chief of the Harris Macleods.

In December 1597, an act of the Estates had been passed, by which it was made imperative upon all the chieftains and land-

⁴ *History of the Highlands and Isles*, p. 204.

lords in the Highlands and Isles, to produce their title-deeds before the lords of Exchequer on the 15th of the following May, under the pain of forfeiture. The heads of the two branches of the Macleods disregarded the act, and a gift of their estates was granted to a number of Fife gentlemen, for the purposes of colonisation. They first began with the Lewis, in which the experiment failed, as narrated in the General History. Roderick Macleod, on his part, exerted himself to get the forfeiture of his lands of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg, removed, and ultimately succeeded, having obtained a remission from the king, dated 4th May, 1610. He was knighted by King James VI., by whom he was much esteemed, and had several friendly letters from his majesty; also, a particular license, dated 16th June, 1616, to go to London, to the court, at any time he pleased. By his wife, a daughter of Macdonald of Glengarry, he had, with six daughters, five sons, viz., John, his heir; Sir Roderick, progenitor of the Macleods of Talisker; Sir Norman of the Macleods of Bernera and Muiravonside; William of the Macleods of Hamer; and Donald of those of Grisenish.

The history of the Siol Torquil, or Lewis Macleods, as it approached its close, was most disastrous. Roderick, the chief of this branch in 1569, got involved in a deadly feud with the Mackenzies, which ended only with the destruction of his whole family. He had married a daughter of John Mackenzie of Kintail, and a son whom she bore, and who was named Torquil *Connanach*, from his residence among his mother's relations in Strathconnan, was disowned by him, on account of the alleged adultery of his mother with the breve or Celtic judge of the Lewis. She eloped with John MacGillechallum of Rasay, a cousin of Roderick, and was, in consequence, divorced. He took for his second wife, in 1541, Barbara Stewart, daughter of Andrew Lord Avondale, and by this lady had a son, likewise named Torquil, and surnamed *Oighre*, or the Heir, to distinguish him from the other Torquil. About 1566, the former, with 200 attendants, was drowned in a tempest, when sailing from Lewis to Skye, and Torquil *Connanach* immediately took up arms to vindicate

what he conceived to be his rights. In his pretensions he was supported by the Mackenzies. Roderick was apprehended and detained four years a prisoner in the castle of Stornoway. The feud between the Macdonalds and Mackenzies was put an end to by the mediation of the Regent Moray. Before being released from his captivity, the old chief was brought before the Regent and his privy council, and compelled to resign his estate into the hands of the crown, taking a new destination of it to himself in liferent, and after his death to Torquil *Connanach*, as his son and heir apparent. On regaining his liberty, however, he revoked all that he had done when a prisoner, on the ground of coercion. This led to new commotions, and in 1576 both Roderick and Torquil were summoned to Edinburgh, and reconciled in presence of the privy council, when the latter was again acknowledged as heir apparent to the Lewis, and received as such the district of Cogeach and other lands. The old chief some time afterwards took for his third wife, a sister of Lauchlan Maclean of Dowart, and had by her two sons, named Torquil Dubh and Tormod. Having again disinherited Torquil *Connanach*, that young chief once more took up arms, and was supported by two illegitimate sons of Roderick, named Tormod *Uigach* and Murdoch, while three others, Donald, Rory Oig, and Neill, joined with their father. He apprehended the old chief, Roderick Macleod, and killed a number of his men. All the charters and title deeds of the Lewis were carried off by Torquil, and handed over to the Mackenzies. The charge of the castle of Stornoway, with the chief, a prisoner in it, was committed to John Macleod, the son of Torquil *Connanach*, but he was attacked by Rory Oig and killed, when Roderick Macleod was released, and possessed the island in peace during the remainder of his life.

On his death he was succeeded by his son Torquil Dubh, who married a sister of Sir Roderick Macleod of Harris. Torquil Dubh, as we have narrated in the former part of the work, was by stratagem apprehended by the breve of Lewis, and carried to the country of the Mackenzies, into the presence of Lord Kintail, who ordered Torquil Dubh and his

companions to be beheaded. This took place in July 1597.

Torquil Dubh left three young sons, and their uncle Neill, a bastard brother of their father, took, in their behalf, the command of the isle of Lewis. Their cause was also supported by the Macleods of Harris and the Macleans. The dissensions in the Lewis, followed by the forfeiture of that island, in consequence of the non-production of the title-deeds, as required by the act of the Estates of 1597, already mentioned, afforded the king an opportunity of trying to carry into effect his abortive project of colonisation already referred to. The colonists were at last compelled to abandon their enterprise.

The title to the Lewis having been acquired by Kenneth Mackenzie, Lord Kintail, he lost no time in taking possession of the island, expelling Neill Macleod, with his nephews, Malcolm, William, and Roderick, sons of Rory Oig, who, with about thirty others, took refuge on Berrisay, an insulated rock on the west coast of Lewis. Here they maintained themselves for nearly three years, but were at length driven from it by the Mackenzies. Neill surrendered to Roderick Macleod of Harris, who, on being charged, under pain of treason, to deliver him to the privy council at Edinburgh, gave him up, with his son Donald. Neill was brought to trial, convicted, and executed, and is said to have died "very Christianlie" in April 1613. Donald, his son, was banished from Scotland, and died in Holland. Roderick and William, two of the sons of Rory Oig, were seized by the tutor of Kintail, and executed. Malcolm, the other son, apprehended at the same time, made his escape, and continued to harass the Mackenzies for years. He was prominently engaged in Sir James Macdonald's rebellion in 1615, and afterwards went to Flanders, but in 1616 was once more in the Lewis, where he killed two gentlemen of the Mackenzies. He subsequently went to Spain, whence he returned with Sir James Macdonald in 1620. In 1622 and 1626, commissions of fire and sword were granted to Lord Kintail and his clan against "Malcolm MacRuari Macleod." Nothing more is known of him.

On the extinction of the main line of the

Lewis, the representation of the family devolved on the Macleods of Rasay, afterwards referred to. The title of Lord Macleod was the second title of the Mackenzies, Earls of Cromarty.

At the battle of Worcester in 1651, the Macleods fought on the side of Charles II., and so great was the slaughter amongst them that it was agreed by the other clans that they should not engage in any other conflict until they had recovered their losses. The Harris estates were sequestered by Cromwell, but the chief of the Macleods was at last, in May 1665, admitted into the protection of the Commonwealth by General Monk, on his finding security for his peaceable behaviour under the penalty of £6,000 sterling, and paying a fine of £2,500. Both his uncles, however, were expressly excepted.

At the Revolution, MACLEOD of MACLEOD, which became the designation of the laird of Harris, as chief of the clan, was favourable to the cause of James II. In 1715 the effective force of the Macleods was 1,000 men, and in 1745, 900. The chief, by the advice of President Forbes, did not join in the rebellion of the latter year, and so saved his estates, but many of his clansmen, burning with zeal for the cause of Prince Charles, fought in the ranks of the rebel army.

It has been mentioned that the bad treatment which a daughter of the chief of the Macleods experienced from her husband, the captain of the Clanranald, had caused them to take the first opportunity of inflicting a signal vengeance on the Macdonalds. The merciless act of Macleod, by which the entire population of an island was cut off at once, is described by Mr Skene,⁵ and is shortly thus. Towards the close of the 16th century, a small number of Macleods accidentally landed on the island of Eigg, and were hospitably received by the inhabitants. Offering, however, some incivilities to the young women of the island, they were, by the male relatives of the latter, bound hand and foot, thrown into a boat, and sent adrift. Being met and rescued by a party of their own clansmen, they were brought to Dunvegan, the residence of their

⁵ *Highlanders*, vol. ii. p. 277.

chief, to whom they told their story. Instantly manning his galleys, Macleod hastened to Eigg. On descriing his approach, the islanders, with their wives and children, to the number of 200 persons, took refuge in a large cave, situated in a retired and secret place. Here for two days they remained undiscovered, but having unfortunately sent out a scout to see if the Macleods were gone, their retreat was detected, but they refused to surrender. A stream of water fell over the entrance to the cave, and partly concealed it. This Macleod caused to be turned from its course, and then ordered all the wood and other combustibles which could be found to be piled up around its mouth, and set fire to, when all within the cave were suffocated.

The Siol Tormod continued to possess Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg till near the close of the 18th century. The former and the latter estates have now passed into other hands. A considerable portion of Harris is the property of the Earl of Dunmore, and many of its inhabitants have emigrated to Cape Breton and Canada. The climate of the island is said to be favourable to longevity. Martin, in his account of the Western Isles, says he knew several in Harris of 90 years of age. One Lady Macleod, who passed the most of her time here, lived to 103, had then a comely head of hair and good teeth, and enjoyed a perfect understanding till the week she died. Her son, Sir Norman Macleod, died at 96, and his grandson, Donald Macleod of Bernera, at 91. Glenelg became the property first of Charles Grant, Lord Glenelg, and afterwards of Mr Baillie. From the family of Bernera, one of the principal branches of the Harris Macleods, sprung the Macleods of Luskindier, of which Sir William Macleod Bannatyne, a lord of session, was a cadet.

The first of the house of RASAY, the late proprietor of which is the representative of the Lewis branch of the Macleods, was Malcolm Garbh Macleod, the second son of Malcolm, eighth chief of the Lewis. In the reign of James V. he obtained from his father in patrimony the island of Rasay, which lies between Skye and the Ross-shire district of Applecross. In 1569 the whole of the Rasay family, except one infant, were barbar-

ously massacred by one of their own kinsmen, under the following circumstances. John MacGhilliechallum Macleod of Rasay, called *Ian na Tuaidh*, or John with the axe, who had carried off Janet Mackenzie, the first wife of his chief, Roderick Macleod of the Lewis, married her, after her divorce, and had by her several sons and one daughter. The latter became the wife of Alexander Roy Mackenzie, a grandson of Hector or Eachen Roy, the first of the Mackenzies of Gairloch, a marriage which gave great offence to his clan, the Siol vic Gillechallum, as the latter had long been at feud with that particular branch of the Mackenzies. On Janet Mackenzie's death, he of the axe married a sister of a kinsman of his own, Ruari Macallan Macleod, who, from his venomous disposition, was surnamed *Nimhneach*. The latter, to obtain Rasay for his nephew, his sister's son, resolved to cut off both his brother-in-law and his sons by the first marriage. He accordingly invited them to a feast in the island of Isay in Skye, and after it was over he left the apartment. Then, causing them to be sent for one by one, he had each of them assassinated as they came out. He was, however, balked in his object, as Rasay became the property of Malcolm or Ghilliechallum Garbh Macallaster Macleod, then a child, belonging to the direct line of the Rasay branch, who was with his foster-father at the time.⁶ Rasay no longer belongs to the Macleods, they having been compelled to part with their patrimony some years ago.

The Macleods of ASSYNT, one of whom betrayed the great Montrose in 1650, were also a branch of the Macleods of Lewis. That estate, towards the end of the 17th century, became the property of the Mackenzies, and the family is now represented by Macleod of Geanies. The Macleods of Cadboll are cadets of those of Assynt.

⁶ *Gregory's Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 211.

CHAPTER V.

Clan Chattan—Chiefship—Mackintoshes—Battle of North Inch—Macphersons—MacGillivrays—Shaws—Farquharsons—Macbeans—Macphails—Gows—MacQueens—Cattanachs.

THE CLAN CHATTAN.⁷

OF the clan Chattan little or nothing authentic is known previous to the last six hundred years. Their original home in Scotland, their parentage, even their name, have been disputed. One party brings them from Germany, and settles them in the district of Moray; another brings them from Ireland, and settles them in Lochaber; and a third makes them the original inhabitants of Sutherland and Caithness. With regard to their name there is still greater variety of opinion: the *Catti*, a Teutonic tribe; *Catav*, "the high side of the Ord of Caithness;" *Gillicattan Mor*, their alleged founder, said to have lived in the reign of Malcolm II., 1003-1033; *cat*, a weapon,—all have been advanced as the root name. We cannot pretend to decide on such a matter, which, in the entire absence of any record of the original clan, will no doubt ever remain one open to dispute; and therefore we refrain from entering at length into the reasons for and against these various derivations. Except the simple fact that such a clan existed, and occupied Lochaber for some time (how long cannot be said) before the 14th century, nothing further of it is known, although two elaborate genealogies of it are extant—one in the MS. of 1450 discovered by Mr Skene; the other (which, whatever its faults, is no doubt much more worthy of credence) compiled by Sir Æneas Macpherson in the 17th century.

Mr Skene, on the authority of the MS. of 1450, makes out that the clan was the most important of the tribes owning the sway of the native Earls or Maormors of Moray, and represents it as occupying the whole of Badenoch, the greater part of Lochaber, and the districts of Strathnairn and Strathdearn, hold-

ing their lands in chief of the crown. But it seems tolerably evident that the MS. of 1450 is by no means to be relied upon; Mr Skene himself says it is not trustworthy before A.D. 1000, and there is no good ground for supposing it to be entirely trustworthy 100 or even 200 years later. The two principal septs of this clan in later times, the Macphersons and the Mackintoshes, Mr Skene, on the authority of the MS., deduces from two brothers, Neachtan and Neill, sons of Gillicattan Mor, and on the assumption that this is correct, he proceeds to pronounce judgment on the rival claims of Macpherson of Cluny and Mackintosh of Mackintosh to the headship of clan Chattan.

Mr Skene, from "the investigations which he has made into the history of the tribes of Moray, as well as into the history and nature of Highland traditions," conceives it to be established by "historic authority," that the Macphersons are the lineal and feudal representatives of the ancient chiefs of the clan Chattan, and "that they possess that right by blood to the chiefship, of which no charters from the crown, and no usurpation, however successful and continued, can deprive them." It is not very easy to understand, however, by what particular process of reasoning Mr Skene has arrived at this conclusion. For supposing it were established "beyond all doubt," as he assumes it to be, by the manuscript of 1450, that the Macphersons and the Mackintoshes are descended from Neachtan and Neill, the two sons of Gillicattan-more, the founder of the race, it does not therefore follow that "the Mackintoshes were an usurping branch of the clan," and that "the Macphersons alone possessed the right of blood to that hereditary dignity." This is indeed taking for granted the very point to be proved, in fact the whole matter in dispute. Mr Skene affirms that the descent of the Macphersons from the ancient chiefs "is not denied," which is in reality saying nothing to the purpose; because the question is, not whether this pretended descent has or has not been denied, but whether it can now be established by satisfactory evidence. To make out a case in favour of the Macphersons, it is necessary to show—first, that the descendants of Neachtan formed the eldest

⁷ For much of this account of the clan Chattan we are indebted to the kindness of A. Mackintosh Shaw, Esq. of London, who has revised the whole. His forthcoming history of the clan, we have reason to believe, will be the most valuable clan history yet published.

branch, and consequently were the chiefs of the clan; secondly, that the Macphersons are the lineal descendants and the feudal representatives of this same Neachtan, whom they claim as their ancestor; and, lastly, that the Mackintoshes are really descended from Neill, the second son of the founder of the race, and not from Macduff, Earl of Fife, as they themselves have always maintained. But we do not observe that any of these points has been formally proved by evidence, or that Mr Skene has deemed it necessary to fortify his assertions by arguments, and deductions from historical facts. His statement, indeed, amounts just to this—That the family of Macheth, the descendants of Head or Heth, the son of Neachtan, were “identical with the chiefs of clan Chattan;” and that the clan Vurich, or Macphersons, were descended from these chiefs. But, in the first place, the “identity” which is here contended for, and upon which the whole question hinges, is imagined rather than proved; it is a conjectural assumption rather than an inference deduced from a series of probabilities: and, secondly, the descent of the clan Vurich from the Macheths rests solely upon the authority of a Celtic genealogy (the manuscript of 1450) which, whatever weight may be given to it when supported by collateral evidence, is not alone sufficient authority to warrant anything beyond a mere conjectural inference. Hence, so far from granting to Mr Skene that the hereditary title of the Macphersons of Cluny to the chiefship of clan Chattan has been clearly established by him, we humbly conceive that he has left the question precisely where he found it. The title of that family may be the preferable one, but it yet remains to be shown that such is the case.

Tradition certainly makes the Macphersons of Cluny the male representatives of the chiefs of the old clan Chattan; but even if this is correct, it does not therefore follow that they have now, or have had for the last six hundred years, any right to be regarded as chiefs of the clan. The same authority, fortified by written evidence of a date only about fifty years later than Skene’s MS., in a MS. history of the Mackintoshes, states that Angus, 6th chief of Mackintosh, married the daughter and

only child of Dugall Dall, chief of clan Chattan, in the end of the 13th century, and with her obtained the lands occupied by the clan, with the station of leader, and that he was *received* as such by the clansmen. Similar instances of the abrogation of what is called the Highland law of succession are to be found in Highland history, and on this ground alone the title of the Mackintosh chiefs seems to be a good one. Then again we find them owned and followed as captains of clan Chattan even by the Macphersons themselves up to the 17th century; while in hundreds of charters, bonds and deeds of every description, given by kings, Lords of the Isles, neighbouring chiefs, and the septs of clan Chattan itself, is the title of captain of clan Chattan acceded to them—as early as the time of David II. Mr Skene, indeed, employs their usage of the term Captain to show that they had no right of blood to the headship—a right they have never claimed, although there is perhaps no reason why they should not claim such a right from Eva. By an argument deduced from the case of the Camerons—the weakness of which will at once be seen on a careful examination of his statements—he presumes that they were the oldest cadets of the clan, and had usurped the chiefship. No doubt the designation captain was used, as Mr Skene says, when the actual leader of a clan was a person who had no right by blood to that position; but it does not by any means follow that he is right in assuming that those who are called captains were *oldest cadets*. Hector, *bastard son* of Ferquhard Mackintosh, while at the head of his clan during the minority of the actual chief, his distant cousin, is in several deeds styled *captain* of clan Chattan, and he was certainly not oldest cadet of the house of Mackintosh.

It is not for us to offer any decided opinion respecting a matter where the pride and pretensions of rival families are concerned. It may therefore be sufficient to observe that, whilst the Macphersons rest their claims chiefly on tradition, the Mackintoshes have produced, and triumphantly appealed to charters and documents of every description, in support of their pretensions; and that it is not very easy to see how so great a mass of written evidence can be overcome by merely calling into court

Tradition to give testimony adverse to its credibility. The admitted fact of the Mackintosh family styling themselves captains of the clan does not seem to warrant any inference which can militate against their pretensions. On the contrary, the original assumption of this title obviously implies that no chief was in existence at the period when it was assumed; and its continuance, unchallenged and undisputed, affords strong presumptive proof in support of the account given by the Mackintoshes as to the original constitution of their title. The idea of usurpation appears to be altogether preposterous. The right alleged by the family of Mackintosh was not direct but collateral; it was founded on a marriage, and not derived by descent; and hence, probably, the origin of the secondary or subordinate title of captain which that family assumed. But can any one doubt that if a claim founded upon a preferable title had been asserted, the inferior pretension must have given way? Or is it in any degree probable that the latter would have been so fully recognised, if there had existed any lineal descendant of the ancient chiefs in a condition to prefer a claim founded upon the inherent and indefeasible right of blood?

Further, even allowing that the Macphersons are the lineal male representatives of the old clan Chattan chiefs, they can have no possible claim to the headship of the clan Chattan of later times, which was composed of others besides the descendants of the old clan. The Mackintoshes also repudiate any connection by blood with the old clan Chattan, except through the heiress of that clan who married their chief in 1291; and, indeed, such a thing was never thought of until Mr Skene started the idea; consequently the Macphersons can have no claim over them, or over the families which spring from them. The great body of the clan, the *historical* clan Chattan, have always owned and followed the chief of Mackintosh as their leader and captain—the term captain being simply employed to include the whole—and until the close of the 17th century no attempt was made to deprive the Mackintosh chiefs of this title.

Among many other titles given to the chief of the Mackintoshes within the last 700 years,

are, according to Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, those of *Captain of Clan Chattan*, *Chief of Clan Chattan*, and *Principal of Clan Chattan*. The following on this subject is from the pen of Lachlan Shaw, the historian of Moray, whose knowledge of the subject entitled him to speak with authority. It is printed in the account of *the Kilravock Family* issued by the Spalding Club. “Eve Catach, who married MacIntosh, was the heir-female (Clunie’s ancestor being the heir-male), and had MacIntosh assumed her surname, he would (say the MacPhersons) have been chief of the Clanchattan, according to the custom of Scotland. But this is an empty distinction. For, if the right of chiftanry is, *jure sanguinis*, inherent in the heir-female, she conveys it, and cannot but convey it to her son, whatever surname he takes; *nam jura sanguinis non præscribunt*. And if it is not inherent in her, she cannot convey it to her son, although he assume her surname. Be this as it will, MacIntosh’s predecessors were, for above 300 years, designed Captains of Clanchattan, in royal charters and commissions, in bonds, contracts, history, heraldrie, &c.; the occasion of which title was, that several tribes or clans (every clan retaining its own surname) united in the general designation of Clanchattan; and of this incorporated body, MacIntosh was the head leader or captain. These united tribes were MacIntosh, MacPherson, Davidson, Shaw, MacBean, MacGillivray, MacQueen, Smith, MacIntyre, MacPhail, &c. In those times of barbarity and violence, small and weak tribes found it necessary to unite with, or come under the patronage of more numerous and powerful clans. And as long as the tribes of Clanchattan remained united (which was till the family of Gordon, breaking with the family of MacIntosh, disunited them, and broke their coalition), they were able to defend themselves against any other clan.”

In a MS., probably written by the same author, a copy of which now lies before us, a lengthened enquiry into the claims of the rival chiefs is concluded thus:—“In a word, if by the chief of the clan Chattan is meant the heir of the family, it cannot be doubted that Clunie is chief. If the heir whatsoever is meant, then unquestionably Mackintosh is chief; and who-

ever is chief, since the captaincy and command of the collective body of the clan Chattan was for above 300 years in the family of Mackintosh, I cannot see but, if such a privilege now remains, it is still in that family." In reference to this much-disputed point, we take the liberty of quoting a letter of the Rev. W. G. Shaw, of Forfar. He has given the result of his inquiries in several privately printed brochures, but it is hoped that ere long he will place at the disposal of all who take an interest in these subjects the large stores of information he must have accumulated on many matters connected with the Highlands. Writing to the editor of this book he says, on the subject of the chiefship of clan Chattan:—

"Skene accords too much to the Macphersons in one way, but not enough in another.

"(*Too much*)—He says that for 200 years the Mackintoshes headed the clan Chattan, but only as *captain*, not as chief. But during these 200 years we have bonds, &c., cropping up now and then in which the Macphersons are *only* designated as (*M. or N.*) *Macpherson of Cluny*. Their claim to *headship* seems to have been thoroughly in abeyance till the middle of the 17th century.

"(*Too little*)—For he says the Macphersons in their controversy (1672) before the Lyon King, pled *only* tradition, whereas they pled the *facts*.

"*De jure* the Macphersons were chiefs; *de facto*, they *never* were; and they only *claimed* to use the *title* when clanship began to be a thing of the past, in so far as *fighting* was concerned.

"The Macphersons seem to have been entitled to the chieftainship by right of birth, but *de facto* they never had it. The *might* of 'the Macintosh' had made his *right*, as is evidenced in half-a-hundred bonds of manrent, deeds of various kinds, to be found in the 'Thanes of Cawdor,' and the Spalding Club Miscellany—*passim*. He is always called Capitane or Captane of clan Quhattan, the spelling being scarcely ever twice the same."

Against Mackintosh's powerful claims supported by deeds, &c., the following statements are given from the *Macpherson MS.* in Mr W. G. Shaw's possession:—

I. In 1370, the head of the Macphersons disowned the head of the Mackintoshes at Invernahavon. Tradition says Macpherson withdrew from the field without fighting, *i. e.*, he mutinied on a point of precedence between him and Mackintosh.

II. Donald More Macpherson fought along with Marr at Harlaw, *against*. Donald of the Isles with *Mackintosh* on his side, the two chiefs being then on different sides (1411).

III. Donald Oig Macpherson fought on the side of Huntly at the battle of Corrichie, and was killed; Mackintosh fought on the other side (1562).

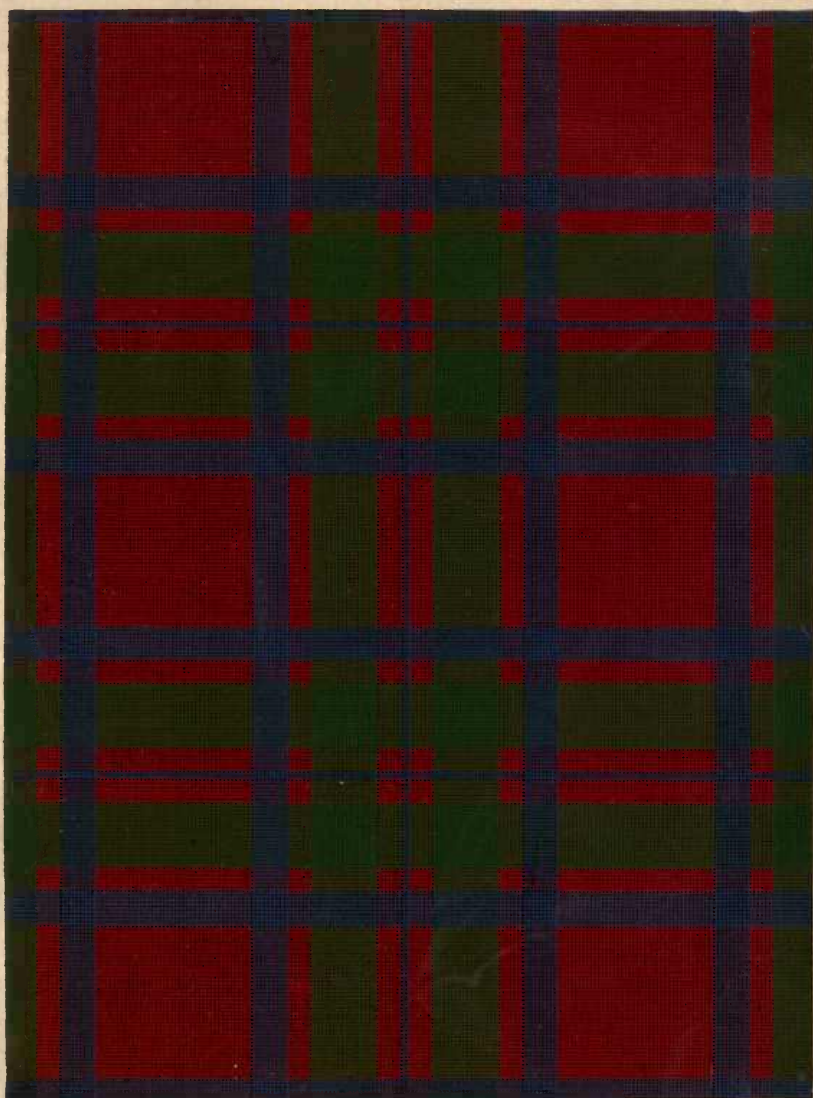
IV. Andrew Macpherson of Cluny held the Castle of Ruthven, A.D. 1594, against Argyll, Mackintosh fighting on the side of Argyll.⁸

This tends to show that when the Macphersons joined with the Mackintoshes, it was (they alleged) *voluntarily*, and not on account of their being bound to follow Mackintosh as chief.

In a loose way, no doubt, Mackintosh may sometimes have been called *Chief of Clan Chattan*, but *Captain* is the title generally given in deeds of all kinds. He was chief of the Mackintoshes, as Cluny was chief of the Macphersons—by *right of blood*; but by agreement amongst the Shaws, Macgillivrays, Clarkes, (Clerach), Clan Dai, &c., renewed from time to time, Mackintosh was recognised as *Captain of Clan Chattan*.

We cannot forbear adding as a fit moral to this part of the subject, the conclusion come to by the writer of the MS. already quoted:—"After what I have said upon this angry point, I cannot but be of opinion, that in our day, when the right of chieftainrie is so little regarded, when the power of the chiefs is so much abridged, when armed convocations of the lieges are discharged by law, and when a clan are not obliged to obey their chief unless he bears a royal commission,—when matters are so, 'tis my opinion that questions about chieftainrie and debates about precedence of that kind, are equally idle and unprofitable,

⁸ Mr Mackintosh Shaw says that, in 1591, Huntly obtained a bond of manrent from Andrew Macpherson and his immediate family, the majority of the Macphersons remaining faithful to Mackintosh. Statements II. and III. are founded *only* on the Macpherson MS.



MACKINTOSH.

and that gentlemen should live in strict friendship as they are connected by blood, by affinity, or by the vicinity of their dwellings and the interest of their families."

The clan Chattan of history, according to Mr Fraser-Mackintosh of Drummond,⁹ was composed of the following clans, who were either allied to the Mackintoshes and Macphersons by genealogy, or who, for their own protection or other reasons, had joined the confederacy:—The Mackintoshes, Macphersons, Macgillivrays, Shaws, Farquharsons, Macbeans, Macphails, clan Tarril, Gows (said to be descended from Henry the Smith, of North Inch fame), Clarks, Macqueens, Davidsons, Cattanachs, clan Ay, Nobles, Gillespies. "In addition to the above sixteen tribes, the Macleans of Dochgarroch or clan Tearleach, the Dallases of Cantray, and others, generally followed the captain of clan Chattan as his friends." Of some of these little or nothing is known except the name; but others, as the Mackintoshes, Macphersons, Shaws, Farquharsons, &c., have on the whole a complete and well-detailed history.

MACKINTOSH.



BADGE—According to some, Boxwood, others, Red Whortleberry.

According to the Mackintosh MS. Histories (the first of which was compiled about 1500, other two dated in the 16th century, all of which were embodied in a Latin MS. by Lachlan Mackintosh of Kinrara about 1680), the

progenitor of the family was Shaw or Seach, a son of Macduff, Earl of Fife, who, for his assistance in quelling a rebellion among the inhabitants of Moray, was presented by King Malcolm IV. with the lands of Petty and Breachly and the forestry of Strathearn, being made also constable of the castle at Inverness. From the high position and power of his father, he was styled by the Gaelic-speaking population Mac-an-Toisich, *i.e.*, "son of the principal or foremost." *Tus, tos, or tosich*, is "the beginning or first part of anything," whence "foremost" or "principal." Mr Skene says the *tosich* was the oldest cadet of a clan, and that Mackintosh's ancestor was oldest cadet of clan Chattan. Professor Cosmo Innes says the *tosich* was the administrator of the crown lands, the head man of a little district, who became under the Saxon title of Thane hereditary tenant; and it is worthy of note that these functions were performed by the successor of the above mentioned Shaw, who, the family history says, "was made chamberlain of the king's revenues in those parts for life." It is scarcely likely, however, that the name Mackintosh arose either in this manner or in the manner stated by Mr Skene, as there would be many *tosachs*, and in every clan an oldest cadet. The name seems to imply some peculiar circumstances, and these are found in the son of the great Thane or Earl of Fife.

Little is known of the immediate successors of Shaw Macduff. They appear to have made their residence in the castle of Inverness, which they defended on several occasions against the marauding bands from the west. Some of them added considerably to the possessions of the family, which soon took firm root in the north. Towards the close of the 13th century, during the minority of Angus MacFerquhard, 6th chief, the Comyns seized the castle of Inverness, and the lands of Geddes and Rait belonging to the Mackintoshes, and these were not recovered for more than a century. It was this chief who in 1291–2 married Eva, the heiress of clan Chattan, and who acquired with her the lands occupied by that clan, together with the station of leader of her father's clansmen. He appears to have been a chief of great activity, and a staunch supporter of Robert Bruce, with whom he took

⁹ *Antiquarian Notes*, p. 358.

part in the battle of Bannockburn. He is placed second in the list of chiefs given by General Stewart of Garth as present in this battle. In the time of his son William the sanguinary feud with the Camerons broke out, which continued up to the middle of the 17th century. The dispute arose concerning the lands of Glenlui and Locharkaig, which Angus Mackintosh had acquired with Eva, and which in his absence had been occupied by the Camerons. William fought several battles for the recovery of these lands, to which in 1337 he acquired a charter from the Lord of the Isles, confirmed in 1357 by David II., but his efforts were unavailing to dislodge the Camerons. The feud was continued by his successor, Lanchlan, 8th chief, each side occasionally making raids into the other's country. In one of these is said to have occurred the well-known dispute as to precedency between two of the septs of clan Chattan, the Macphersons and the Davidsons. According to tradition, the Camerons had entered Badenoch, where Mackintosh was then residing, and had seized a large "spreagh." Mackintosh's force, which followed them, was composed chiefly of these two septs, the Macphersons, however, considerably exceeding the rest. A dispute arising between the respective leaders of the Macphersons and Davidsons as to who should lead the right wing, the chief of Mackintosh, as superior to both, was appealed to, and decided in favour of Davidson. Offended at this, the Macphersons, who, if all accounts are true, had undoubtedly the better right to the post of honour, withdrew from the field of battle, thus enabling the Camerons to secure a victory. When, however, they saw that their friends were defeated, the Macphersons are said to have returned to the field, and turned the victory of the Camerons into a defeat, killing their leader, Charles MacGillionie. The date of this affair, which took place at Invernahavon, is variously fixed at 1370 and 1384, and some writers make it the cause which led to the famous battle on the North Inch of Perth twenty-six years later.

As is well known, great controversies have raged as to the clans who took part in the Perth fight, and those writers just referred to

decide the question by making the Macphersons and Davidsons the combatant clans.¹

Wyntoun's words are—

"They three score ware clannys twa,
Clahynnhe Qwhewyl and Clachinyha,
Of thir twa kynnys war thay men,
Thretty again thretty then,
And thare thay had thair chiftanys twa,
SCHA FARQWHARIS SONE wes aue of thay,
The tother CHRISTY JOHNESONE."

On this the Rev. W. G. Shaw of Forfar remarks,—“One writer (Dr Macpherson) tries to make out that the clan Yha or Ha was the clan Shaw. Another makes them to be the clan Dhai or Davidsons. Another (with Skene) makes them Macphersons. As to the clan Quhele, Colonel Robertson (author of ‘Historical Proofs of the Highlanders,’) supposes that the clan Quhele was the clan Shaw, partly from the fact that in the Scots Act of Parliament of 1392 (vol. i. p. 217), whereby several clans were forfeited for their share in the raid of Angus [described in vol. i.], there is mention made of Slurach, or (as it is supposed it ought to have been written) Sheach² *et omnes clan Quhele*. Then others again suppose that the clan Quhele was the clan Mackintosh. Others that it was the clan Cameron, whilst the clan Yha was the Clan-na-Chait or clan Chattan.

“From the fact that, after the clan Battle on the Inch, the star of the Mackintoshes was decidedly in the ascendant, there can be little doubt but that they formed at least a section of the winning side, whether that side were the clan Yha or the clan Quhele.

“Wyntoun declines to say on which side the victory lay. He writes—

‘Wha had the waur fare at the last,
I will nocht say.’

It is not very likely that subsequent writers knew more of the subject than he did, so that after all, we are left very much to the traditions of the families themselves for information. The Camerons, Davidsons, Mackintoshes, and Macphersons, all say that they took part in

¹ For details as to this celebrated combat, see vol. i. ch. v. The present remarks are supplementary to the former, and will serve to correct several inaccuracies.

² Every one acquainted with the subject, knows what havoc Lowland scribes have all along made of Gaelic names in legal and public documents.

the fray. The Shaws' tradition is, that their ancestor, being a relative of the Mackintoshes, took the place of the aged chief of that section of the clan, on the day of battle. The chroniclers *vary* as to the names of the clans, but they all *agree* as to the name of *one* of the leaders, viz., that it was Shaw. Tradition and history are agreed on this *one point*.

"One thing emerges clearly from the confusion as to the clans who fought, and as to which of the modern names of the contending clans was represented by the clans Yha and Quhele,—*one thing emerges*, a Shaw leading the victorious party, and a race of Shaws springing from him as their great—if not their first—founder, a race, who for ages afterwards, lived in the district and fought under the banner of the Laird of Mackintosh."³

As to the Davidsons, the tradition which vouches for the particulars of the fight at Invernahavon expressly says that the Davidsons were almost to a man cut off, and it is scarcely likely that they would, within so short a time, be able to muster sufficient men either seriously to disturb the peace of the country or to provide thirty champions. Mr Skene solves the question by making the Mackintoshes and Macphersons the combatant clans, and the cause of quarrel the right to the headship of clan Chattan. But the traditions of both families place them on the winning side, and there is no trace whatever of any dispute at this time, or previous to the 16th century, as to the chiefship. The most probable solution of this difficulty is, that the clans who fought at Perth were the clan Chattan (*i.e.*, Mackintoshes, Macphersons, and others) and the Camerons. Mr Skene, indeed, says that the only clans who have a tradition of their ancestors having been engaged are the Mackintoshes, Macphersons, and *Camerons*, though he endeavours to account for the presence of the last named clan by making them assist the Macphersons against the Mackintoshes.⁴ The editor of the *Memoirs of Lochiel*, mentioning this tradition of the Camerons, as well as the opinion of Skene, says,—“It may be observed, that the side allotted to the

Camerons (*viz.* the *unsuccessful* side) affords the strongest internal evidence of its correctness. Had the Camerons been described as victors it would have been very different.”

The author of the recently discovered MS. account of the clan Chattan already referred to, says that by this conflict Cluny's right to lead the van was established; and in the meetings of clan Chattan he sat on Mackintosh's right hand, and when absent that seat was kept empty for him. Henry Wynde likewise associated with the clan Chattan, and his descendants assumed the name of Smith, and were commonly called Sliochd a Gow Chroim.

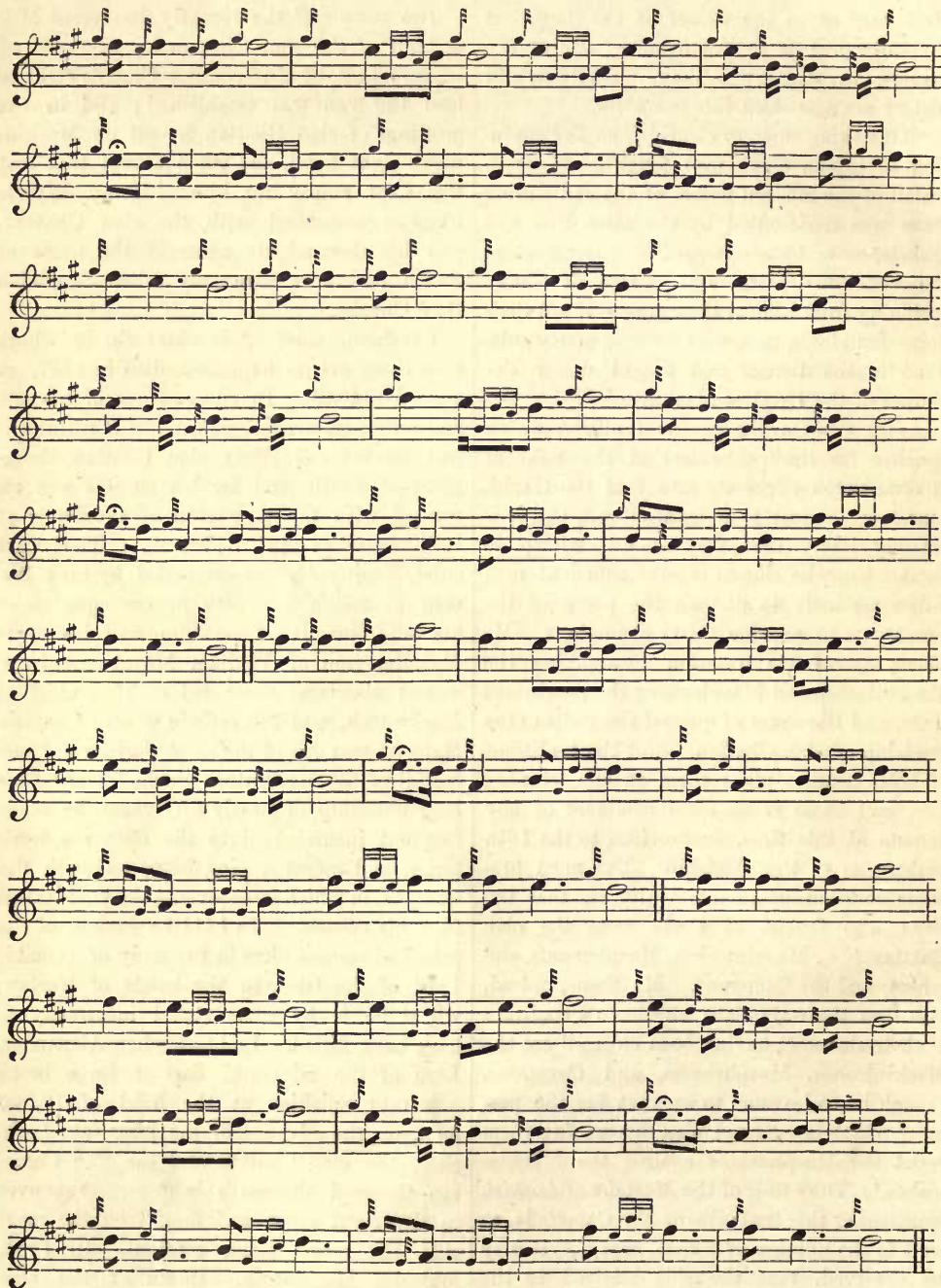
Lauchlan, chief of Mackintosh, in whose time these events happened, died in 1407, at a good old age. In consequence of his age and infirmity, his kinsman, Shaw Mackintosh, had headed the thirty clan Chattan champions at Perth, and for his success was rewarded with the possession of the lands of Rothiemurchus in Badenoch. The next chief, Ferquhard, was compelled by his clansmen to resign his post in consequence of his mild, inactive disposition, and his uncle Malcolm (son of William Mac-Angus by a second marriage) succeeded as 10th chief of Mackintosh, and 5th captain of clan Chattan. Malcolm was one of the most warlike and successful of the Mackintosh chiefs. During his long chiefship of nearly fifty years, he made frequent incursions into the Cameron territories, and waged a sanguinary war with the Comyns, in which he recovered the lands taken from his ancestor. In 1411 he was one of the principal commanders in the army of Donald, Lord of the Isles, in the battle of Harlaw, where he is by some stated incorrectly to have been killed. In 1429, when Alexander, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, broke out into rebellion at the head of 10,000 men, on the advance of the king into Lochaber, the clan Chattan and the clan Cameron deserted the earl's banners, went over to the royal army, and fought on the royal side, the rebels being defeated. In 1431, Malcolm Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, received a grant of the lands of Alexander of Lochaber, uncle of the Earl of Ross, that chieftain having been forfeited

³ The Mackintosh MS. of 1500 states that Lauchlan, the Mackintosh chief, gave Shaw a grant of Rothiemurchus “for his valour on the Inch that day.”

⁴ Vol. ii. pp. 175–178.

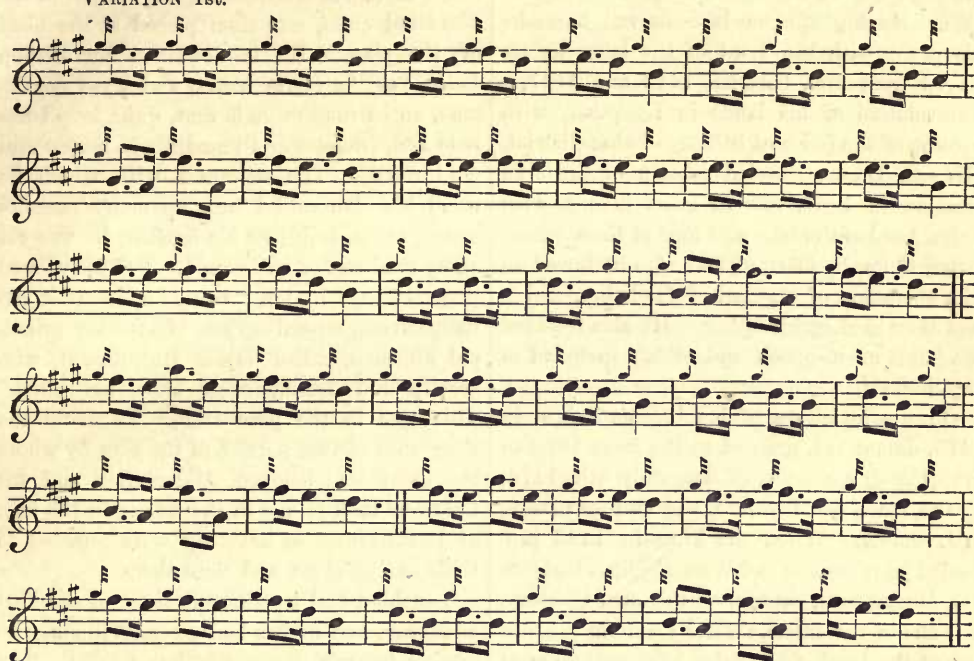
THE MACKINTOSH'S LAMENT.*

Arranged for the Bagpipes by PIPE-MAJOR A. M'LENNAN, Highland Light Infantry Militia, Inverness.

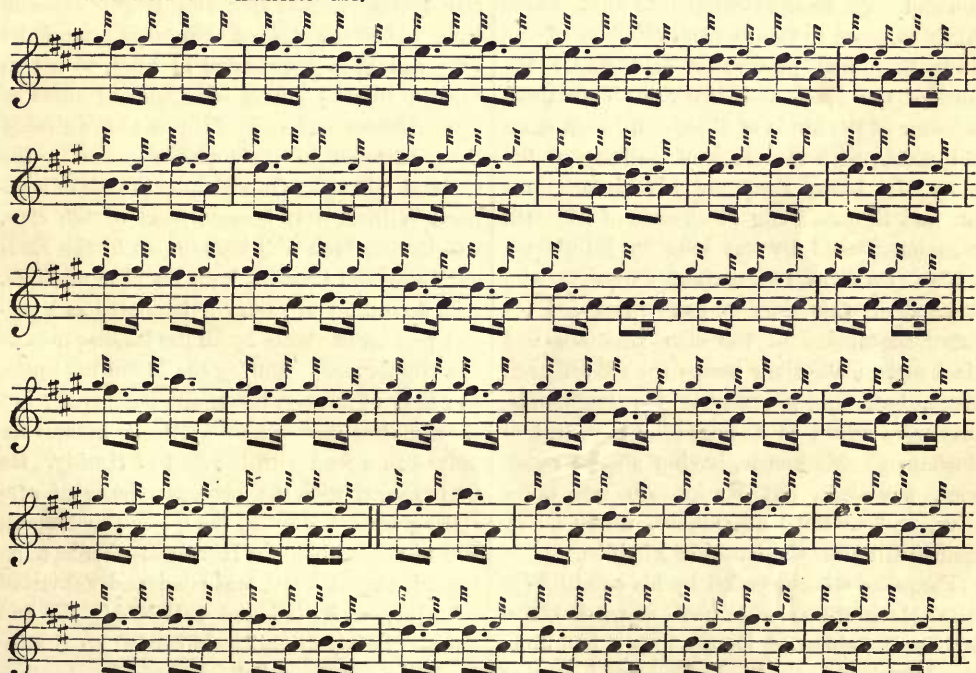


* THE MACKINTOSH'S LAMENT.—For the copy of the Mackintosh's Lament here given, the editor and publishers are indebted to the kindness of The Mackintosh. In a note which accompanied it that gentleman gives the following interesting particulars :—

VARIATION 1st.



DOUBLING OF VARIATION 1ST.



"The tune is as old as 1550 or thereabouts. Angus Mackay in his *Pipe Music* book gives it 1526, and says it was composed on the death of Lachlan, the 14th Laird; but we believe that it was composed by the famous family bard Macintyre, upon the death of William, who was murdered by the Countess of Huntly, in 1550. This bard had seen within the space of 40 years, four captains of the Clan Chattan meet with violent deaths, and his deep feelings found vent in the refrain,

"Mackintosh, the excellent
They have lifted;

They have laid thee
Low, they have laid thee."

These are the only words in existence which I can hear of.'

for engaging in the rebellion of Donald Balloch. Having afterwards contrived to make his peace with the Lord of the Isles, he received from him, between 1443 and 1447, a confirmation of his lands in Lochaber, with a grant of the office of bailiary of that district. His son, Duncan, styled captain of the clan Chattan in 1467, was in great favour with John, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, whose sister, Flora, he married, and who bestowed on him the office of steward of Lochaber, which had been held by his father. He also received the lands of Keppoch and others included in that lordship.

On the forfeiture of his brother-in-law in 1475, James III. granted to the same Duncan Mackintosh a charter, of date July 4th, 1476, of the lands of Moymore, and various others, in Lochaber. When the king in 1493 proceeded in person to the West Highlands, Duncan Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, was one of the chiefs, formerly among the vassals of the Lord of the Isles, who went to meet him and make their submission to him. These chiefs received in return royal charters of the lands they had previously held under the Lord of the Isles, and Mackintosh obtained a charter of the lands of Keppoch, Innerorgan, and others, with the office of bailiary of the same. In 1495, Farquhar Mackintosh, his son, and Kenneth Oig Mackenzie of Kintail, were imprisoned by the king in Edinburgh castle. Two years thereafter, Farquhar, who seems about this time to have succeeded his father as captain of the clan Chattan, and Mackenzie, made their escape from Edinburgh castle, but, on their way to the Highlands, they were seized at Torwood by the laird of Buchanan. Mackenzie, having offered resistance, was slain, but Mackintosh was taken alive, and confined at Dunbar, where he remained till after the battle of Flodden.

Farquhar was succeeded by his cousin, William Mackintosh, who had married Isabel M'Niven, heiress of Dunnachtan: but John Roy Mackintosh, the head of another branch of the family, attempted by force to get himself recognised as captain of the clan Chattan, and failing in his design, he assassinated his rival at Inverness in 1515. Being closely pursued, however, he was overtaken and slain at Glen-

esk. Lauchlan Mackintosh, the brother of the murdered chief, was then placed at the head of the clan. He is described by Bishop Lesley^s as "a verrie honest and wyse gentleman, an barroun of gude rent, quha keipit hes hole ken, friendes and tennentis in honest and guid rewll." The strictness with which he ruled his clan raised him up many enemies among them, and, like his brother, he was cut off by the hand of an assassin. "Some wicked persons," says Lesley, "being impatient of virtuous living, stirred up one of his own principal kinsmen, called James Malcolmson, who cruelly and treacherously slew his chief." This was in the year 1526. To avoid the vengeance of that portion of the clan by whom the chief was beloved, Malcolmson and his followers took refuge in the island in the loch of Rothiemurchus, but they were pursued to their hiding place, and slain there.

Lauchlan had married the sister of the Earl of Moray, and by her had a son, William, who on his father's death was but a child. The clan therefore made choice of Hector Mackintosh, a bastard son of Farquhar, the chief who had been imprisoned in 1495, to act as captain till the young chief should come of age. The consequences of this act have already been narrated in their proper place in the General History. On attaining the age of manhood William duly became head of the clan, and having been well brought up by the Earls of Moray and Cassilis, both his near relatives, was, according to Lesley, "honoured as a perfect pattern of virtue by all the leading men of the Highlands." During the life of his uncle, the Earl of Moray, his affairs prospered; but shortly after that noble's death, he became involved in a feud with the Earl of Huntly. He was charged with the heinous offence of conspiring against Huntly, the queen's lieutenant, and at a court held by Huntly at Aberdeen, on the 2d August 1550, was tried and convicted by a jury, and sentenced to lose his life and lands. Being immediately carried to Strathbogie, he was beheaded soon after by Huntly's countess, the earl himself having given a pledge that his life should be spared. The story is told, though with grave errors, by Sir

^s *History of Scotland*, p. 137.

Walter Scott, in his *Tales of a Grandfather*.⁶ By Act of Parliament of 14th December 1557, the sentence was reversed as illegal, and the son of Mackintosh was restored to all his father's lands, to which Huntly added others as assythment for the blood. But this act of atonement on Huntly's part was not sufficient to efface the deep grudge owed him by the clan Chattan on account of the execution of their chief, and he was accordingly thwarted by them in many of his designs.

In the time of this earl's grandson, the clan Chattan again came into collision with the powerful Gordons, and for four years a deadly feud raged between them. In consequence of certain of Huntly's proceedings, especially the murder of the Earl of Moray, a strong faction was formed against him, Lauchlan, 16th chief of Mackintosh, taking a prominent part. A full account of these disturbances in 1624 has already been given in its place in the General History.

In this feud Huntly succeeded in detaching the Macphersons belonging to the Cluny branch from the rest of clan Chattan, but the majority of that sept, according to the MS. history of the Mackintoshes, remained true to the chief of Mackintosh. These allies, however, were deserted by Huntly when he became reconciled to Mackintosh, and in 1609 Andrew Macpherson of Cluny, with all the other principal men of clan Chattan, signed a bond of union, in which they all acknowledged the chief of Mackintosh as *captain and chief* of clan Chattan. The clan Chattan were in Argyll's army at the battle of Glenlivet in 1595, and with the Macleans formed the right wing, which made the best resistance to the Catholic earls, and was the last to quit the field.

Cameron of Lochiel had been forfeited in 1598 for not producing his title deeds, when Mackintosh claimed the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig, of which he had kept forcible possession. In 1618 Sir Lauchlan, 17th chief of Mackintosh, prepared to carry into effect the acts of outlawry against Lochiel, who, on his part, put himself under the protection of the Marquis of Huntly, Mackintosh's mortal foe. In July of the same year Sir

Lauchlan obtained a commission of fire and sword against the Macdonalds of Keppoch for laying waste his lands in Lochaber. As he conceived that he had a right to the services of all his clan, some of whom were tenants and dependents of the Marquis of Huntly, he ordered the latter to follow him, and compelled such of them as were refractory to accompany him into Lochaber. This proceeding gave great offence to Lord Gordon, Earl of Enzie, the marquis's son, who summoned Mackintosh before the Privy Council, for having, as he asserted, exceeded his commission. He was successful in obtaining the recall of Sir Lauchlan's commission, and obtaining a new one in his own favour. The consequences of this are told in vol. i. ch. x.

During the wars of the Covenant, William, 18th chief, was at the head of the clan, but owing to feebleness of constitution took no active part in the troubles of that period. He was, however, a decided loyalist, and among the Mackintosh papers are several letters, both from the unhappy Charles I. and his son Charles II., acknowledging his good affection and service. The Mackintoshes, as well as the Macphersons and Farquharsons, were with Montrose in considerable numbers, and, in fact, the great body of clan Chattan took part in nearly all that noble's battles and expeditions.

Shortly after the accession of Charles II., Lauchlan Mackintosh, to enforce his claims to the disputed lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig against Cameron of Lochiel, raised his clan, and, assisted by the Macphersons, marched to Lochaber with 1500 men. He was met by Lochiel with 1200 men, of whom 300 were Macgregors. About 300 were armed with bows. General Stewart says:—"When preparing to engage, the Earl of Breadalbane, who was nearly related to both chiefs, came in sight with 500 men, and sent them notice that if either of them refused to agree to the terms which he had to propose, he would throw his interest into the opposite scale. After some hesitation his offer of mediation was accepted, and the feud amicably and finally settled." This was in 1665, when the celebrated Sir Ewen Cameron was chief, and a satisfactory arrangement having been

⁶ Vol. ii. p. 7.

made, the Camerons were at length left in undisputed possession of the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig, which their various branches still enjoy.

In 1672 Duncan Macpherson of Cluny, having resolved to throw off all connexion with Mackintosh, made application to the Lyon office to have his arms matriculated as laird of Cluny Macpherson, and "the only and true representative of the ancient and honourable family of the clan Chattan." This request was granted; and, soon afterwards, when the Privy Council required the Highland chiefs to give security for the peaceable behaviour of their respective clans, Macpherson became bound for his clan under the designation of the lord of Cluny and chief of the Macphersons; as he could only hold himself responsible for that portion of the clan Chattan which bore his own name and were more particularly under his own control. As soon as Mackintosh was informed of this circumstance, he applied to the privy council and the Lyon office to have his own title declared, and that which had been granted to Macpherson recalled and cancelled. An inquiry was accordingly instituted, and both parties were ordered to produce evidence of their respective assertions, when the council ordered Mackintosh to give bond for those of his *clan*, his vassals, those descended of his family, his men, tenants, and servants, and all dwelling upon his ground; and enjoined Cluny to give bond for those of his name of Macpherson, descended of his family, and his men, tenants, and servants, "without prejudice always to the laird of Mackintosh." In consequence of this decision, the armorial bearings granted to Macpherson were recalled, and they were again matriculated as those of Macpherson of Cluny.

Between the Mackintoshes and the Macdonalds of Keppoch, a feud had long existed, originating in the claim of the former to the lands occupied by the latter, on the Braes of Lochaber. The Macdonalds had no other right to their lands than what was founded on prescriptive possession, whilst the Mackintoshes had a feudal title to the property, originally granted by the lords of the Isles, and, on their forfeiture, confirmed by the crown. After various acts of hostility on both sides, the feud was at

length terminated by "the last considerable clan battle which was fought in the Highlands." To dispossess the Macdonalds by force, Mackintosh raised his clan, and, assisted by an independent company of soldiers, furnished by the government, marched towards Keppoch, but, on his arrival there, he found the place deserted. He was engaged in constructing a fort in Glenroy, to protect his rear, when he received intelligence that the Macdonalds, reinforced by their kinsmen of Glengarry and Glencoe, were posted in great force at Mulroy. He immediately marched against them, but was defeated and taken prisoner. At that critical moment, a large body of Macphersons appeared on the ground, hastening to the relief of the Mackintoshes, and Keppoch, to avoid another battle, was obliged to release his prisoner. It is highly to the honour of the Macphersons, that they came forward on the occasion so readily, to the assistance of the rival branch of the clan Chattan, and that so far from taking advantage of Mackintosh's misfortune, they escorted him safely to his own territories, and left him without exacting any conditions, or making any stipulations whatever as to the chiefship.⁷ From this time forth, the Mackintoshes and the Macphersons continued separate and independent clans, although both were included under the general denomination of the clan Chattan.

At the Revolution, the Mackintoshes adhered to the new government, and as the chief refused to attend the Viscount Dundee, on that nobleman soliciting a friendly interview with him, the latter employed his old opponent, Macdonald of Keppoch, to carry off his cattle. In the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, the Mackintoshes took a prominent part. Lauchlan, 20th chief, was actively engaged in the '15, and was at Preston on the Jacobite side. The exploits of Mackintosh of Borlum, in 1715, have been fully narrated in our account of the rebellion of that year.

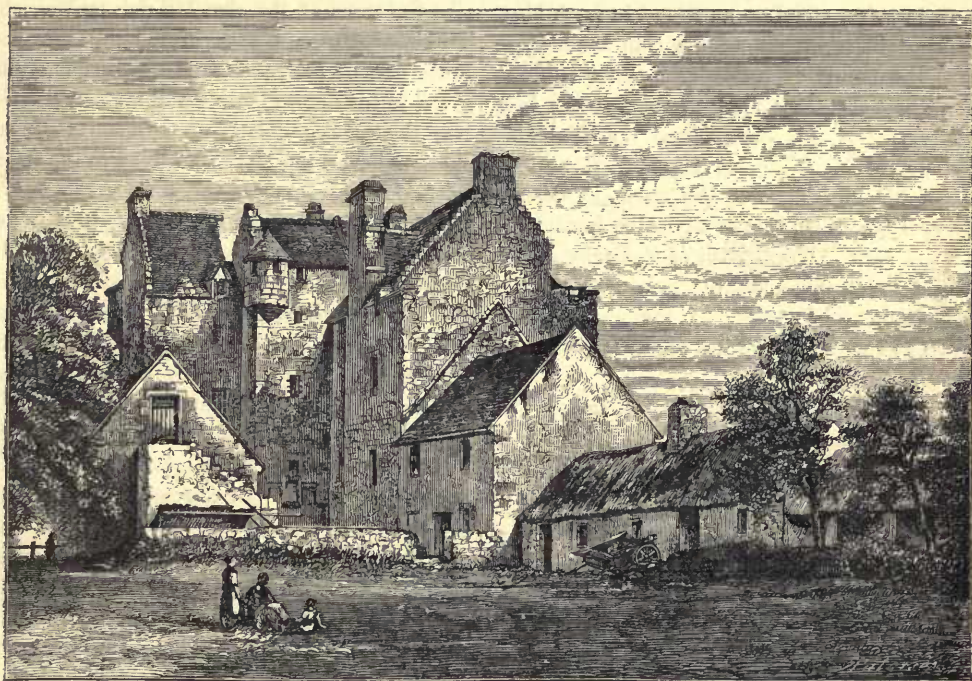
Lauchlan died in 1731, without issue, when the male line of William, the 18th chief, became extinct. Lauchlan's successor, William Mackintosh, died in 1741. Angus, the brother of the latter, the next chief, married Anne, daughter of Farquharson of Invercauld, a lady

⁷ Skene's *Highlanders*, ii. 188-9.

who distinguished herself greatly in the rebellion of 1745. When her husband was appointed to one of the three new companies in Lord Loudon's Highlanders, raised in the beginning of that year, Lady Mackintosh traversed the country, and, in a very short time, enlisted 97 of the 100 men required for a captaincy. On the breaking out of the rebellion, she was equally energetic in favour of the Pretender, and, in the absence of Mackintosh, she raised two battalions of the clan for the prince, and placed them under the command of Colonel Macgillivray of Dunma-

glass. In 1715 the Mackintoshes mustered 1,500 men under Old Borlum, but in 1745 scarcely one half of that number joined the forces of the Pretender. She conducted her followers in person to the rebel army at Inverness, and soon after her husband was taken prisoner by the insurgents, when the prince delivered him over to his lady, saying that "he could not be in better security, or more honourably treated."

At the battle of Culloden, the Mackintoshes were on the right of the Highland army, and in their eagerness to engage, they were the first



Dalcross Castle. From a photograph in the possession of The Mackintosh.

to attack the enemy's lines, losing their brave colonel and other officers in the impetuous charge. On the passing of the act for the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions in 1747, the laird of Mackintosh claimed £5,000 as compensation for his hereditary office of steward of the lordship of Lochaber.

In 1812, Æneas Mackintosh, the 23d laird of Mackintosh, was created a baronet of the United Kingdom. He died 21st January 1820, without heirs male of his body. On his death, the baronetcy expired, and he was succeeded in the estate by Angus Mackin-

tosh, whose immediate sires had settled in Canada. Alexander, his son, became Mackintosh of Mackintosh, and died in 1861, his son, Alexander Æneas, now of Mackintosh, succeeding him as 27th chief of Mackintosh, and 22d captain of clan Chattan.

The funerals of the chiefs of Mackintosh were always conducted with great ceremony and solemnity. When Lauchlan Mackintosh, the 19th chief, died, in the end of 1703, his body lay in state from 9th December that year, till 18th January 1704, in Dalcross Castle (which was built in 1620, and is a good

specimen of an old baronial Scotch mansion, and has been the residence of several chiefs), and 2000 of the clan Chattan attended his remains to the family vault at Petty. Kepoch was present with 220 of the Macdonalds. Across the coffins of the deceased chiefs are laid the sword of William, twenty-first of Mackintosh, and a highly finished claymore, presented by Charles I., before he came to the throne, to Sir Lauchlan Mackintosh, gentleman of the bedchamber.

The principal seat of The Mackintosh is Moy Hall, near Inverness. The original castle, now in ruins, stood on an island in Loch Moy.

The eldest branch of the clan Mackintosh was the family of Kellachy, a small estate in Inverness-shire, acquired by them in the 17th century. Of this branch was the celebrated Sir James Mackintosh. His father, Captain John Mackintosh, was the tenth in descent from Allan, third son of Malcolm, tenth chief of the clan. Mackintosh of Kellachy, as the eldest cadet of the family, invariably held the appointment of captain of the watch to the chief of the clan in all his wars.

MACPHERSON.



BADGE.—Boxwood.

The Macphersons, the other principal branch of the clan Chattan, are in Gaelic called the clan Vuirich or Muirich, from an ancestor of that name, who, in the Gaelic MS. of 1450, is said to have been the "son of Swen, son of Heth, son of Nachtan, son of Gillichattan, from whom came the clan Chattan." The word Gillichattan is supposed by some to mean

a votary or servant of St Kattan, a Scottish saint, as Gillichrist (Gilechrist) means a servant of Christ.

The Macphersons claim unbroken descent from the ancient chiefs of the clan Chattan, and tradition is in favour of their being the lineal representatives of the chiefs of the clan. However, this point has been sufficiently discussed in the history of the Mackintoshes, where we have given much of the history of the Macphersons.

It was from Muirich, who is said to have been chief in 1153, that the Macphersons derive the name of the clan Muirich or Vuirich. This Muirich was parson of Kingussie, in the lower part of Badenoch, and the surname was given to his descendants from his office. He was the great-grandson of Gillichattan Mor, the founder of the clan, who lived in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, and having married a daughter of the thane of Calder, had five sons. The eldest, Gillichattan, the third of the name, and chief of the clan in the reign of Alexander II., was father of Dougal Dall, the chief whose daughter Eva married Angus Mackintosh of Mackintosh. On Dougal Dall's death, as he had no sons, the representation of the family devolved on his cousin and heir-male, Kenneth, eldest son of Eoghen or Ewen Baan, second son of Muirich. Neill *Chrom*, so called from his stooping shoulders, Muirich's third son, was a great artificer in iron, and took the name of Smith from his trade. Farquhar Gilliriach, or the Swift, the fourth son, is said to have been the progenitor of the MacGillivrays, who followed the Mackintosh branch of the clan Chattan; and from David Dubh, or the Swarthy, the youngest of Muirich's sons, were descended the clan Dhai, or Davidsons of Invernahavon.²

One of the early chiefs is said to have received a commission to expel the Comyns from Badenoch, and on their forfeiture he obtained, for his services, a grant of lands. He was also allowed to add a hand holding a dagger to

² This is the genealogy given by Sir Æneas Macpherson. From another MS. genealogy of the Macphersons, and from the Mackintosh MS. history, we find that the son of Kenneth, the alleged grandson of Muirich, married a daughter of Ferquhard, ninth of Mackintosh, *cir.* 1410, so that it is probable Sir Æneas has placed Muirich and his family more than a century too early.

his armorial bearings. A MS. genealogy of the Macphersons makes Kenneth chief in 1386, when a battle took place at Invernavon between the clan Chattan and the Camerons, details of which and of the quarrel between the Macphersons and the Davidsons will be found in the general history, and in the account of the Mackintoshes.

In 1609 the chief of the Macphersons signed a bond, along with all the other branches of that extensive tribe, acknowledging Mackintosh as captain and chief of the clan Chattan; but in all the contentions and feuds in which the Mackintoshes were subsequently involved with the Camerons and other Lochaber clans, they were obliged to accept of the Macphersons' aid as allies rather than vassals.

Andrew Macpherson of Cluny, who succeeded as chief in 1647, suffered much on account of his sincere attachment to the cause of Charles I. His son, Ewen, was also a staunch royalist. In 1665, under Andrew, the then chief, when Mackintosh went on an expedition against the Camerons, for the recovery of the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig, he solicited the assistance of the Macphersons, when a notarial deed was executed, wherein Mackintosh declares that it was of their mere good will and pleasure that they did so; and on his part it is added, "I bind and oblige myself and friends and followers to assist and fortify and join, with the said Andrew, Lauchlan, and John Macpherson, all their lawful and necessary adoes, being thereunto required." The same Andrew, Lauchlan, and John, heads of the three great branches of the Macphersons, had on the 19th of the preceding November given a bond acknowledging Mackintosh as their chief. In 1672 Duncan Macpherson of Cluny, Andrew's brother, made application to the Lyon office to have his arms matriculated as laird of Cluny Macpherson, and "the only and true representative of the ancient and honourable family of the clan Chattan." This application was successful; but as soon as Mackintosh heard of it, he raised a process before the privy council to have it determined as to which of them had the right to the proper armorial bearings. After a protracted inquiry, the council issued an order for the two chiefs to give security for

the peaceable behaviour of their respective clans, in the terms given in the account of Mackintosh. The same year Cluny entered into a contract of friendship with Æneas, Lord Macdonnell, and Aros, "for himself and taking burden upon him for the haill name of Macpherson, and some others, called *Old Clan-chatten*, as cheefe and principall man thereof."

It is worthy of note that this same Duncan made an attempt, which was happily frustrated by his clansmen, to have his son-in-law, a son of Campbell of Cawdor, declared his successor.

On the death, without male issue, of Duncan Macpherson, in 1721 or 1722, the chiefship devolved on Lauchlan Macpherson of Nuid, the next male heir, being lineally descended from John, youngest brother of Andrew, the above-named chief. One of the descendants of this John of Nuid was James Macpherson, the resuscitator of the Ossianic poetry. Lauchlan married Jean, daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel. His eldest son, Ewen, was the chief at the time of the rebellion of 1745.



James Macpherson, Editor, &c. of the Ossianic Poetry.

In the previous rebellion of 1715, the Macphersons, under their then chief Duncan, had

taken a very active part on the side of the Pretender. On the arrival of Prince Charles in 1745, Ewen Macpherson of Cluny, who the same year had been appointed to a company in Lord Loudon's Highlanders, and had taken the oaths to government, threw up his commission, and, with 600 Macphersons, joined the rebel army after their victory at Prestonpans. The Macphersons were led to take an active part in the rebellion chiefly from a desire to revenge the fate of two of their clansmen, who were shot on account of the extraordinary mutiny of the Black Watch (now the 42d regiment) two years before, an account of which is given in the history of that Regiment.

Ewen Macpherson, the chief, at first hesitated to join the prince; and his wife, a daughter of Lord Lovat, although a staunch Jacobite, earnestly dissuaded him from breaking his oath to government, assuring him that nothing could end well that began with perjury. Her friends reproached her for interfering—and his clan urging him, Cluny unfortunately yielded.

At the battle of Falkirk, the Macphersons formed a portion of the first line. They were too late for the battle of Culloden, where their assistance might have turned the fortune of the day; they did not come up till after the retreat of Charles from that decisive field. In the subsequent devastations committed by the English army, Cluny's house was plundered and burnt to the ground. Every exertion was made by the government troops for his apprehension, but they never could lay their hands upon him. He escaped to France in 1755, and died at Dunkirk the following year.

Ewen's son, Duncan, was born in 1750, in a kiln for drying corn, in which his mother had taken refuge after the destruction of their house. During his minority, his uncle, Major John Macpherson of the 78th foot, acted as his guardian. He received back the estate which had been forfeited, and, entering the army, became lieutenant-colonel of the 3d foot guards. He married, 12th June 1798, Catherine, youngest daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Fassifern, baronet; and on his death, 1st August 1817, was succeeded by his eldest son, Ewen Macpherson of Cluny, the present chief.

In Cluny castle are preserved various relics of the rebellion of 1745; among the rest, the Prince's target and lace wrist ruffles, and an autograph letter from Charles, promising an ample reward to his devoted friend Cluny. There is also the black pipe chanter on which the prosperity of the house of Cluny is said to be dependent, and which all true members of the clan Vuirich firmly believe fell from heaven, in place of the one lost at the conflict on the North Inch of Perth.

The war-cry of the Macphersons was "Cragi Dhu," the name of a rock in the neighbourhood of Cluny Castle. The chief is called in the Highlands "Mac Mhurich Chlanaidh," but everywhere else is better known as Cluny Macpherson.

Among the principal cadets of the Macpherson family were the Macphersons of Pitmean, Invereshie, Strathmassie, Breachachie, Essie, &c. The Invereshie branch were chiefs of a large tribe called the *Siol Gillies*, the founder of which was Gillies or Elias Macpherson, the first of Invereshie, a younger son of Ewen Baan or Bane (so called from his fair complexion) above mentioned. Sir Eneas Macpherson, tutor of Invereshie, advocate, who lived in the reigns of Charles II. and James VII., collected the materials for the history of the clan Macpherson, the MS. of which is still preserved in the family. He was appointed sheriff of Aberdeen in 1684.

George Macpherson of Invereshie married Grace, daughter of Colonel William Grant of Ballindalloch, and his elder son, William, dying, unmarried, in 1812, was succeeded by his nephew George, who, on the death of his maternal granduncle, General James Grant of Ballindalloch, 13th April 1806, inherited that estate, and in consequence assumed the name of Grant in addition to his own. He was MP. for the county of Sutherland for seventeen years, and was created a baronet 25th July 1838. He thus became Sir George Macpherson-Grant of Invereshie, Inverness-shire, and Ballindalloch, Elginshire. On his death in November 1846, his son, Sir John, sometime secretary of legation at Lisbon, succeeded as second baronet. Sir John died Dec. 2, 1850. His eldest son, Sir George Macpherson-Grant of Invereshie and Ballindalloch, born Aug. 12,

1839, became the third baronet of this family. He married, July 3, 1861, Frances Elizabeth, younger daughter of the Rev. Roger Pocklington, Vicar of Walesby, Nottinghamshire.

We can refer only with the greatest brevity to some of the minor clans which were included under the great confederacy of the clan Chattan.

MACGILLIVRAY.

The Macgillivrays were one of the oldest and most important of the septs of clan Chattan, and from 1626, when their head, Ferquhard MacAllister, acquired a right to the lands of Dunmaglass, frequent mention of them is found in extant documents, registers, etc. Their ancestor placed himself and his posterity under the protection of the Mackintoshes in the time of Ferquhard, fifth chief of Mackintosh, and the clan have ever distinguished themselves by their prowess and bravery. One of them is mentioned as having been killed in a battle with the Camerons about the year 1330, but perhaps the best known of the heads of this clan was Alexander, fourth in descent from the Ferquhard who acquired Dunmaglass. This gentleman was selected by Lady Mackintosh to head her husband's clan on the side of Prince Charlie in the '45. He acquitted himself with the greatest credit, but lost his life, as did all his officers except three, in the battle of Culloden. In the brave but rash charge made by his battalion against the English line, he fell, shot through the heart, in the centre of Barrel's regiment. His body, after lying for some weeks in a pit where it had been thrown with others by the English soldiers, was taken up by his friends and buried across the threshold of the kirk of Petty. His brother William was also a warrior, and gained the rank of captain in the old 89th regiment, raised about 1758. One of the three officers of the Mackintosh battalion who escaped from Culloden was a kinsman of these two brothers,—Farquhar of Dalcrombie, whose grandson, Niel John M'Gillivray of Dunmaglass, is the present head of the clan.

The M'Gillivrays possessed at various times, besides Dunmaglass, the lands of Aberchallader, Letterchallen, Largs, Faillie, Dalcrombie, and Daviot. It was in connection with the suc-

cession to Faillie that Lord Ardmillan's well-known decision was given in 1860 respecting the legal *status* of a clan.

In a Gaelic lament for the slain at Culloden the MacGillivrays are spoken of as

“ The warlike race,
The gentle, vigorous, flourishing,
Active, of great fame, beloved,
The race that will not wither, and has descended
Long from every side,
Excellent MacGillivrays of the Doune.”

SHAW.*

The origin of the Shaws, at one time a most important clan of the Chattan confederation, has been already referred to in connection with the Mackintoshes. The tradition of the Mackintoshes and Shaws is “unvaried,” says the Rev. W. G. Shaw of Forfar, that at least from and after 1396, a race of Shaws existed in Rothiemurchus, whose great progenitor was the Shaw Mor who commanded the section of the clan represented by the Mackintoshes on the Inch. The tradition of the Shaws is, that he was Shaw, the son of James, the son or descendant of Farquhar; the tradition of the Macintoshes—that he was Shaw-mac-Gilchrist-mac-Ian-mac-Angus-mac-Farquhar,—Farquhar being the ancestor according to *both* traditions, from whom he took the name (according to Wynthoun) of Sha Farquharis Son.³ The tradition of a James Shaw who ‘had bloody contests with the Comyns,’ which tradition is fortified by that of the Comyns, may very likely refer to the James, who, according to the genealogies both of the Shaws and Mackintoshes, was the son of Shaw Mor.

Mr Shaw of Forfar, who is well entitled to speak with authority on the subject, maintains “that prior to 1396, the clan now represented

³ The Shaw arms are the same as those of the Farquharsons following, except that the former have not the banner of Scotland in bend displayed in the second and third quarters.

⁴ The date of part of the Mackintosh MS. is 1490. It states that Lauchlan the chief gave Shaw a grant of Rothiemurchus “for his valour on the Inch that day.” It also states that the “Farquhar” above-mentioned was a man of great parts and remarkable fortitude, and that he fought with his clan at the battle of Largs in 1263. More than this, it states that Duncan, his uncle, was his tutor during his minority, and that Duncan and his posterity held Rothiemurchus till 1396, when Malcolm, the last of his race, fell at the fight at Perth—after which the lands (as above stated) were given to Shaw Mor.

by the Mackintoshes, had been (as was common amongst the clans) sometimes designated as the clan Shaw, after the successive chiefs of that name, especially the first, and sometimes as the clan of the Mac-an-Toisheach, *i.e.*, of the Thane's son. Thus, from its first founder, the great clan of the Isles was originally called the clan Cuin, or race of Constantine. Afterwards, it was called the clan Colla, from his son Coll, and latterly the clan Donald, after one of his descendants of that name. So the Macleans are often called clan Gilleon after their founder and first chief; and the Macphersons, the clan Muirich, after one of the most distinguished in their line of chiefs. The Farquharsons are called clan Fhionnla, after their great ancestor, Finlay Mor. There is nothing more probable, therefore—I should say more certain—than that the race in after times known as Mackintoshes, should at first have been as frequently designated as Na Si'ach, 'The Shaws,' after the Christian name of their first chief, as Mackintoshes after his *appellative description* or designation. It is worthy of remark, that the race of Shaws is never spoken of in Gaelic as the 'clan Shaw,' but as 'Na Si'ach'—The Shaws, or as we would say Shawites. We never hear of Mac-Shaws—sons of Shaw, but of 'Na Si'ach—The Shaws.' Hence prior to 1396, when a Shaw so distinguished himself as to found a family, under the wing of his chief, the undivided race, so to speak, would sometimes be called 'Mackintoshes,' or followers of the Thane's sons, sometimes the clan Chattan, the generic name of the race, sometimes 'clan Dhugaill,' (Quehele) after Dougall-Dall, and sometimes 'Na Si'ach,' the Shaws or Shawites, after the numerous chiefs who bore the name of Shaw in the line of descent. Hence the claim of both Shaws and Mackintoshes to the occupancy of Rothiemurchus. After 1396, the term Na Si'ach was restricted, as all are agreed, to the clan developed out of the other, through the prowess of Shaw Mór."

Shaw "Mor" Mackintosh, who fought at Perth in 1396, was succeeded by his son James, who fell at Harlaw in 1411. Both Shaw and James had held Rothiemurchus only as tenants of the chief of Mackintosh, but James's son and successor, Alister "Ciar" (*i.e.*, brown),

obtained from Duncan, 11th of Mackintosh, in 1463-4, his right of possession and tack. In the deed by which David Stuart, Bishop of Moray, superior of the lands, confirms this disposition of Duncan, and gives Alister the feu, Alister is called "Allister Kier Mackintosh." This deed is dated 24th September 1464. All the deeds in which Alister is mentioned call him Mackintosh, not Shaw, thus showing the descent of the Shaws from the Mackintoshes, and that they did not acquire their name of Shaw until after Alister's time.

Alister's grandson, Alan, in 1539, disposed his right to Rothiemurchus to Edom Gordon, reserving only his son's liferent. Alan's grandson of the same name was outlawed for the murder of his stepfather, some fifty years later, and compelled to leave the country. Numerous Shaws are, however, still to be found in the neighbourhood of Rothiemurchus, or who can trace their descent from Alister Kier.

Besides the Shaws of Rothiemurchus, the Shaws of TORDARROCH in Strathnairn, descended from Adam, younger brother of Alister Kier, were a considerable family; but, like their cousins, they no longer occupy their original patrimony. Tordarroch was held in wadset of the chiefs of Mackintosh, and was given up to Sir Æneas Mackintosh in the end of last century by its holder at the time, Colonel Alexander Shaw, seventh in descent from Adam.

Angus MacBean vic Robert of Tordarroch signed the Bond of 1609 already mentioned. His great-grandsons, Robert and Æneas, took part during their father's life in the rebellion of 1715; both were taken prisoners at Preston, and were confined in Newgate, the elder brother dying during his imprisonment. The younger, Æneas, succeeded his father, and in consideration of his taking no part in the '45, was made a magistrate, and received commissions for his three sons, the second of whom, Æneas, rose to the rank of major-general in the army. Margaret, daughter of Æneas of Tordarroch, was wife of Farquhar Macgillivray of Dalerombie, one of the three officers of the Mackintosh regiment who escaped from Culloden.



FARQUHARSON.

Æneas was succeeded by his eldest son, Colonel Alexander Shaw, lieutenant-governor of the Isle of Man under the crown. He gave up the wadset of Tordarroch to Sir Æneas Mackintosh, and died in 1811.

From the four younger sons of Alister Kier descended respectively the Shaws of DELL (the family of the historian of Moray, the Rev. Lachlan Shaw); of DALNIVERT, the representation of it devolved in the last century on a female, who married ——— Clark; the FARQUHARSONS, who in time acquired more importance than the Shaws; and the SHAWs OF HARRIS, who still retain a tradition of their ancestor, Iver MacAlister Ciar.

FARQUHARSON.



Badge—Red Whortleberry.

The immediate ancestor of the Farquharsons of Invercauld, the main branch, was Farquhar or Fearchard, a son of Alister "Keir" Mackintosh or Shaw of Rothiemurchus, grandson of Shaw Mor. Farquhar, who lived in the reign of James III., settled in the Braes of Mar, and was appointed baillie or hereditary chamberlain thereof. His sons were called Farquharson, the first of the name in Scotland. His eldest son, Donald, married a daughter of Duncan Stewart, commonly called Duncan Downa Dona, of the family of Mar, and obtained a considerable addition to his paternal inheritance, for faithful services rendered to the crown.

Donald's son and successor, Findla or Findlay, commonly called from his great size and strength, Findla Mhor, or great Findla,

lived in the beginning of the sixteenth century. His descendants were called MacIarla or Mackinlay. Before his time the Farquharsons were called in the Gaelic, clan Erachar or Earachar, the Gaelic for Farquhar, and most of the branches of the family, especially those who settled in Athole, were called Mac-Earachar. Those of the descendants of Findla Mhor who settled in the Lowlands had their name of Mackinlay changed into Finlayson.⁵

Findla Mhor, by his first wife, a daughter of the Baron Reid of Kincardine Stewart, had four sons, the descendants of whom settled on the borders of the counties of Perth and Angus, south of Braemar, and some of them in the district of Athole.

His eldest son, William, who died in the reign of James VI., had four sons. The eldest, John, had an only son, Robert, who succeeded him. He died in the reign of Charles II.

Robert's son, Alexander Farquharson of Invercauld, married Isabella, daughter of William Mackintosh of that ilk, captain of the clan Chattan, and had three sons.

William, the eldest son, dying unmarried, was succeeded by the second son, John, who carried on the line of the family. Alexander, the third son, got the lands of Monaltrie, and married Anne, daughter of Francis Farquharson, Esq. of Finzean.

The above-mentioned John Farquharson of Invercauld, the ninth from Farquhar the founder of the family, was four times married. His children by his first two wives died young. By his third wife, Margaret, daughter of Lord James Murray, son of the first Marquis of Athole, he had two sons and two daughters. His elder daughter, Anne, married Eneas Mackintosh of that ilk, and was the celebrated Lady Mackintosh, who, in 1745, defeated the design of the Earl of Loudon to make prisoner Prince Charles at Moy castle. By his fourth wife, a daughter of Forbes of Waterton, he had a son and two daughters, and died in 1750.

His eldest son, James Farquharson of Invercauld, greatly improved his estates, both in appearance and product. He married Amelia, the widow of the eighth Lord Sinclair, and

⁵ *Family MS.* quoted by Douglas in his *Baronage*.

daughter of Lord George Murray, lieutenant-general of Prince Charles's army, and had a large family, who all died except the youngest, a daughter, Catherine. On his death, in 1806, this lady succeeded to the estates. She married, 16th June 1798, Captain James Ross, R.N. (who took the name of Farquharson, and died in 1810), second son of Sir John Lockhart Ross of Balnagowan, Baronet, and by him had a son, James Farquharson, a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant of Aberdeenshire, representative of the family.

There are several branches of this clan, of which we shall mention the Farquharsons of WHITEHOUSE, who are descended from Donald Farquharson of Castleton of Braemar and Monaltrie, living in 1580, eldest son, by his second wife, of Findla Mhor, above mentioned.

Farquharson of FINZEAN is the heir male of the clan, and claims the chieftainship, the heir of line being Farquharson of Invercauld. His estate forms nearly the half of the parish of Birse, Aberdeenshire. The family, of which he is representative, came originally from Braemar, but they have held property in the parish for many generations. On the death of Archibald Farquharson, Esq. of Finzean, in 1841, that estate came into the possession of his uncle, John Farquharson, Esq., residing in London, who died in 1849, and was succeeded by his third cousin, Dr Francis Farquharson. This gentleman, before succeeding to Finzean, represented the family of Farquharson of Balfour, a small property in the same parish and county, sold by his grandfather.

The Farquharsons, according to Duncan Forbes "the only clan family in Aberdeenshire," and the estimated strength of which was 500 men, were among the most faithful adherents of the house of Stuart, and throughout all the struggles in its behalf constantly acted up to their motto, "*Fide et Fortitudine*." The old motto of the clan was, "We force nae friend, we fear nae foe." They fought under Montrose, and formed part of the Scottish army under Charles II. at Worcester in 1651. They also joined the forces under the Viscount of Dundee in 1689, and at the outbreak of the rebellion of 1715 they were the first to muster at the summons of the Earl of Mar.

In 1745, the Farquharsons joined Prince

Charles, and formed two battalions, the one under the command of Farquharson of Monaltrie, and the other of Farquharson of Balmoral; but they did not accompany the Prince in his expedition into England. Farquharson of Invercauld was treated by government with considerable leniency for his share in the rebellion, but his kinsman, Farquharson of Balmoral, was specially excepted from mercy in the act of indemnity passed in June 1747.

The MACBEANS, Macbanes, or Macbains, derive their name from the fair complexion of their progenitor, or, according to some, from their living in a high country, *beann* being the Gaelic name for a mountain, hence Ben Nevis, Ben Lomond, &c. The distinctive badge of the Macbeans, like that of the Macleods, was the red whortleberry. Of the Mackintosh clan they are considered an offshoot, although some of themselves believe that they are Camerons. It is true that a division of the MacBeans fought under Lochiel in 1745, but a number of them fought under Golice or Gillies MacBane, of the house of Kinchoil, in the Mackintosh battalion. This gigantic Highlander, who was six feet four and a-half inches in height, displayed remarkable prowess at the battle of Culloden.⁶

"In the time of William, first of the name, and sixth of Mackintosh, William Mhor, son to Bean-Mac Domhnuill-Mhor and his four sons, Paul, Gillies, William-Mhor, and Farquhar, after they had slain the Red Comyn's steward at Innerlochie, came, according to the history, to William Mackintosh, to Connage, where he then resided, and for themselves and their posterity, took protection of him and his. No tribe of Clan Chattan, the history relates, suffered so severely at Harlaw as Clan Vein."⁷

The MACPHAILS are descended from one "Paul Macphail, goodsir to that Sir Andrew Macphail, parson of Croy, who wrote the history of the Mackintoshes. Paul lived in the time of Duncan, first of the name, and eleventh of Mackintosh, who died in 1496. The head of the tribe had his residence at Inverarnie, on the water of Nairn."⁸

⁶ See vol. i. p. 666.

⁷ Fraser-Mackintosh's *Antiquarian Notes*, p. 360.

⁸ *Ibid.*

According to Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, there is a tradition that the Gows are descended from Henry, the smith who fought at the North Inch battle, he having accompanied the remnant of the Mackintoshes, and settled in Strathnairn. Being bandy-legged, he was called "Gow Chrom." At any rate, this branch of clan Chattan has long been known as "Sìochd an Gow Chrom." *Gow* is a "smith," and thus a section of the multitudinous tribe of Smiths may claim connection with the great clan Chattan.

The head of the MACQUEENS was Macqueen of Corrybrough, Inverness-shire.⁹ The founder of this tribe is said to have been Roderick Dhu Revan MacSweyn or Macqueen, who, about the beginning of the 15th century, received a grant of territory in the county of Inverness. He belonged to the family of the Lord of the Isles, and his descendants from him were called the clan Revan.

The Macqueens fought, under the standard of Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, at the battle of Harlaw in 1411. On 4th April 1609, Donald Macqueen of Corrybrough signed the bond of manrent, with the chiefs of the other tribes composing the clan Chattan, whereby they bound themselves to support Angus Mackintosh of that ilk as their captain and leader. At this period, we are told, the tribe of Macqueen comprehended twelve distinct families, all landowners in the counties of Inverness and Nairn.

In 1778, Lord Macdonald of Sleat, who had been created an Irish peer by that title two years before, having raised a Highland regiment, conferred a lieutenancy in it on a son of Donald Macqueen, then of Corrybrough, and in the letter, dated 26th January of that year, in which he intimated the appointment, he says, "It does me great honour to have the sons of chieftains in the regiment, and as the Macqueens have been invariably attached to our family, to whom we believe we owe our existence, I am proud of the nomination." Thus were the Macqueens acknowledged to have been of Macdonald origin, although they ranged themselves among the tribes of the clan Chattan. The present head

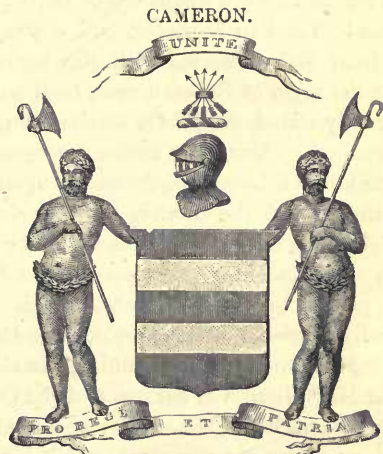
of the Macqueens is John Fraser Macqueen, Q.C.

The CATTANACHS, for a long period few in number, are, according to Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, perhaps better entitled to be held descendants of Gillichattan Mor than most of the clan.

The force of the clan Chattan was, in 1704, estimated at 1400; in 1715, 1020; and in 1745, 1700.

CHAPTER VI.

Camerons—Macleans of Dowart, Lochbuy, Coll, Ard-gour, Torloisk, Kinlochaline, Ardnornish, Drimnin, Tapul, Scallisdale, Muck, Borrera, Treshinish, Pennycross—Macnaughton—Mackenricks—Mac-knights—Macnayers—Macbraynes—Maceols—Sìol O'Cain—Munroes—Macmillans.



BADGE—Oak (or, according to others, Crowberry).

ANOTHER clan belonging to the district comprehended under the old Maormordom of Moray, is that of the Camerons or clan Chameron. According to John Major,¹ the clan Cameron and the clan Chattan had a common origin, and for a certain time followed one chief; but for this statement there appears to be no foundation. Allan, surnamed Mac-Ochtry, or the son of Uchtred, is mentioned by tradition as the chief of the Camerons in the reign of Robert II.; and, according to the same authority, the clan Cameron and the clan Chattan were the two hostile tribes between whose champions, thirty against thirty, was

⁹ The present head does not now hold the property.

¹ Gregory's *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 75.

fought the celebrated combat at Perth, in the year 1396, before King Robert III. with his nobility and court. The Camerons, says a manuscript history of the clan, have an old tradition amongst them that they were originally descended from a younger son of the royal family of Denmark, who assisted at the restoration of Fergus II. in 404; and that their progenitor was called Cameron from his crooked nose, a name which was afterwards adopted by his descendants. "But it is more probable," adds the chronicler, "that they are the aborigines of the ancient Scots or Caledonians that first planted the country;" a statement which proves that the writer of the history understood neither the meaning of the language he employed, nor the subject in regard to which he pronounced an opinion.

As far back as can distinctly be traced, this tribe had its seat in Lochaber, and appears to have been first connected with the house of Isla in the reign of Robert Bruce, from whom, as formerly stated, Angus Og received a grant of Lochaber. Their more modern possessions of Lochiel and Locharkaig,² situated upon the western side of the Lochy, were originally granted by the Lord of the Isles to the founder of the clan Ranald, from whose descendants they passed to the Camerons. This clan originally consisted of three septs,—the Camerons or MacMartins of Letterfinlay, the Camerons or MacGillonies of Strone, and the Camerons or MacSorlies of Glennevis; and from the genealogy of one of these septs, which is to be found in the manuscript of 1450, it has been inferred that the Lochiel family belonged to the second, or Camerons of Strone, and that being thus the oldest cadets, they assumed the title of Captain of the clan Cameron.³ Mr Skene conjectures that, after the victory at Perth, the MacMartins, or oldest branch, adhered to the successful party, whilst the great body of the clan, headed by the Lochiel family, declared themselves independent; and that in this way the latter were placed in that position which they have ever since retained. But however this may be, Donald Dhu, who was pro-

bably the grandson of Allan MacOchtry, headed the clan at the battle of Harlaw, in 1411, and afterwards united with the captain of the clan Chattan in supporting James I. when that king was employed in reducing to obedience Alexander, Lord of the Isles. Yet these rival clans, though agreed in this matter, continued to pursue their private quarrels without intermission; and the same year in which they deserted the Lord of the Isles, and joined the royal banner, viz. 1429, a desperate encounter took place, in which both suffered severely, more especially the Camerons. Donald Dhu, however, was present with the royal forces at the battle of Inverlochy, in the year 1431, where victory declared in favour of the Islanders, under Donald Balloch; and immediately afterwards his lands were ravaged by the victorious chief, in revenge for his desertion of the Lord of the Isles, and he was himself obliged to retire to Ireland, whilst the rest of the clan were glad to take refuge in the inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains. It is probably from this Donald Dhu that the Camerons derived their patronymic appellation of MacDhonnail Duibh, otherwise MacConnel Dui, "son of Black Donald."

But their misfortunes did not terminate here. The Lord of the Isles, on his return from captivity, resolved to humble a clan which he conceived had so basely deserted him; and with this view, he bestowed the lands of the Camerons on John Garbh Maclean of Coll, who had remained faithful to him in every vicissitude of fortune. This grant, however, did not prove effectual. The clan Cameron, being the actual occupants of the soil, offered a sturdy resistance to the intruder; John Maclean, the second laird of Coll, who had held the estate for some time by force, was at length slain by them in Lochaber; and Allan, the son of Donald Dhu, having acknowledged himself a vassal of the Lord of Lochalsh, received in return a promise of support against all who pretended to dispute his right, and was thus enabled to acquire the estates of Locharkaig and Lochiel, from the latter of which his descendants have taken their territorial denomination. By a lady of the family of Keppoch, this Allan, who was surnamed MacCoilduy, had a son, named Ewen, who was captain of the clan

² A view of Locharkaig will be found at p. 709, vol. i.

³ As to Mr Skene's theory of the captainship of a clan, see the account of clan Chattan.

Cameron in 1493, and afterwards became a chief of mark and distinction. Allan, however, was the most renowned of all the chiefs of the Camerons, excepting, perhaps, his descendant Sir Ewen. He had the character of being one of the bravest leaders of his time, and he is stated to have made no less than thirty-five expeditions into the territories of his enemies. But his life was too adventurous to last long. In the thirty-second year of his age he was slain in one of the numerous conflicts with the Mackintoshes, and was succeeded by his son Ewen, who acquired almost the whole estates which had belonged to the chief of clan Ranald; and to the lands of Lochiel, Glenluy, and Locharkaig, added those of Glennevis, Mamore, and others in Lochaber. After the forfeiture of the last Lord of the Isles, he also obtained a feudal title to all his possessions, as well those which he had inherited from his father, as those which he had wrested from the neighbouring clans; and from this period the Camerons were enabled to assume that station among the Highland tribes which they have ever since maintained.

The Camerons having, as already stated, acquired nearly all the lands of the clan Ranald, Ewen Allanson, who was then at their head, supported John Moydertach, in his usurpation of the chiefship, and thus brought upon himself the resentment of the Earl of Huntly, who was at that time all-powerful in the north. Huntly, assisted by Fraser of Lovat, marched to dispossess the usurper by force, and when their object was effected they retired, each taking a different route. Profiting by this imprudence, the Camerons and Macdonalds pursued Lovat, against whom their vengeance was chiefly directed, and having overtaken him near Kinloch-lochy, they attacked and slew him, together with his son and about three hundred of his clan. Huntly, on learning the defeat and death of his ally, immediately returned to Lochaber, and with the assistance of William Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, seized Ewen Allanson of Lochiel, captain of the clan Cameron, and Ranald Macdonald Glas of Keppoch, whom he carried to the castle of Ruthven in Badenoch. Here they were de-

tained for some time in prison; but being soon afterwards removed to Elgin, they were there tried for high treason, and being found guilty by a jury of landed gentlemen, were beheaded, whilst several of their followers, who had been apprehended along with them, were hanged. This event, which took place in the year 1546, appears to have had a salutary effect in disposing the turbulent Highlanders to submission, the decapitation of a chief being an act of energy for which they were by no means prepared.

The subsequent history of the clan Chameron, until we come to the time of Sir Ewen, the hero of the race, is only diversified by the feuds in which they were engaged with other clans, particularly the Mackintoshes, and by those incidents peculiar to the times and the state of society in the Highlands. Towards the end of Queen Mary's reign, a violent dispute having broken out amongst the clan themselves, the chief, Donald Dhu, patronymically styled Macdonald Mhic Ewen, was murdered by some of his own kinsmen; and, during the minority of his successor, the Mackintoshes, taking advantage of the dissensions which prevailed in the clan, invaded their territories, and forced the grand-uncles of the young chief, who ruled in his name, to conclude a treaty respecting the disputed lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig. But this arrangement being resented by the clan, proved ineffectual; no surrender was made of the lands in question; and the inheritance of the chief was preserved undiminished by the patriotic devotion of his clansmen. Early in 1621, Allan Cameron of Lochiel, and his son John, were outlawed for not appearing to give security for their future obedience, and a commission was issued to Lord Gordon against him and his clan; but this commission was not rigorously acted on, and served rather to protect Lochiel against the interference of Mackintosh and others, who were very much disposed to push matters to extremity against the clan Chameron. The following year, however, Lochiel was induced to submit his disputes with the family of Mackintosh to the decision of mutual friends; and by these arbitrators, the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig were adjudged to belong to Mackintosh, who, however, was ordained to pay

certain sums of money by way of compensation to Lochiel. But, as usually happens in similar cases, this decision satisfied neither party. Lochiel, however, pretended to acquiesce, but delayed the completion of the transaction in such a way that the dispute was not finally settled until the time of his grandson, the celebrated Sir Ewen Cameron. About the year 1664, the latter, having made a satisfactory arrangement of the long-standing feud with the Mackintoshes, was at length left in undisputed possession of the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig; and, with some trifling exceptions, the various branches of the Camerons still enjoy their ancient inheritances. The family of Lochiel, like many others, was constrained to hold its lands of the Marquis of Argyll and his successors.

Sir Ewen Cameron, commonly called Ewan Dhu of Lochiel, was a chief alike distinguished for his chivalrous character, his intrepid loyalty, his undaunted courage, and the ability as well as heroism with which he conducted himself in circumstances of uncommon difficulty and peril. This remarkable man was born in the year 1629, and educated at Inverary Castle, under the guardianship of his kinsman the Marquis of Argyll, who, having taken charge of him in his tenth year, endeavoured to instil into his mind the political principles of the Covenanters and the Puritans, and to induce the boy to attach himself to that party. But the spirit of the youthful chief was not attempered by nature to receive the impressions of a morose fanaticism. At the age of eighteen, he broke loose from Argyll, with the declared intention of joining the Marquis of Montrose, a hero more congenial to his own character. He was too late, however, to be of service to that brave but unfortunate leader, whose reverses had commenced before Cameron left Inverary. But though the royal cause seemed lost he was not disheartened, and having kept his men in arms, completely protected his estate from the incursions of Cromwell's troops. In the year 1652, he joined the Earl of Glencairn, who had raised the royal standard in the Highlands, and greatly distinguished himself in a series of encounters with General Lilburne, Colonel Morgan, and others. In a sharp skirmish which took place between Glencairn and Lil-

burne, at Braemar, Lochiel, intrusted with the defence of a pass, maintained it gallantly until the royal army had retired, when Lilburne, making a detour, attacked him in flank. Lochiel kept his ground for some time; until at last finding himself unable to repel the enemy, who now brought up an additional force against him, he retreated slowly up the hill showing a front to the assailants, who durst not continue to follow him, the ground being steep and covered with snow. This vigorous stand saved Glencairn's army, which was, at that time, in a disorganised state; owing principally to the conflicting pretensions of a number of independent chiefs and gentlemen, who, in their anxiety to command, forgot the duty of obedience. Lochiel, however, kept clear of these cabals, and stationing himself at the outposts, harassed the enemy with continual skirmishes, in which he was commonly successful. How his services were appreciated by Glencairn we learn from a letter of Charles II. to Lochiel, dated at Chantilly, the 3d of November, 1653, in which the exiled king says, "We are informed by the Earl of Glencairn with what courage, success, and affection to us, you have behaved yourself in this time of trial, when the honour and liberty of your country are at stake; and therefore we cannot but express our hearty sense of this your courage, and return you our thanks for the same." The letter concludes with an assurance that "we are ready, as soon as we are able, signally to reward your service, and to repair the losses you shall undergo for our service."

Acting in the same loyal spirit, Lochiel kept his men constantly on the alert, and ready to move wherever their service might be required. In 1654, he joined Glencairn with a strong body, to oppose Generals Monk and Morgan, who had marched into the Highlands. Lochiel being opposed to Morgan, a brave and enterprising officer, was often hard pressed, and sometimes nearly overpowered; but his courage and presence of mind, which never forsook him, enabled the intrepid chief to extricate himself from all difficulties. Monk tried several times to negotiate, and made the most favourable proposals to Lochiel on the part of Cromwell; but these were uniformly rejected with contempt. At length, finding it equally

impossible to subdue or to treat with him, Monk established a garrison at Inverlochy, raising a small fort, as a temporary defence against the musketry, swords, and arrows of the Highlanders. Details as to the tactics of Lochiel, as well as a portrait of the brave chief, will be found at p. 296 of vol. i.

General Middleton, who had been unsuccessful in a skirmish with General Morgan, invited Lochiel to come to his assistance. Upwards of 300 Camerons were immediately assembled, and he marched to join Middleton, who had retreated to Braemar. In this expedition, Lochiel had several encounters with Morgan; and, notwithstanding all the ability and enterprise of the latter, the judgment and promptitude with which the chief availed himself of the accidents of the ground, the activity of his men, and the consequent celerity of their movements, gave him a decided advantage in this *guerre de chicane*. With trifling loss to himself, he slew a considerable number of the enemy, who were often attacked both in flank and rear when they had no suspicion that an enemy was within many miles of them. An instance of this occurred at Lochgarry in August 1653, when Lochiel, in passing northwards, was joined by about sixty or seventy Athole-men, who went to accompany him through the hills. Anxious to revenge the defeat which his friends had, a short time previously, sustained upon the same spot, he planned and executed a surprise of two regiments of Cromwell's troops, which, on their way southward, had encamped upon the plain of Dalnaspidal; and although it would have been the height of folly to risk a mere handful of men, however brave, in close combat with so superior a force, yet he killed a number of the enemy, carried off several who had got entangled in the morass of Lochgarry, and completely effected the object of the enterprise.

But all his exertions proved unavailing. Middleton, being destitute of money and provisions, was at length obliged to submit, and the war was thus ended, excepting with Lochiel himself, who, firm in his allegiance, still held out, and continued to resist the encroachments of the garrison quartered in his neighbourhood. He surprised and cut off a foraging party, which, under the pretence of hunting, had set out to

make a sweep of his cattle and goats; and he succeeded in making prisoners of a number of Scotch and English officers, with their attendants, who had been sent to survey the estates of several loyalists in Argyleshire, with the intention of building forts there to keep down the king's friends. This last affair was planned with great skill, and, like almost all his enterprises, proved completely successful. But the termination of his resistance was now approaching. He treated his prisoners with the greatest kindness, and this brought on an intimacy, which ultimately led to a proposal of negotiation. Lochiel was naturally enough very anxious for an honourable treaty. His country was impoverished and his people were nearly ruined; the cause which he had so long and bravely supported seemed desperate; and all prospect of relief or assistance had by this time completely vanished. Yet the gallant chief resisted several attempts to induce him to yield, protesting that, rather than disarm himself and his clan, abjure his king, and take the oaths to an usurper, he would live as an outlaw, without regard to the consequences. To this it was answered, that, if he only evinced an inclination to submit, no oath would be required, and that he should have his own terms. Accordingly, General Monk, then commander-in-chief in Scotland, drew up certain conditions which he sent to Lochiel, and which, with some slight alterations, the latter accepted and returned by one of the prisoners lately taken, whom he released upon parole. And proudly might he accept the terms offered to him. No oath was required of Lochiel to Cromwell, but his word of honour to live in peace. He and his clan were allowed to keep their arms as before the war broke out, they behaving peaceably. Reparation was to be made to Lochiel for the wood cut by the garrison of Inverlochy. A full indemnity was granted for all acts of depredation, and crimes committed by his men. Reparation was to be made to his tenants for all the losses they had sustained from the troops. All tithes, cess, and public burdens which had not been paid, were to be remitted. This was in June 1654.

Lochiel with his brave Camerons lived in peace till the Restoration, and during the two succeeding reigns he remained in tranquil

possession of his property. But in 1689, he joined the standard of King James, which had been raised by Viscount Dundee. General Mackay had, by orders of King William, offered him a title and a considerable sum of money, apparently on the condition of his remaining neutral. The offer, however, was rejected with disdain; and at the battle of Killiecrankie, Sir Ewen had a conspicuous share in the success of the day. Before the battle, he spoke to each of his men, individually, and took their promise that they would conquer or die. At the commencement of the action, when General Mackay's army raised a kind of shout, Lochiel exclaimed, "Gentlemen, the day is our own; I am the oldest commander in the army, and I have always observed something ominous or fatal in such a dull, heavy, feeble noise as that which the enemy has just made in their shout." These words spread like wildfire through the ranks of the Highlanders. Electrified by the prognostication of the veteran chief, they rushed like furies on the enemy, and in half an hour the battle was finished. But Viscount Dundee had fallen early in the fight, and Lochiel, disgusted with the incapacity of Colonel Cannon, who succeeded him, retired to Lochaber, leaving the command of his men to his eldest son.⁴ This heroic and chivalrous chief survived till the year 1719, when he died at the age of ninety, leaving a name distinguished for bravery, honour, consistency, and disinterested devotion to the cause which he so long and ably supported.⁵

The character of Sir Ewen Cameron was worthily upheld by his grandson, the "gentle Lochiel," though with less auspicious fortune.

⁴ Although Sir Ewen, with his clan, had joined Lord Dundee in the service of the abdicated king, yet his second son was a captain in the Scots Fusiliers, and served with Mackay on the side of the government. As the general was observing the Highland army drawn up on the face of a hill to the westward of the great pass, he turned round to young Cameron, who stood near him, and pointing to his clansmen, said, "There is your father with his wild savages; how would you like to be with him?" "It signifies little," replied Cameron, "what I would like; but I recommend it to you to be prepared, or perhaps my father and his wild savages may be nearer to you before night than you would like." And so indeed it happened.—Stewart's *Sketches*, vol. i. p. 66.

⁵ For the foregoing account of the achievements of Sir Ewen Cameron we have been chiefly indebted to General Stewart's valuable work on the Highlanders and Highland Regiments.

The share which that gallant chief had in the ill-fated insurrection of 1745–1746 has already been fully told, and his conduct throughout was such as to gain him the esteem and admiration of all.⁶ The estates of Lochiel were of course included in the numerous forfeitures which followed the suppression of the insurrection; however, Charles Cameron, son of the Lochiel of the '45, was allowed to return to Britain, and lent his influence to the raising of the Lochiel men for the service of government. His son, Donald, was restored to his estates under the general act of amnesty of 1784. The eldest son of the latter, also named Donald, born 25th September 1796, obtained a commission in the Guards in 1814, and fought at Waterloo. He retired from the army in 1832, and died 14th December 1858, leaving two sons and four daughters. His eldest son, Donald, succeeded as chief of the clan Cameron.

The family of CAMERON of FASSIFERN, in Argyleshire, possesses a baronetcy of the United Kingdom, conferred in 1817 on Ewen Cameron of Fassifern, the father of Colonel John Cameron, of the 92d Highlanders, slain at the battle of Quatre Bras,⁷ 16th June 1815, while bravely leading on his men, for that officer's distinguished military services; at the same time, two Highlanders were added as supporters to his armorial bearings, and several heraldic distinctions indicating the particular services of Colonel Cameron. On the death of Sir Ewen in 1828, his second son, Sir Duncan, succeeded to the baronetcy.

MACLEAN.

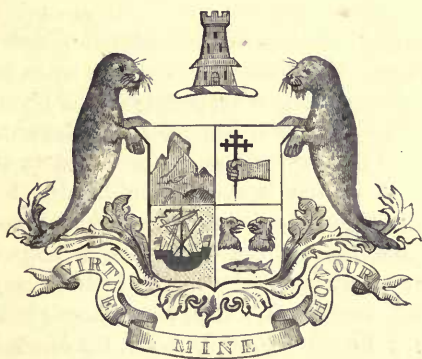
The clan GILLEAN or the MACLEANS is another clan included by Mr. Skene under the head of Moray. The origin of the clan has been very much disputed; according to Buchanan and other authorities it is of Norman or Italian origin, descended from the Fitzgeralds of Ireland. "Speed and other English historians derive the genealogy of the Fitzgeralds from Seignior Giraldo, a principal officer under William the Conqueror." Their progenitor, however, according to Cel-

⁶ The portrait of the "gentle Lochiel" will be found at p. 519, vol. i.

⁷ For details, see account of the 92d Regiment.

tic tradition, was one Gillean or Gill-eòin, a name signifying the young man, or the servant or follower of John, who lived so early as the beginning of the 5th century. He was called *Gillean-na-Tuaidhe*, i.e. Gillean with the axe, from the dexterous manner in which he wielded that weapon in battle, and his descendants bear a battle-axe in their crest. According to a history of the clan Maclean published in 1838 by "a Sennachie," the clan is traced up to Fergus I. of Scotland, and from him back to an Aonghus Turmhi Teamhrach, "an ancient monarch of Ireland." As to which of these accounts of the origin of the clan is correct, we shall not pretend to decide. The clan can have no reason to be ashamed of either.

MACLEAN.



BADGE—Blackberry Heath.

The Macleans have been located in Mull since the 14th century. According to Mr Skene, they appear originally to have belonged to Moray. He says,—“The two oldest genealogies of the Macleans, of which one is the production of the Beaton, who were hereditary sennachies of the family, concur in deriving the clan Gille-eon from the same race from whom the clans belonging to the great Moray tribe are brought by the MS. of 1450. Of this clan the oldest seat seems to have been the district of Lorn, as they first appear in subjection to the lords of Lorn; and their situation being thus between the Camerons and Macnachtans, who were undisputed branches of the Moray tribe, there can be little doubt that the Macleans belonged to

that tribe also. As their oldest seat was thus in Argyle, while they are unquestionably a part of the tribe of Moray, we may infer that they were one of those clans transplanted from North Moray by Malcolm IV., and it is not unlikely that Glen Urquhart was their original residence, as that district is said to have been in the possession of the Macleans when the Bissets came in.”

The first of the name on record, Gillean, lived in the reign of Alexander III. (1249–1286), and fought against the Norsemen at the battle of Largs. In the Ragman's Roll we find Gilli-more Macilean described as *del Counte de Perth*, among those who swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296. As the county of Perth at that period included Lorn, it is probable that he was the son of the above Gillean. In the reign of Robert the Bruce mention is made of three brothers, John, Nigel, and Dofuall, termed Macgillean or filii Gillean, who appear to have been sons of Gilli-more, for we find John afterwards designated Macgilli-more. The latter fought under Bruce at Bannockburn. A dispute having arisen with the Lord of Lorn, the brothers left him and took refuge in the Isles. Between them and the Mackinnons, upon whose lands they appear to have encroached, a bitter feud took place, which led to a most daring act on the part of the chief of the Macleans. When following, with the chief of the Mackinnons, the galley of the Lord of the Isles, he attacked the former and slew him, and immediately after, afraid of his vengeance, he seized the Macdonald himself, and carried him prisoner to Icolmkill, where Maclean detained him until he agreed to vow friendship to the Macleans, “upon certain stones where men were used to make solemn vows in those superstitious times,” and granted them the lands in Mull which they have ever since possessed. John Gilli-more, surnamed Dhu from his dark complexion, appears to have settled in Mull about the year 1330. He died in the reign of Robert II., leaving two sons, Lachlan Lubanach, ancestor of the Macleans of Dowart, and Eachann or Hector Reganach, of the Macleans of Lochbuy.

Lachlan, the elder son, married in 1366, Margaret, daughter of John I., Lord of the Isles, by his wife, the princess Margaret Stewart,

and had a son Hector, which became a favourite name among the Macleans, as Kenneth was among the Mackenzies, Evan among the Camerons, and Hugh among the Mackays. Both Lachlan and his son, Hector, received extensive grants of land from John, the father-in-law of the former, and his successor, Donald. Altogether, their possession consisted of the isles of Mull, Tiree, and Coll, with Morvern on the mainland, Kingerloch and Ardgour; and the clan Gillean became one of the most important and powerful of the vassal tribes of the lords of the Isles.

Lachlan's son, Hector, called *Euchann Ruadh nan Cath*, that is, Red Hector of the Battles, commanded as lieutenant-general under his uncle, Donald, at the battle of Harlaw in 1411, when he and Sir Alexander Irving of Drum, seeking out each other by their armorial bearings, encountered hand to hand and slew each other; in commemoration of which circumstance, we are told, the Dowart and Drum families were long accustomed to exchange swords. Red Hector of the Battles married a daughter of the Earl of Douglas. His eldest son was taken prisoner at the battle of Harlaw, and detained in captivity a long time by the Earl of Mar. His brother, John, at the head of the Macleans, was in the expedition of Donald Balloch, cousin of the Lord of the Isles, in 1431, when the Islesmen ravaged Lochaber, and were encountered at Inverlochy, near Fortwilliam, by the royal forces under the Earls of Caithness and Mar, whom they defeated. In the dissensions which arose between John, the last Lord of the Isles, and his turbulent son, Angus, who, with the island chiefs descended from the original family, complained that his father had made improvident grants of lands to the Macleans and other tribes, Hector Maclean, chief of the clan, and great-grandson of Red Hector of the Battles, took part with the former, and commanded his fleet at the battle of Bloody Bay in 1480, where he was taken prisoner. This Hector was chief of his tribe at the date of the forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles in 1493, when the clan Gillean, or Clan Lean as it came to be called, was divided into four independent branches, viz., the Macleans of Dowart, the Macleans of Lochbuy, the Macleans of Coll,

and the Macleans of Ardgour. Lachlan Maclean was chief of Dowart in 1502, and he and his kinsman, Maclean of Lochbuy, were among the leading men of the Western Isles, whom that energetic monarch, James IV., entered into correspondence with, for the purpose of breaking up the confederacy of the Islanders. Nevertheless, on the breaking out of the insurrection under Donald Dubh, in 1503, they were both implicated in it. Lachlan Maclean was forfeited with Cameron of Lochiel, while Maclean of Lochbuy and several others were summoned before the parliament, to answer for their treasonable support given to the rebels. In 1505 Maclean of Dowart abandoned the cause of Donald Dubh and submitted to the government; his example was followed by Maclean of Lochbuy and other chiefs; and this had the effect, soon after, of putting an end to the rebellion.

Lachlan Maclean of Dowart was killed at Flodden. His successor, of the same name, was one of the principal supporters of Sir Donald Macdonald of Lochalsh, when, in November 1513, he brought forward his claims to the lordship of the Isles. In 1523 a feud of a most implacable character broke out between the Macleans and the Campbells, arising out of an occurrence connected with the "lady's cock," mentioned in our account of the Campbells. In 1529, however, the Macleans joined the Clondonald of Isla against the Earl of Argyll, and ravaged with fire and sword the lands of Roseneath, Craignish, and others belonging to the Campbells, killing many of the inhabitants. The Campbells, on their part, retaliated by laying waste great portion of the isles of Mull and Tiree and the lands of Morvern, belonging to the Macleans. In May 1530, Maclean of Dowart and Alexander of Isla made their personal submission to the sovereign at Stirling, and, with the other rebel island chiefs who followed their example, were pardoned, upon giving security for their after obedience.

In 1545, Maclean of Dowart acted a very prominent part in the intrigues with England, in furtherance of the project of Henry VIII., to force the Scottish nation to consent to a marriage between Prince Edward and the young Queen Mary. He and Maclean of Lochbuy

were among the barons of the Isles who accompanied Donald Dubh to Ireland, and at the command of the Earl of Lennox, claiming to be regent of Scotland, swore allegiance to the king of England

The subsequent clan history consists chiefly of a record of feuds in which the Dowart Macleans were engaged with the Macleans of Coll, and the Macdonalds of Kintyre. The dispute with the former arose from Dowart, who was generally recognised as the head of the Clan-Lean, insisting on being followed as chief by Maclean of Coll, and the latter, who held his lands direct from the crown, declining to acknowledge him as such, on the ground that being a free baron, he owed no service but to his sovereign as his feudal superior. In consequence of this refusal, Dowart, in the year 1561, caused Coll's lands to be ravaged, and his tenants to be imprisoned. With some difficulty, and after the lapse of several years, Coll succeeded in bringing his case before the privy council, who ordered Dowart to make reparation to him for the injury done to his property and tenants, and likewise to refrain from molesting him in future. But on a renewal of the feud some years after, the Macleans of Coll were expelled from that island by the young laird of Dowart.

The quarrel between the Macleans and the Macdonalds of Isla and Kintyre was, at the outset, merely a dispute as to the right of occupancy of the crown lands called the Rhinns of Isla, but it soon involved these tribes in a long and bloody feud, and eventually led to the destruction nearly of them both. The Macleans, who were in possession, claimed to hold the lands in dispute as tenants of the crown, but the privy council decided that Macdonald of Isla was really the crown tenant. Lachlan Maclean of Dowart, called Lachlan Mor, was chief of the Macleans in 1578. Under him the feud with the Macdonalds assumed a most sanguinary and relentless character. Full details of this feud will be found in the former part of this work.

The mutual ravages committed by the hostile clans, in which the kindred and vassal tribes on both sides were involved, and the effects of which were felt throughout the whole of the Hebrides, attracted, in 1589, the serious atten-

tion of the king and council, and for the purpose of putting an end to them, the rival chiefs, with Macdonald of Sleat, on receiving remission, under the privy seal, for all the crimes committed by them, were induced to proceed to Edinburgh. On their arrival, they were committed prisoners to the castle, and, after some time, Maclean and Angus Macdonald were brought to trial, in spite of the remissions granted to them; one of the principal charges against them being their treasonable hiring of Spanish and English soldiers to fight in their private quarrels. Both chiefs submitted themselves to the king's mercy, and placed their lives and lands at his disposal. On payment each of a small fine they were allowed to return to the Isles, Macdonald of Sleat being released at the same time. Besides certain conditions being imposed upon them, they were taken bound to return to their confinement in the castle of Edinburgh, whenever they should be summoned, on twenty days' warning. Not fulfilling the conditions, they were, on 14th July 1593, cited to appear before the privy council, and as they disobeyed the summons, both Lachlan Mòr and Angus Macdonald were, in 1594, forfeited by parliament.

At the battle of Glenlivet, in that year, fought between the Catholic Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol, on the one side, and the king's forces, under the Earl of Argyll, on the other, Lachlan Mòr, at the head of the Macleans, particularly distinguished himself. Argyll lost the battle, but, says Mr Gregory,⁴ "the conduct of Lachlan Maclean of Dowart, who was one of Argyll's officers, in this action, would, if imitated by the other leaders, have converted the defeat into a victory."

In 1596 Lachlan Mòr repaired to court, and on making his submission to the king, the act of forfeiture was removed. He also received from the crown a lease of the Rhinns of Isla, so long in dispute between him and Macdonald of Dunyveg. While thus at the head of favour, however, his unjust and oppressive conduct to the family of the Macleans of Coll, whose castle and island he had seized some years before, on the death of Hector Maclean, proprietor thereof, was brought before the privy council by Lachlan Maclean, then of Coll, Hector's son,

⁴ *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 259.

and the same year he was ordered to deliver up not only the castle of Coll, but all his own castles and strongholds, to the lieutenant of the Isles, on twenty-four hours' warning, also, to restore to Coll, within thirty days, all the lands of which he had deprived him, under a penalty of 10,000 merks. In 1598, Lachlan Mòr, with the view of expelling the Macdonalds from Isla, levied his vassals and proceeded to that island, and after an ineffectual attempt at an adjustment of their differences, was encountered, on 5th August, at the head of Lochgreinord, by Sir James Macdonald, son of Angus, at the head of his clan, when the Macleans were defeated, and their chief killed, with 80 of his principal men and 200 common soldiers. Lachlan Barrach Maclean, a son of Sir Lachlan, was dangerously wounded, but escaped.

Hector Maclean, the son and successor of Sir Lachlan, at the head of a numerous force, afterwards invaded Isla, and attacked and defeated the Macdonalds at a place called Bern Bige, and then ravaged the whole island. In the conditions imposed upon the chiefs for the pacification of the Isles in 1616, we find that Maclean of Dowart was not to use in his house more than four tun of wine, and Coll and Lochbuy one tun each.

Sir Lachlan Maclean of Morvern, a younger brother of Hector Maclean of Dowart, was in 1631 created a baronet of Nova Scotia by Charles I., and on the death of his elder brother he succeeded to the estate of Dowart. In the civil wars the Macleans took arms under Montrose, and fought valiantly for the royal cause. At the battle of Inverlochy, 2d February 1645, Sir Lachlan commanded his clan. He engaged in the subsequent battles of the royalist general. Sir Hector Maclean, his son, with 800 of his followers, was at the battle of Inverkeithing, 20th July 1651, when the royalists were opposed to the troops of Oliver Cromwell. On this occasion an instance of devoted attachment to the chief was shown on the part of the Macleans. In the heat of the battle, Sir Hector was covered from the enemy's attacks by seven brothers of his clan, all whom successively sacrificed their lives in his defence. Each brother, as he fell, exclaimed, "*Fear eile air son Eachainn*," 'Another for Eachann,' or Hec-

tor, and a fresh one stepping in, answered, "*Bàs air son Eachainn*," 'Death for Eachann.' The former phrase, says General Stewart, has continued ever since to be a proverb or watchword, when a man encounters any sudden danger that requires instant succour. Sir Hector, however, was left among the slain, with about 500 of his followers.

The Dowart estates had become deeply involved in debt, and the Marquis of Argyll, by purchasing them up, had acquired a claim against the lands of Maclean, which ultimately led to the greater portion of them becoming the property of that accumulating family. In 1674, after the execution of the marquis, payment was insisted upon by his son, the earl. The tutor of Maclean, the chief, his nephew, being a minor, evaded the demand for a considerable time, and at length showed a disposition to resist it by force. Argyll had recourse to legal proceedings, and supported by a body of 2,000 Campbells, he crossed into Mull, where he took possession of the castle of Dowart, and placed a garrison in it. The Macleans, however, refused to pay their rents to the earl, and in consequence he prepared for a second invasion of Mull. To resist it, the Macdonalds came to the aid of the Macleans, but Argyll's ships were driven back by a storm, when he applied to government, and even went to London, to ask assistance from the king. Lord Macdonald and other friends of the Macleans followed him, and laid a statement of the dispute before Charles, who, in February 1676, remitted the matter to three lords of the Scottish privy council. No decision, however, was come to by them, and Argyll was allowed to take possession of the island of Mull without resistance in 1680. At the battle of Killiecrankie, Sir John Maclean, with his regiment, was placed on Dundee's right, and among the troops on his left was a battalion under Sir Alexander Maclean. The Macleans were amongst the Highlanders surprised and defeated at Cromdale in 1690. In the rebellion of 1715, the Macleans ranged themselves under the standard of the Earl of Mar, and were present at the battle of Sheriffmuir. For his share in the insurrection Sir John Maclean, the chief, was forfeited, but the estates were afterwards restored to the family. On the breaking out of the rebellion of 1745,

Sir John's son, Sir Hector Maclean, the fifth baronet, was apprehended, with his servant, at Edinburgh, and conveyed to London. He was set at liberty in June 1747. At Culloden, however, 500 of his clan fought for Prince Charles, under Maclean of Drimnin, who was slain while leading them on. Sir Hector died, unmarried, at Paris, in 1750, when the title devolved upon his third cousin, the remainder being to heirs male whatsoever. This third cousin, Sir Allan Maclean, was great-grandson of Donald Maclean of Brolas, eldest son, by his second marriage, of Hector Maclean of Dowart, the father

told by Boswell, it would appear that the feeling of devotion to the chief had survived the abolition act of 1747. "The MacInnis are said to be a branch of the clan of Maclean. Sir Allan had been told that one of the name had refused to send him some rum, at which the knight was in great indignation. 'You rascal!' said he, 'don't you know that I can hang you, if I please? Refuse to send rum to me, you rascal! Don't you know that if I order you to go and cut a man's throat, you are to do it?' 'Yes, an't please your honour, and my own too, and hang myself too!' The

poor fellow denied that he had refused to send the rum. His making these professions was not merely a pretence in presence of his chief, for, after he and I were out of Sir Allan's hearing, he told me, 'Had he sent his dog for the rum, I would have given it: I would cut my bones for him.' Sir Allan, by the way of upbraiding the fellow, said, 'I believe you are a *Campbell!*'"

Dying without male issue in 1783, Sir Allan was succeeded by his kinsman, Sir Hector, 7th baronet; on whose death, Nov. 2, 1818, his brother, Lieut.-general Sir Fitzroy Jefferies Grafton Maclean, became the 8th baronet. He died July 5, 1847, leaving two sons, Sir Charles Fitzroy Grafton Maclean of Morvern, and Donald Maclean, of the chancery bar. Sir Charles, 9th baronet, married a daughter of the Hon. and Rev. Jacob Marsham, uncle of the Earl of Romney, and has issue, a son, Fitzroy Donald, major 13th dragoons, and four



Sir Allan Maclean. From the original painting in possession of John Maclean Mackenzie Grieves, Esq. of Hutton Hall, Berwickshire.

of the first baronet. Sir Allan married Anne, daughter of Hector Maclean of Coll, and had three daughters, the eldest of whom, Maria, became the wife of Maclean of Kinlochaline, and the second, Sibella, of Maclean of Inverscadell. In 1773, when Johnson and Boswell visited the Hebrides, Sir Allan was chief of the clan. He resided at that time on Inch Kenneth, one of his smaller islands, in the district of Mull, where he entertained his visitors very hospitably. From the following anecdote

daughters, one of whom, Louisa, became the wife of Hon. Ralph Pelham Neville, son of the Earl of Abergavenny.

The first of the LOCHBUY branch of the Macleans was Hector Reganach, brother of Lachlan Lubanach above mentioned. He had a son named John, or Murchard, whose great-grandson, John Og Maclean of Lochbuy, received from King James IV. several charters of the lands and baronies which had been held by his progenitors. He was killed, with his two elder

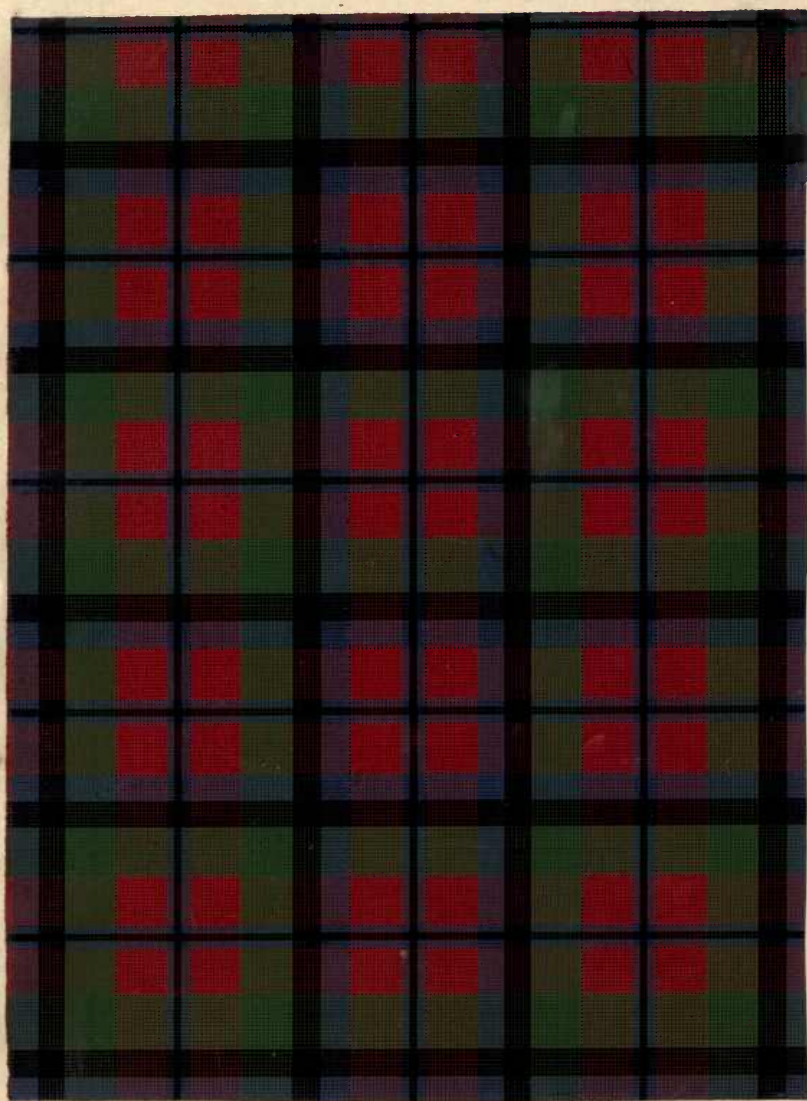
sons, in a family feud with the Macleans of Dowart. His only surviving son, Murdoch, was obliged, in consequence of the same feud, to retire to Ireland, where he married a daughter of the Earl of Antrim. By the mediation of his father-in-law, his differences with Dowart were satisfactorily adjusted, and he returned to the isles, where he spent his latter years in peace. The house of Lochbuy has always maintained that of the two brothers, Lachlan Lubanach and Hector Reganach, the latter was the senior, and that, consequently, the chiefship of the Macleans is vested in its head; "but this," says Mr Gregory, "is a point on which there is no certain evidence." The whole clan, at different periods, have followed the head of both families to the field, and fought under their command. The Lochbuy family now spells its name MacIaine.

The COLL branch of the Macleans, like that of Dowart, descended from Lachlan Lubanach, said to have been grandfather of the fourth laird of Dowart and first laird of Coll, who were brothers. John Maclean, surnamed Garbh, son of Lachlan of Dowart, obtained the isle of Coll and the lands of Quinish in Mull from Alexander, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, and afterwards, on the forfeiture of Cameron, the lands of Lochiel. The latter grant engendered, as we have seen, a deadly feud between the Camerons and the Macleans. At one time the son and successor of John Garbh occupied Lochiel by force, but was killed in a conflict with the Camerons at Corpach, in the reign of James III. His infant son would also have been put to death, had the boy not been saved by the Macgillories or Macalonychs, a tribe of Lochaber that generally followed the clan Cameron. This youth, subsequently known as John Abrach Maclean of Coll, was the representative of the family in 1493, and from him was adopted the patronymic appellation of Maclean Abrach, by which the lairds of Coll were ever after distinguished.

The tradition concerning this heir of Coll is thus related by Dr Johnson, in his *Tour to the Hebrides*:—"On the wall of old Coll Castle was, not long ago, a stone with an inscription, importing, 'That if any man of the clan of Macalonych shall appear before this castle, though he come at midnight with a man's

head in his hand, he shall there find safety and protection against all but the king.' This is an old Highland treaty made upon a memorable occasion. Maclean, the son of John Garbh, had obtained, it is said, from James II., a grant of the lands of Lochiel. Forfeited estates were not in those days quietly resigned: Maclean, therefore, went with an armed force to seize his new possessions, and, I know not for what reason, took his wife with him. The Camerons rose in defence of their chief, and a battle was fought at the head of Lochness, near the place where Fort Augustus now stands, in which Lochiel obtained the victory, and Maclean, with his followers, was defeated and destroyed. The lady fell into the hands of the conquerors, and being pregnant, was placed in the custody of Macalonych, one of a tribe or family branched from Cameron, with orders, if she brought a boy, to destroy him, if a girl, to spare her. Macalonych's wife had a girl about the same time at which Lady M'Lean brought a boy; and Macalonych, with more generosity to his captive than fidelity to his trust, contrived that the children should be changed. Maclean in time recovered his original patrimony, and in gratitude to his friend, made his castle a place of refuge to any of the clan that should think himself in danger; and Maclean took upon himself and his posterity the care of educating the heir of Macalonych. The power of protection subsists no longer; but Maclean of Coll now educates the heir of Macalonych."

The account of the conversion of the simple islanders of Coll from Popery to Protestantism is curious. The laird had imbibed the principles of the Reformation, but found his people reluctant to abandon the religion of their fathers. To compel them to do so, he took his station one Sunday in the path which led to the Roman Catholic church, and as his clansmen approached he drove them back with his cane. They at once made their way to the Protestant place of worship, and from this persuasive mode of conversion his vassals ever after called it the religion of the gold-headed stick. Lachlan, the seventh proprietor of Coll, went over to Holland with some of his own men, in the reign of Charles II., and obtained the command of a company in General Mackay's regiment, in the service of the Prince of Orange. He



MACNAUGHTON.

afterwards returned to Scotland, and was drowned in the water of Lochy, in Lochaber, in 1687.

Colonel Hugh Maclean, London, the last laird of Coll, of that name, was the 15th in regular descent from John Garbh, son of Lauchlan Lubanach.

The ARDGOUR branch of the Macleans, which held its lands directly from the Lord of the Isles, is descended from Donald, another son of Lachlan, third laird of Dowart. The estate of Ardgour, which is in Argyleshire, had previously belonged to a different tribe (the Macmasters), but it was conferred upon Donald, either by Alexander, Earl of Ross, or by his son and successor, John. In 1463, Ewen or Eugene, son of Donald, held the office of seneschal of the household to the latter earl; and in 1493, Lachlan Macewen Maclean was laird of Ardgour. Alexander Maclean, Esq., the present laird of Ardgour, is the 14th from father to son.

During the 17th and 18th centuries the Macleans of Lochbuy, Coll, and Ardgour, more fortunate than the Dowart branch of the clan, contrived to preserve their estates nearly entire, although compelled by the Marquis of Argyll to renounce their holdings *in capite* of the crown, and to become vassals of that nobleman. They continued zealous partizans of the Stuarts, in whose cause they suffered severely.

From Lachlan Og Maclean, a younger son of Lachlan Mòr of Dowart, sprung the family of TORLOISK in Mull.

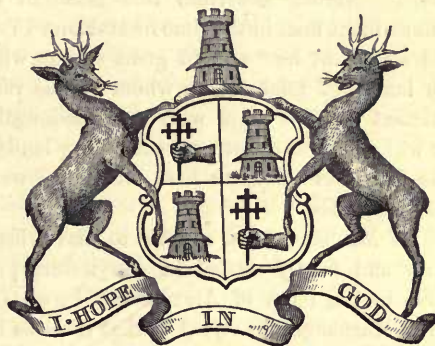
Of the numerous flourishing cadets of the different branches, the principal were the Macleans of KINLOCHALINE, ARDTORNISH, and DRIMNIN, descended from the family of Dowart; of TAPUL and SCALLASDALE, in the island of Mull, from that of Lochbuy; of ISLE OF MUCK, from that of Coll; and of BORRERA, in North Uist and TRESHINISH, from that of Ardgour. The family of Borrera are represented by Donald Maclean, Esq., and General Archibald Maclean. From the Isle of Muck and Treshinish Macleans is descended A. C. Maclean, Esq. of Haremere Hall, Sussex.

The Macleans of PENNYCROSS, island of Mull, represented by Alexander Maclean, Esq., derives from John Dubh, the first Maclean of

Morvern. General Allan Maclean of Penny-cross, colonel of the 13th light dragoons, charged with them at Waterloo.

The force of the Macleans was at one time 800; in 1745 it was 500.

MACNAUGHTON.



BADGE—Heath.

Another clan, supposed by Mr Skene to have originally belonged to Moray, is the clan Nachtan or Macnaughton.

The MS. of 1450 deduces the descent of the heads of this clan from Nachtan Mor, who is supposed to have lived in the 10th century. The Gaelic name Neachtain is the same as the Pictish Nectan, celebrated in the *Pictish Chronicle* as one of the great Celtic divisions in Scotland, and the appellation is among the most ancient in the north of Ireland, the original seat of the Cruithen Picts. According to Buchanan of Auchmar,¹ the heads of this clan were for ages thanes of Loch Tay, and possessed all the country between the south side of Loch-Fyne and Lochawe, parts of which were Glenira, Glenshira, Glenfine, and other places, while their principal seat was Dunderraw on Loch-Fyne.

In the reign of Robert III., Maurice or Morice Macnaughton had a charter from Colin Campbell of Lochow of sundry lands in Over Lochow, but their first settlement in Argyleshire, in the central parts of which their lands latterly wholly lay, took place long before this. When Malcolm the Maiden attempted

¹ *History of the Origin of the Clans*, p. 84.

to civilise the ancient province of Moray, by introducing Norman and Saxon families, such as the Bissets, the Comyns, &c., in the place of the rude Celtic natives whom he had expatriated to the south, he gave lands in or near Strathtay or Strathspey, to Nachtan of Moray, for those he had held in that province. He had there a residence called Dunnachtan castle. Nesbit² describes this Nachtan as "an eminent man in the time of Malcolm IV.," and says that he "was in great esteem with the family of Lochawe, to whom he was very assistant in their wars with the Macdougals, for which he was rewarded with sundry lands." The family of Lochawe here mentioned were the Campbells.

The Macnaughtons appear to have been fairly and finally settled in Argyshire previous to the reign of Alexander III., as Gilchrist Macnaughton, styled of that ilk, was by that monarch appointed, in 1287, heritable keeper of his castle and island of Frechelan (Fraoch Ellan) on Lochawe, on condition that he should be properly entertained when he should pass that way; whence a castle embattled was assumed as the crest of the family.

This Gilchrist was father or grandfather of Donald Macnaughton of that ilk, who, being nearly connected with the Macdougals of Lorn, joined that powerful chief with his clan against Robert the Bruce, and fought against the latter at the battle of Dalree in 1306, in consequence of which he lost a great part of his estates. In Abercromby's *Martial Achievements*,³ it is related that the extraordinary courage shown by the king in having, in a narrow pass, slain with his own hand several of his pursuers, and amongst the rest three brothers, so greatly excited the admiration of the chief of the Macnaughtons that he became thenceforth one of his firmest adherents.⁴

His son and successor, Duncan Macnaughton of that ilk, was a steady and loyal subject to King David II., who, as a reward for his fidelity, conferred on his son, Alexander, lands in the island of Lewis, a portion of the forfeited possessions of John of the Isles, which the chiefs of the clan Naughton held for a

time. The ruins of their castle of Macnaughton are still pointed out on that island.

Donald Macnaughton, a younger son of the family, was, in 1436, elected bishop of Dunkeld, in the reign of James I.

Alexander Macnaughton of that ilk, who lived in the beginning of the 16th century, was knighted by James IV., whom he accompanied to the disastrous field of Flodden, where he was slain, with nearly the whole chivalry of Scotland. His son, John, was succeeded by his second son, Malcolm Macnaughton of Glenshira, his eldest son having predeceased him. Malcolm died in the end of the reign of James VI., and was succeeded by his eldest son, Alexander.

John, the second son of Malcolm, being of a handsome appearance, attracted the notice of King James VI., who appointed him one of his pages of honour, on his accession to the English crown. He became rich, and purchased lands in Kintyre. His elder brother, Alexander Macnaughton of that ilk, adhered firmly to the cause of Charles I., and in his service sustained many severe losses. At the Restoration, as some sort of compensation, he was knighted by Charles II., and, unlike many others, received from that monarch a liberal pension for life. Sir Alexander Macnaughton spent his later days in London, where he died. His son and successor, John Macnaughton of that ilk, succeeded to an estate greatly burdened with debt, but did not hesitate in his adherence to the fallen fortunes of the Stuarts. At the head of a considerable body of his own clan, he joined Viscount Dundee, and was with him at Killiecrankie. James VII. signed a deed in his favour, restoring to his family all its old lands and hereditary rights, but, as it never passed the seals in Scotland, it was of no value. His lands were taken from him, not by forfeiture, but "the estate," says Buchanan of Auchmar, "was evicted by creditors for sums noways equivalent to its value, and, there being no diligence used for relief thereof, it went out of the hands of the family." His son, Alexander, a captain in Queen Anne's guards, was killed in the expedition to Vigo in 1702. His brother, John, at the beginning of the last century was for many years collector of customs at Anstruther

² *Heraldry*, vol. i. p. 419.

³ Vol. i. p. 577.

⁴ See account of the Macdougals.

in Fife, and subsequently was appointed inspector-general in the same department. The direct male line of the Macnaughton chiefs became extinct at his death.

"The Mackenricks are ascribed to the Macnaughton line, as also families of Macknights (or Macneits), Macnayers, Macbraynes, and Maceols." The present head of the Macbraynes is John Burns Macbrayne, Esq. of Glenbranter, Cowel, Argyleshire, grandson of Donald Macbrayne, merchant in Glasgow, who was great-grandson, on the female side, of Alexander Macnaughton of that ilk, and heir of line of John Macnaughton, inspector-general of customs in Scotland. On this account the present representative of the Macbraynes is entitled to quarter his arms with those of the Macnaughtons.

There are still in Athole families of the Macnaughton name, proving so far what has been stated respecting their early possession of lands in that district. Stewart of Garth makes most honourable mention of one of the sept, who was in the service of Menzies of Culdares in the year 1745. That gentleman had been "out" in 1715, and was pardoned. Grateful so far, he did not join Prince Charles, but sent a fine charger to him as he entered England. The servant, Macnaughton, who conveyed the present, was taken and tried at Carlisle. The errand on which he had come was clearly proved, and he was offered pardon and life if he would reveal the name of the sender of the horse. He asked with indignation if they supposed that he could be such a villain. They repeated the offer to him on the scaffold, but he died firm to his notion of fidelity. His life was nothing to that of his master, he said. The brother of this Macnaughton was known to Garth, and was one of the Gael who always carried a weapon about him to his dying day.⁵

Under the subordinate head of Siol O'Cain, other two clans are included in the Maormordom of Moray, viz., clan Roich or Munro, and clan Gillemhaol or Macmillan.

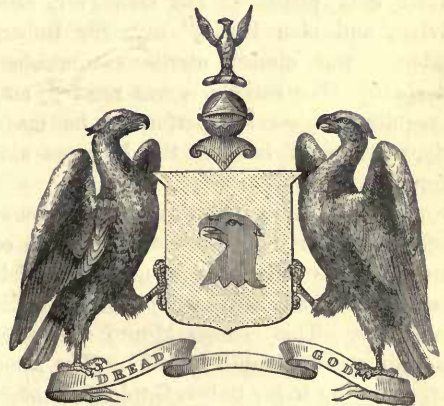
MUNRO.

The possessions of the clan Monro or Munro,

⁵ Smibert's *Clans*.

situated on the north side of Cromarty Firth, were generally known in the Highlands by the name of Fearrann Donull or Donald's country, being so called, it is said, from the progenitor of the clan, Donald the son of O'Ceann, who lived in the time of Macbeth. The Munroes were vassals of the Earls of Ross, and may be regarded as a portion of the native Scottish Gael. According to Sir George Mackenzie, they came originally from the north of Ireland with the Macdonalds, on which great clan "they had constantly a depending." Their name he states to have been derived from "a mount on the river Roe," county Derry. Clan tradition, probably not more to be relied upon than tradition generally, holds that they formed a branch of the natives of Scotland who, about 357, being driven out by the Romans, and forced to take refuge in Ireland, were located for several centuries on the stream of the Roe, and among the adjacent mountains. In the time of Malcolm II., or beginning of the 11th century, the ancestors of the Munroes are said to have come over to Scotland to aid in expelling the Danes, under the above named Donald, son of O'Ceann, who, for his services, received the lands of East Dingwall in Ross-shire. These lands, erected into a barony, were denominated Foulis, from Loch Foyle in Ireland, and the chief of the clan was designated of Foulis, his residence in the parish of Kiltarn, near the mountain called Ben Uaish or Ben Wyvis. So says tradition.

MUNRO OF FOULIS.



BADGE—According to some, Eagle's Feathers, others, Common Club Moss.

Another conjecture as to the origin of the name of Munro is that, from having acted as bailiffs or stewards to the Lords of the Isles in the earldom of Ross, they were called "Munrosses." Skene, as we have said, ranks the clan as members of a great family called the Siol O'Cain, and makes them out to be a branch of the clan Chattan, by ingeniously converting O'Cain into O'Cathan, and thus forming Chattan. Sir George Mackenzie says the name originally was Bunroe.

Hugh Munro, the first of the family authentically designated of Foulis, died in 1126. He seems to have been the grandson of Donald, the son of O'Ceann above mentioned. Robert, reckoned the second baron of Foulis, was actively engaged in the wars of David I. and Malcolm IV. Donald, heir of Robert, built the old tower of Foulis. His successor, Robert, married a daughter of the Earl of Sutherland. George, fifth baron of Foulis, obtained charters from Alexander II. Soon after the accession of Alexander III., an insurrection broke out against the Earl of Ross, the feudal superior of the Munroes, by the clans Ivor, Talvigh, and Laiwe, and other people of the province. The earl having apprehended their leader, and imprisoned him at Dingwall, the insurgents seized upon his second son at Balnagowan, and detained him as a hostage till their leader should be released. The Munroes and the Dingwalls immediately took up arms, and setting off in pursuit, overtook the insurgents at Bealligh-ne-Broig, between Ferrandonald and Loch-Broom, where a sanguinary conflict took place. "The clan Iver, clan Talvigh, and clan Laiwe," says Sir Robert Gordon, "wer almost uterlie extinguished and slain." The earl's son was rescued, and to requite the service performed he made various grants of land to the Munroes and Dingwalls.

Sir Robert Munro, the sixth of his house, fought in the army of Bruce at the battle of Bannockburn. His only son, George, fell there, leaving an heir, who succeeded his grandfather. This George Munro of Foulis was slain at Halidonhill in 1333. The same year, according to Sir Robert Gordon, although Shaw makes the date 1454, occurred the remarkable event which led to a feud between

the Munroes and Mackintoshes, and of which an account is given under the former date in the General History.

Robert, the eighth baron of Foulis, married a niece of Eupheme, daughter of the Earl of Ross, and queen of Robert II. He was killed in an obscure skirmish in 1369, and was succeeded by his son, Hugh, ninth baron of Foulis, who joined Donald, second Lord of the Isles, when he claimed the earldom of Ross in right of his wife.

The forfeiture of the earldom of Ross in 1476, made the Munroes and other vassal families independent of any superior but the crown. In the charters which the family of Foulis obtained from the Scottish kings, at various times, they were declared to hold their lands on the singular tenure of furnishing a ball of snow at Midsummer if required, which the hollows in their mountain property could at all times supply; and it is said that when the Duke of Cumberland proceeded north against the Pretender in 1746, the Munroes actually sent him some snow to cool his wines. In one charter, the addendum was a pair of white gloves or three pennies.

Robert, the 14th baron, fell at the battle of Pinkie in 1547. Robert More Munro, the 15th chief, was a faithful friend of Mary, queen of Scots. Buchanan states, that when that unfortunate princess went to Inverness in 1562, "as soon as they heard of their sovereign's danger, a great number of the most eminent Scots poured in around her, especially the Frasers and Munroes, who were esteemed the most valiant of the clans inhabiting those countries." These two clans took for the Queen Inverness castle, which had refused her admission.

With the Mackenzies the Munroes were often at feud, and Andrew Munro of Milntown defended, for three years, the castle of the canonry of Ross, which he had received from the Regent Moray in 1569, against the clan Kenzie, at the expense of many lives on both sides. It was, however, afterwards delivered up to the Mackenzies under the act of pacification.

The chief, Robert More Munro, became a Protestant at an early period of the Scottish Reformation. He died in 1588. His son,

Robert, sixteenth baron of Foulis, died without issue in July 1589, and was succeeded by his brother, Hector Munro, seventeenth baron of Foulis. The latter died 14th November 1603.

Hector's eldest son, Robert Munro, eighteenth chief of Foulis, styled "the Black Baron," was the first of his house who engaged in the religious wars of Gustavus Adolphus, in the 17th century. In 1626 he went over with the Scottish corps of Sir Donald Mackay, first Lord Reay, accompanied by six other officers of his name and near kindred. Doddridge says of him, that "the worthy Scottish gentleman was so struck with a regard to the common cause, in which he himself had no concern but what piety and virtue gave him, that he joined Gustavus with a great number of his friends who bore his own name. Many of them gained great reputation in this war, and that of Robert, their leader, was so eminent that he was made colonel of two regiments at the same time, the one of horse, the other of foot in that service." In 1629 the laird of Foulis raised a reinforcement of 700 men on his own lands, and at a later period joined Gustavus with them. The officers of Mackays and Munro's Highland regiments who served under Gustavus Adolphus, in addition to rich buttons, wore a gold chain round their necks, to secure the owner, in case of being wounded or taken prisoner, good treatment, or payment for future ransom. In the service of Gustavus, there were at one time not less than "three generals, eight colonels, five lieutenant-colonels, eleven majors, and above thirty captains, all of the name of Munro, besides a great number of subalterns."

The "Black Baron" died at Ulm, from a wound in his foot, in the year 1633, and leaving no male issue, he was succeeded by his brother, Hector Munro, nineteenth baron of Foulis, who had also distinguished himself in the German wars, and who, on his return to Britain, was created by Charles I. a baronet of Nova Scotia, 7th June 1634. He married Mary, daughter of Hugh Mackay of Farr, and dying in 1635, in Germany, was succeeded by his only son, Sir Hector, second baronet, who died, unmarried, in 1651, at the age of 17. The title and property devolved on his cousin,

II.

Robert Munro of Opisdale, grandson of George, third son of the fifteenth baron of Foulis.

During the civil wars at home, when Charles I. called to his aid some of the veteran officers who had served in Germany, this Colonel Robert Munro was one of them. He was employed chiefly in Ireland from 1641 to 1645, when he was surprised and taken prisoner personally by General Monk. He was subsequently lieutenant-general of the royalist troops in Scotland, when he fought a duel with the Earl of Glencairn. Afterwards he joined Charles II. in Holland. After the Revolution he was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland.

Sir Robert Munro, third baronet of Foulis, died in 1688, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir John, fourth baronet, who, in the Scottish convention of estates, proved himself to be a firm supporter of the Revolution. He was such a strenuous advocate of Presbyterianism, that, being a man of large frame, he was usually called "the Presbyterian mortar-piece." In the Stuart persecutions, previous to his succession to the title, he had, for his adherence to the covenant, been both fined and imprisoned by the tyrannical government that then ruled in Scotland. He died in 1696. His son, Sir Robert, fifth baronet, though blind, was appointed by George I. high sheriff of Ross, by commission, under the great seal, dated 9th June 1725. He married Jean, daughter of John Forbes of Culloden, and died in 1729.

His eldest son, Sir Robert, twenty-seventh baron and sixth baronet of Foulis, a gallant military officer, was the companion in arms of Colonel Gardiner, and fell at the battle of Falkirk, 17th January 1746.

In May 1740, when the Independent companies were formed into the 43d Highland regiment (now the 42d Royal Highlanders), Sir Robert Munro was appointed lieutenant-colonel, John Earl of Crawford and Lindsay being its colonel. Among the captains were his next brother, George Munro of Culcairn, and John Munro, promoted to be lieutenant-colonel in 1745. The surgeon of the regiment was his youngest brother, Dr James Munro.⁶

⁶ See the History of the 42d Regiment, in Part Third.

The fate of Sir Robert's other brother, Captain George Munro of Culcainn, was peculiar. He was shot on the shores of Loch Arkaig among the wild rocks of Lochaber, on Sunday, 31st August 1746, by one of the rebels named Dugald Roy Cameron, or, as he is styled in tradition, Du Rhu. After the Rebellion, an order was issued to the Highlanders to deliver up their arms. Dugald, accordingly, sent his son to Fort-William with his arms to be delivered up. When proceeding down Loch Arkaig, the young man was met by an officer of the name of Grant, who was conducting a party of soldiers into Knoydart, and being immediately seized, was shot on the spot. His father swore to be revenged, and learning that the officer rode a white horse, he watched behind a rock for his return, on a height above Loch Arkaig. Captain Munro had unfortunately borrowed the white horse on which Grant rode, and he met the fate intended for Grant. Dugald Roy escaped, and afterwards became a soldier in the British service.

Sir Robert left a son, Sir Harry Munro, seventh baronet and twenty-fifth baron of Foulis, an eminent scholar and a M.P.

His son, Sir Hugh, eighth baronet, had an only daughter, Mary Seymour Munro, who died January 12, 1849. On his decease, May 2, 1848, his kinsman, Sir Charles, became ninth baronet and twenty-seventh baron of Foulis. He was eldest son of George Munro, Esq. of Culcainn, Ross-shire (who died in 1845), and lineal male descendant of Lieutenant Sir George Munro, next brother to the third baronet of this family. He married—1st, in 1817, Amelia, daughter of Frederick Browne, Esq., 14th dragoons; issue, five sons and two daughters; 2d, in 1853, Harriette, daughter of Robert Midgely, Esq. of Essington, Yorkshire. Charles, the eldest son, was born in 1824, married in 1847, with issue.

The military strength of the Munroes in 1715 was 400, and in 1745, 500 men. The clan slogan or battle cry was "*Caisteal Foulis na theine*"—Castle Foulis in flames.

MACMILLAN.

Of the origin and history of the Macmillans, little seems to be known. According to Buchanan of Auchmar, they are descended

from the second son of Aurelan, seventh laird of Buchanan. According to Mr Skene, the earliest seat of the Macmillans appears to have been on both sides of Loch Arkaig, and he thinks this confirmatory of a clan tradition, that they are connected with the clan Chattan. The Macmillans were at one time dependent on the Lords of the Isles, but when Loch Arkaig came into possession of the Camerons, they became dependent on the latter. "Another branch of this clan," says Skene, "possessed the greater part of southern Knapdale, where their chief was known under the title of Macmillan of Knap; and although the family is now extinct, many records of their former power are to be found in that district." We take the liberty of quoting further from Mr Skene as to the history of the Macmillans.

"One of the towers of that fine ancient edifice, Castle Sweyn, bears the name of Macmillan's Tower, and there is a stone cross in the old churchyard of Kilmoray Knap, upwards of twelve feet high, richly sculptured, which has upon one side the representation of an Highland chief engaged in hunting the deer, having the following inscription in ancient Saxon characters underneath the figure:—'*Hæc est crux Alexandri Macmillan.*' Although the Macmillans were at a very early period in Knapdale, they probably obtained the greater part of their possessions there by marriage with the heiress of the chief of the Macneills, in the 16th century. Tradition asserts that these Knapdale Macmillans came originally from Lochtay-side, and that they formerly possessed Lawers, on the north side of that loch, from which they were driven by Chalmers of Lawers, in the reign of David II.

"As there is little reason to doubt the accuracy of the tradition, it would appear that this branch of the Macmillans had been removed by Malcolm IV. from North Moray, and placed in the crown lands of Strathhtay. Macmillan is said to have had the charter of his lands in Knapdale engraved in the Gaelic language and character upon a rock at the extremity of his estate; and tradition reports that the last of the name, in order to prevent the prostitution of his wife, butchered her admirer, and was obliged in consequence to abscond. On the extinction of the family of the

chief, the next branch, Macmillan of Dunmore, assumed the title of Macmillan of Macmillan, but that family is now also extinct.

"Although the Macmillans appear at one time to have been a clan of considerable importance, yet as latterly they became mere dependants upon their more powerful neighbours, who possessed the superiority of their lands, and as their principal families are now extinct, no records of their history have come down to us, nor do we know what share they took in the various great events of Highland history. Their property, upon the extinction of the family of the chief, was contended for by the Campbells and Macneills, the latter of whom were a powerful clan in North Knapdale, but the contest was, by compromise, decided in favour of the former. It continued in the same family till the year 1775, when, after the death of the tenth possessor, the estate was purchased by Sir Archibald Campbell of Inverniel."

There have been a considerable number of Macmillans long settled in Galloway, and the tradition is that they are descendants of an offshoot from the northern Macmillans, that went south about the time the Knapdale branch migrated from Lochtay side. These Macmillans are famous in the annals of the Covenanters, and are mentioned by Wodrow as having acted a prominent part during the times of the religious persecution in Scotland. Indeed, we believe that formerly, if not indeed even unto this day, the modern representatives of the Covenanters in Galloway are as often called "Macmillantites" as "Cameronians."

CHAPTER VII.

Clan Aurias or Ross—Rose—Rose of Kilravock—Kenneth or Mackenzie—Mackenzie of Gerloch or Gairloch—Mackenzies of Tarbet and Royston—of Coul—Scatwell—Allangrange—Applecross—Ord—Grainard—Hilton—Mathieson or Clan Mhathain—Sìol Alpine—Macgregor—Dugald Ciar Mhor—Rob Roy—Grant—Grants of Pluscardine—Ballindalloch—Glenmoriston—Lynchoarn—Aviemore—Croskie—Dalvey—Monymusk—Kilgraston—Mackinnon—Macnab—Duffie Macfie—Macquarrie—MacAulay.

UNDER the head of the Maormordom of Ross, Mr Skene, following the genealogists, includes a considerable number of clans viz., the clan

Anrias or Ross, clan Kenneth or Mackenzie, clan Mathan or Mathieson; and under the subordinate head of Sìol Alpine, the clans Macgregor, Grant, Mackinnon, Macnab, Macphie, Macquarrie, and Macaulay. We shall speak of them in their order.

ROSS.



BADGE—Juniper.

The clan ANRIAS or ROSS—called in Gaelic *clan Roisch na Gille Andras*, or the offspring of the follower of St Andrew—by which can be meant only the chiefs or gentry of the clan, are descended from the Earls of Ross, and through them from the ancient Maormors of Ross. According to Mr Smibert, the mass of the clan Ross was swallowed up by and adopted the name of the more powerful Mackenzies. "The generality," he says, "had never at any time borne the name of Ross: the gentry of the sept only were so distinguished. Thus, the common people, who must naturally have intermingled freely with the real Mackenzies, would ere long retain only vague traditions of their own descent; and when the days of regular registration, and also of military enlistment, required and introduced the use of stated names, the great body of the true Ross tribe would, without doubt, be enrolled under the name of Mackenzie, the prevailing one of the district. In all likelihood, therefore, the old Rosses are yet numerous in Ross-shire."

The first known Earl of Ross was Malcolm, who lived in the reign of Malcolm the Maiden (1153–1165).

Ferquhard, the second earl, called *Fearchar Mac an t-Sagairt*, or son of the priest, at the head of the tribes of Moray, repulsed Donald MacWilliam, the son of Donald Bane, when, soon after the accession of Alexander II. in 1214, that restless chief made an inroad from Ireland into that province.

William, third Earl of Ross, was one of the Scots nobles who entered into an agreement, 8th March 1258, with Lewellyn, Prince of Wales, that the Scots and Welsh should only make peace with England by mutual consent.

William, fourth earl, was one of the witnesses to the treaty of Bruce with Haco, King of Norway, 28th October 1312. With his clan he was at the battle of Bannockburn, and he signed the memorable letter to the Pope in 1320, asserting the independence of Scotland. He had two sons, Hugh, his successor, and John, who with his wife, Margaret, second daughter of Alexander Comyn, fourth Earl of Buchan, got the half of her father's lands in Scotland. He had also a daughter, Isabel, who became the wife of Edward Bruce, Earl of Carrick and King of Ireland, brother of Robert the Bruce, 1st June 1317.

Hugh, the next Earl of Ross, fell, in 1333, at Halidonhill.

Hugh's successor, William, left no male heir. His eldest daughter, Euphemia, married Sir Walter Lesley of Lesley, Aberdeenshire, and had a son, Alexander, Earl of Ross, and a daughter, Margaret. Earl Alexander married a daughter of the Regent Albany, and his only child, Euphemia, Countess of Ross, becoming a nun, she resigned the earldom to her uncle John, Earl of Buchan, Albany's second son. Her aunt Margaret had married Donald, second Lord of the Isles, and that potent chief assumed in her right the title of Earl of Ross, and took possession of the earldom. This led to the battle of Harlaw in 1411.

On the death of the Earl of Buchan and Ross, at the battle of Verneuil in France in 1424, the earldom of Ross reverted to the crown. James I., on his return from his long captivity in England, restored it to the heiress of line, the mother of Alexander, Lord of the Isles, who, in 1420, had succeeded his father, Donald, above mentioned. In 1429 he summoned together his vassals, both of Ross and the

Isles, and at the head of 10,000 men wasted the crown lands in the vicinity of Inverness, and burned the town itself to the ground. At the head of some troops, which he had promptly collected, the king hastened, by forced marches, to Lochaber, and surprised the earl. The mere display of the royal banner won over the clan Chattan and the clan Cameron from his support, and he himself, suddenly attacked and hotly pursued, was compelled to sue, but in vain, for peace. Driven to despair, he resolved to cast himself on the royal mercy, and on Easter Sunday, did so in the extraordinary manner narrated at p. 140 of this volume.

Alexander's son, John, the next Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, having joined the Earl of Douglas in his rebellion against James II., sent, in 1455, to the western coast of Scotland an expedition of 5000 men, under the command of his near kinsman, Donald Balloch, Lord of Islay. With this force he desolated the whole coast from Innerkip to Bute, the Cumbrays, and the island of Arran; but from the prudent precautions taken by the king to repel the invaders, the loss was not very considerable. The Earl of Ross afterwards made his submission, and was received into the royal favour. On the accession of James III., however, his rebellious disposition again showed itself. Edward IV. of England having entered into a negotiation with him to detach him from his allegiance, on the 19th October 1461, the Earl of Ross, Donald Balloch, and his son, John of Islay, held a council of their vassals and dependants at Astornish, at which it was agreed to send ambassadors to England to treat with Edward, for assistance to effect the entire conquest of Scotland. On the forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles in 1476, the earldom of Ross became vested in the crown.

Hugh Ross of Rarichies, brother of the last Earl of Ross, obtained a charter of the lands of Balnagowan in 1374, and on him by clan law the chiefship devolved. In the beginning of the 18th century, Donald Ross of Balnagowan, the last of his race, sold that estate to the Hon. General Ross, the brother of the twelfth Lord Ross of Hawkhead, who, although bearing the same surname, was not in any way related to him.

In February 1778, Munro Ross of Pitcalnie presented a petition to the king, claiming the earldom of Ross, as male descendant of the above-named Hugh Ross of Rarichies. This petition was sent to the House of Lords, but no decision appears to have followed upon it.

According to Mr Skene, Ross of Pitcalnie is the representative of the ancient earls; but as this claim has been disputed, and as other authorities think the Balnagowan family has a stronger claim to the chiefship, we shall take the liberty of quoting what Mr Smibert says on behalf of the latter:—"Mr Skene labours, with a pertinacity to us almost incomprehensible, to destroy the pretensions of the house, to represent the old Earls of Ross. He attempts to make out, firstly, that Paul Mactyre (or Mactire), who headed for a time the clan Ross, was the true heir-male of the fifth Earl of Ross, the last of the first house; and that the Balnagowan family, therefore, had no claims at that early time. He quotes 'an ancient historian of Highland families' to prove the great power and possessions of Paul Mactyre, the passage, as cited, running thus:—'Paul Mactyre was a valiant man, and caused Caithness to pay him black-mail. It is reported that he got nyn score of cowes yearly out of Caithness for black-mail so long as he was able to travel.'

"Now, there are a few words omitted in this citation. The original document, now before us, begins thus: 'Paull M'Tyre, afore-said, *grandchild to Leandris*;' that is, grandchild to Gilleanrias, the founder of the clan, and its name-giver. If he was the grandson of the founder of the sept, Paul Mactyre could certainly never have been the heir of the fifth Earl of Ross, unless he had lived to a most unconscionable age. It would seem as if Mr Skene here erred from the old cause—that is, from his not unnatural anxiety to enhance the value and authenticity of the MS. of 1450, which was his own discovery, and certainly was a document of great interest. That MS. speaks of Paul Mactyre as heading the clan at a comparatively late period. We greatly prefer the view of the case already given by us, which is, that Paul Mactyre was either kinsman or *quasi* tutor to one of the first Ross earls, or successfully usurped their place for a time.

"Besides, the ancient document quoted by Mr Skene to show the greatness of Paul Mactyre, mentions also the marriage of 'his doughter and heire' to Walter, laird of Balnagowne. If the document be good for one thing, it must be held good also for others. Such a marriage seems quite natural, supposing Mactyre to have been a near kinsman of the Rosses.

"Perhaps too much has been already said on this subject to please general readers; but one of our main objects is to give to clansmen all the rational information procurable on their several family histories."

"Among another class of Rosses or Roses," says the same authority, "noticed by Nisbet as bearing distinct arms, the principal family appears to be that of Rose of KILRAVOCK," to which a number of landed houses trace their origin. According to a tradition at one period prevalent among the clan Donald, the first of the Kilravock family came from Ireland, with one of the Macdonalds, Lords of the Isles. There does not seem, however, to be any foundation for this, except, perhaps, that as vassals of the Earls of Ross, the clan Rose were connected for about half a century with the lordship of the Isles. Mr Hugh Rose, the genealogist of the Kilravock family, is of opinion that they were originally from England, and from their having three water bougets in their coat armour, like the English family of Roos, it has been conjectured that they were of the same stock. But these figures were carried by other families than those of the name of Rose or Roos. Four water bougets with a cross in the middle were the arms of the Counts D'Eu in Normandy, and of the ancient Earls of Essex in England of the surname of Bourchier. They were indicative of an ancestor of the respective families who bore them having been engaged in the crusades, and forced, in the deserts of Palestine, to fight for and carry water in the leathern vessels called bougets, budgets, or buckets, which were usually slung across the horse or camel's back. The badge of the Roses is Wild Rosemary.

The family of Rose of Kilravock appear to have been settled in the county of Nairn since the reign of David I.

MACKENZIE.



BADGE—Deer Grass.

The clan Kenneth or Mackenzie has long cherished a traditionary belief in its descent from the Norman family of Fitzgerald settled in Ireland. Its pretensions to such an origin are founded upon a fragment of the records of Icolmkill, and a charter of the lands of Kintail in Wester Ross, said to have been granted by Alexander III. to Colin Fitzgerald, their supposed progenitor. According to the Icolmkill fragment, a personage described as "Peregrinus et Hibernus nobilis ex familia Geraldinorum," that is, "a noble stranger and Hibernian, of the family of the Geraldines," being driven from Ireland, with a considerable number of followers, about 1261, was received graciously by the king, and remained thenceforward at the court. Having given powerful aid to the Scots at the battle of Largs two years afterwards, he was rewarded by a grant of Kintail, erected into a free barony by charter dated 9th January, 1266. No such document, however, as this pretended fragment of Icolmkill is known to be in existence, at least, as Mr Skene says, nobody has ever seen it, and as for King Alexander's charter, he declares³ that "it bears the most palpable marks of having been a forgery of later date, and one by no means happy in the execution." Besides, the words "Colino Hiberno," contained in it, do not prove the said Colin to have been an Irishman, as Hiberni was at that period a common appellation of the Gael of Scotland.

³ *Highlanders*, vol. ii. p. 235.

The ancestor of the clan Kenzie was Gilleonog, or Colin the younger, a son of Gilleon na hair'de, that is, Colin of the Aird, progenitor of the Earls of Ross, and from the MS. of 1450 their Gaelic descent may be considered established. Colin of Kintail is said to have married a daughter of Walter, lord high steward of Scotland. He died in 1278, and his son, Kenneth, being, in 1304, succeeded by his son, also called Kenneth, with the addition of Mackenneth, the latter, softened into Mackenny or Mackenzie, became the name of the whole clan. Murdoch, or Murcha, the son of Kenneth, received from David II. a charter of the lands of Kintail as early as 1362. At the beginning of the 15th century, the clan Kenzie appears to have been both numerous and powerful, for its chief, Kenneth More, when arrested, in 1427, with his son-in-law, Angus of Moray, and Macmathan, by James I. in his parliament at Inverness, was said to be able to muster 2,000 men.

In 1463, Alexander Mackenzie of Kintail received Strathgarve and many other lands from John, Earl of Ross, the same who was forfeited in 1476. The Mackenzie chiefs were originally vassals of the Earls of Ross, but after their forfeiture, they became independent of any superior but the crown. They strenuously opposed the Macdonalds in every attempt which they made to regain possession of the earldom. Alexander was succeeded by his son, Kenneth, who had taken for his first wife Lady Margaret Macdonald, daughter of the forfeited earl, John, Lord of the Isles, and having, about 1480, divorced his wife, he brought upon himself the resentment of her family.

Kenneth Oig, his son by the divorced wife, was chief in 1493. Two years afterwards, he and Farquhar Mackintosh were imprisoned by James V. in the castle of Edinburgh. In 1497, Ross and Mackintosh made their escape, but on their way to the Highlands they were treacherously seized at the Torwood, by the laird of Buchanan. Kenneth Oig resisted and was slain, and his head presented to the king by Buchanan.

Kenneth Oig having no issue, was succeeded by his brother, John, whose mother, Agnes Fraser, was a daughter of Lord Lovat. She had other sons, from whom sprung numerous

branches of this wide-spread family. As he was very young, his kinsman, Hector Roy Mackenzie, progenitor of the house of Gairloch, assumed the command of the clan, as guardian of the young chief. "Under his rule," says Mr. Gregory,⁴ "the clan Kenzie became involved in feuds with the Munroes and other clans; and Hector Roy himself became obnoxious to government, as a disturber of the public peace. His intentions towards the young Lord of Kintail were considered very dubious; and the apprehensions of the latter and his friends having been roused, Hector was compelled by law to yield up the estate and the command of the tribe to the proper heir." John, at the call of James IV., marched with his clan to the fatal field of Flodden, where he was taken prisoner by the English.

On King James the Fifth's expedition to the Isles in 1540, he was joined at Kintail by John, chief of the Mackenzies, who accompanied him throughout his voyage. He fought at the battle of Pinkie at the head of his clan in 1547. On his death in 1556, he was succeeded by his son, Kenneth, who, by a daughter of the Earl of Athole, had Colin and Roderick, the latter ancestor of the Mackenzies of Redcastle, Kineraig, Rosend, and other branches.

Colin, eleventh chief, son of Kenneth, fought on the side of Queen Mary at the battle of Langside. He was twice married. By his first wife, Barbara, a daughter of Grant of Grant, he had, with three daughters, four sons, namely, Kenneth, his successor; Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Tarbat, ancestor of the Earls of Cromarty; Colin, ancestor of the Mackenzies of Kennock and Pitlundie; and Alexander, of the Mackenzies of Kilcoy, and other families of the name. By a second wife, Mary, eldest daughter of Roderick Mackenzie of Davochmaluak, he had a son, Alexander, from whom the Mackenzies of Applecross, Coul, Delvin, Assint, and other families are sprung.

Kenneth, the eldest son, twelfth chief of the Mackenzies, soon after succeeding his father, was engaged in supporting the claims of Torquil Macleod, surnamed Connanach, the disinherited son of Macleod of Lewis, whose mother was the sister of John Mackenzie of Kintail,

and whose daughter had married Roderick Mackenzie, Kenneth's brother. The barony of Lewis he conveyed by writings to the Mackenzie chief, who caused the usurper thereof and some of his followers to be beheaded in July 1597. In the following year he joined Macleod of Harris and Macdonald of Sleat in opposing the project of James VI. for the colonization of the Lewis, by some Lowland gentlemen, chiefly belonging to Fife.

In 1601, Neill Macleod deserted the cause of the colonists, and Mackenzie, who had detained in captivity for several years Tormod, the only surviving legitimate son of Ruari Macleod of the Lewis, set him at liberty, and sent him into that island to assist Neill in opposing the settlers. In 1602, the feud between the Mackenzies and the Glengarry Macdonalds, regarding their lands in Wester Ross, was renewed with great violence. Ultimately, after much bloodshed on both sides, an agreement was entered into, by which Glengarry renounced in favour of Mackenzie the castle of Strone, with the lands of Lochalsh, Lochcarron, and others, so long the subject of dispute between them. A crown charter of these lands was granted to Kenneth Mackenzie in 1607. The territories of the clan Kenzie at this time were very extensive. "All the Highlands and Isles, from Ardnamurchan to Strathnaver, were either the Mackenzies' property, or under their vassalage, some few excepted," and all about them were bound to them "by very strict bonds of friendship." The same year, Kenneth Mackenzie obtained, through the influence of the lord-chancellor, a gift, under the great seal, of the Lewis to himself, in virtue of the resignation formerly made in his favour by Torquil Macleod; but on the complaint to the king of those of the colonists who survived, he was forced to resign it. He was created a peer, by the title of Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, by patent, dated 19th November 1609. On the abandonment of the scheme for colonising the Lewis, the remaining adventurers, Sir George Hay and Sir James Spens, were easily prevailed upon to sell their title to Lord Kintail, who likewise succeeded in obtaining from the king a grant of the share in the island forfeited by Lord Balmerino, another of the grantees. Having thus

⁴ *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 111.

at length acquired a legal right to the Lewis, he procured from the government a commission of fire and sword against the Islanders, and landing there with a large force, he speedily reduced them to obedience, with the exception of Neil Macleod and a few others, his kinsmen and followers. The struggle for the Lewis between the Mackenzies and the Macleods continued some time longer; an account of it has been already given. The Mackenzies ultimately succeeded in obtaining possession of the island.

Lord Kintail died in March 1611. He had married, first, Anne, daughter of George Ross of Balnagowan, and had, with two daughters, two sons, Colin, second Lord Kintail, and first Earl of Seaforth, and the Hon. John Mackenzie of Lochslin. His second wife was Isabel, daughter of Sir Alexander Ogilvie of Powrie, by whom, with a daughter, Sybilla, Mrs Macleod of Macleod, he had four sons, viz., Alexander; George, second Earl of Seaforth; Thomas of Pluscardine; and Simon of Lochslin, whose eldest son was the celebrated Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, lord advocate in the reigns of Charles II. and James VII.



Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh. From a painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

Colin, second Lord Kintail, was created

Earl of Seaforth, by patent dated at Theobald's, 3d December 1623, to him and his heirs male.

The great-grandson of the third Earl of Seaforth, and male heir of the family, was Colonel Thomas Frederick Humberston Mackenzie, who fell at Gheriah in India in 1783. His brother, Francis Humberston Mackenzie, obtained the Seaforth estates, and was created Baron Seaforth in the peerage of the United Kingdom in 1796. Dying without surviving male issue, his title became extinct, and his eldest daughter, the Hon. Mary Frederica Elizabeth, having taken for her second husband J. A. Stewart of Glaserton, a cadet of the house of Galloway, that gentleman assumed the name of Stewart Mackenzie of Seaforth.

The clan Kenzie from small beginnings had increased in territory and influence till they became, next to the Campbells, the greatest clan in the West Highlands. They remained loyal to the Stuarts, but the forfeiture of the Earl of Seaforth in 1715, and of the Earl of Cromarty in 1745, weakened their power greatly. They are still, however, one of the most numerous tribes in the Highlands. In 1745 their effective strength was calculated at 2500. No fewer than seven families of the name possess baronetcies.

The armorial bearings of the Mackenzies are a stag's head and horns. It is said that they were assumed in consequence of Kenneth, the ancestor of the family, having rescued the king of Scotland from an infuriated stag, which he had wounded. "In gratitude for his assistance," says Stewart of Garth, "the king gave him a grant of the castle and lands of Castle Donnan, and thus laid the foundation of the family and clan Mackenneth or Mackenzie." From the stag's head in their arms the term "Caberfae" was applied to the chiefs.

The progenitor of the GERLOCH or GAIRLOCH branch of the Mackenzies was, as above shown, Hector, the elder of the two sons of Alexander, seventh chief, by his second wife, Margaret Macdowall, daughter of John, Lord of Lorn. He lived in the reigns of Kings James III. and IV., and was by the Highlanders called "Eachin Roy," or Red Hector, from the colour of his hair. To the assistance of the former of these monarchs, when the confederated

nobles collected in arms against him, he raised a considerable body of the clan Kenzie, and fought at their head at the battle of Sauchieburn. After the defeat of his party, he retreated to the north, and, taking possession of Redcastle, put a garrison in it. Thereafter he joined the Earl of Huntly, and from James IV. he obtained in 1494 a grant of the lands and barony of Gerloch, or Gairloch, in Ross-shire. These lands originally belonged to the Siol-Vic-Gilliechallum, or Macleods of Rasay, a branch of the family of Lewis; but Hector, by means of a mortgage or wadset, had acquired a small portion of them, and in 1508 he got Brachan, the lands of Moy, the royal forest of Glassiter, and other lands, united to them. In process of time, his successors came to possess the whole district, but not till after a long and bloody feud with the Siol-Vic-Gilliechallum, which lasted till 1611, when it was brought to a sudden close by a skirmish, in which Gilliechallum Oig, laird of Rasay, and Murdoch Mackenzie, a younger son of the laird of Gairloch, were slain. From that time the Mackenzies possessed Gairloch without interruption from the Macleods.

Kenneth Mackenzie, eighth Baron of Gairloch, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1700. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Findon, and was succeeded, in 1704, by his son, Sir Alexander, second baronet. His eldest son, Sir Alexander, third baronet, married—first, Margaret, eldest daughter of Roderick Mackenzie of Redcastle, issue one son, Hector; second, Jean, only daughter of John Gorrie, Esq., commissary of Ross, issue two sons, John, a general officer, and Kenneth, an officer in India, and three daughters. He died 13th April 1770.

Sir Hector Mackenzie, his eldest son, fourth baronet of the Gairloch branch, died in April 1826. His son, Sir Francis Alexander, fifth baronet, born in 1798, died June 2, 1843. The eldest son of Sir Francis, Sir Kenneth Smith Mackenzie, sixth baronet, born 1832, married in 1860 the second daughter of Walter Frederick Campbell of Islay.

The first of the Mackenzies of TARBET and ROYSTON, in the county of Cromarty, was Sir Roderick Mackenzie, second son of Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, brother of the first Lord

Mackenzie of Kintail. Having married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Torquil Macleod of the Lewes, he added the armorial bearings of the Macleods to his own. His son, John Mackenzie of Tarbet, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, 21st May 1628. He had four sons.

The eldest son, Sir George Mackenzie, second baronet, was the first Earl of Cromarty. His eldest son becoming a bankrupt, his estate of Cromarty was sold in 1741 to William Urquhart of Meldrum. He was succeeded by his brother, Sir Kenneth, fourth baronet, at whose death, without issue, in 1763, the baronetcy lay dormant until revived in favour of Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Tarbet, elder son of Robert Mackenzie, lieutenant-colonel in the East India Company's service, great-great-grandson of the first baronet. Colonel Mackenzie's father was Alexander Mackenzie of Ardlock, and his mother the daughter of Robert Sutherland, Esq. of Langwell, Caithness, twelfth in descent from William de Sutherland, fifth Earl of Sutherland, and the Princess Margaret Bruce, sister and heiress of David II. Sir Alexander, fifth baronet, was in the military service of the East India Company. On his death, April 28, 1843, his brother, Sir James Wemyss Mackenzie, became sixth baronet of Tarbet and Royston. He died November 24, 1858, and was succeeded by his son, Sir James John Randoll Mackenzie.

The first of the family of COUL, Ross-shire, was Alexander Mackenzie, brother of Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, who, before his death, made him a present of his own sword, as a testimony of his particular esteem and affection. His son, Kenneth Mackenzie of Coul, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, October 16, 1673. His eldest son, Sir Alexander, second baronet, died in 1702. His son, Sir John Mackenzie, third baronet, for being concerned in the rebellion of 1715, was forfeited. He died without male issue, and the attainder not extending to collateral branches of the family, the title and estates devolved upon his brother, Sir Colin, fourth baronet, clerk to the pipe in the exchequer. He died in 1740.

The Mackenzies of SCATWELL, Ross-shire, who also possess a baronetcy, are descended

from Sir Roderick Mackenzie, knight, of Tarbet and Cogeach, second son of Colin, eleventh feudal baron of Kintail, father of Sir John Mackenzie, ancestor of the Earls of Cromarty, and Kenneth Mackenzie of Scatwell, whose son, Kenneth, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, February 22, 1703. By his marriage with Liliass, daughter and heiress of Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Findon, that branch of the Mackenzie family merged in that of Scatwell.

Other principal families of the name are Mackenzie of ALLANGRANGE, heir male of the Earls of Seaforth; of APPLECROSS, also a branch of the house of Seaforth; of ORD, of GRUINARD, and of HILTON, all in Ross-shire.

MATHIESON.

The name MATHIESON, or Clan *Mhathain*, is said to come from the Gaelic *Mathaineach*, heroes, or rather, from Mathan, pronounced Mahan, a bear. The MacMathans were settled in Lochalsh, a district of Wester Ross, from an early period. They are derived by ancient genealogies from the same stock as the Earls of Ross and are represented by the MS. of 1450 as a branch of the Mackenzies. Kenneth MacMathan, who was constable of the castle of Ellandonan, is mentioned both in the Norse account of the expedition of the king of Norway against Scotland in 1263, and in the Chamberlain's Rolls for that year, in connection with that expedition. He is said to have married a sister of the Earl of Ross. The chief of the clan was engaged in the rebellion of Donald, Lord of the Isles, in 1411, and was one of the chiefs arrested at Inverness by James I., in 1427, when he is said to have been able to muster 2000 men. The possessions of the Mathiesons, at one time very extensive, were greatly reduced, in the course of the 16th century, by feuds with their turbulent neighbours, the Macdonalds of Glengarry.

Of this clan Mr Skene says,—“Of the history of this clan we know nothing whatever. Although they are now extinct, they must at one time have been one of the most powerful clans in the north, for among the Highland chiefs seized by James I. at the parliament held at Inverness in 1427, Bower mentions

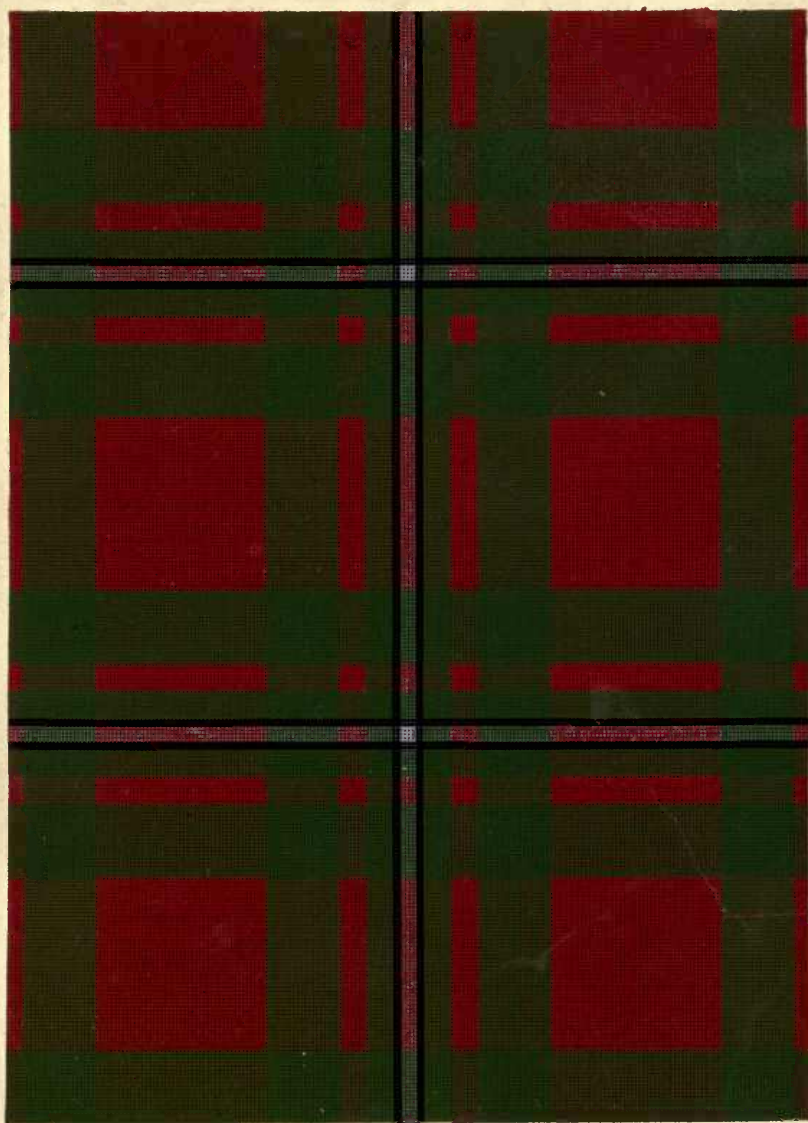
Macmaken leader of two thousand men, and this circumstance affords a most striking instance of the rise and fall of different families; for, while the Mathison appears at that early period as the leader of two thousand men, the Mackenzie has the same number only, and we now see the clan of Mackenzie extending their numberless branches over a great part of the North, and possessing an extent of territory of which few families can exhibit a parallel, while the one powerful clan of the Mathisons has disappeared, and their name become nearly forgotten.”

SIOL ALPINE.

Under the general denomination of Siol Alpine are included several clans situated at considerable distances from one another, but all of them supposed to have been descended from Kenneth Macalpine, the founder of the Scottish monarchy, and the ancestor of a long line of Scottish kings. The validity of this lofty pretension has, however, been disputed; and, in point of fact, it appears that the clans, composing the Siol Alpine, were never united under the authority of a common chief, but, on the contrary, were, from the earliest period, at variance amongst themselves; in consequence of which they sunk into insignificance, and became of little account or importance in a general estimate of the Highland tribes. The principal clan appears to have been that of the Macgregors, a race famous for their misfortunes as well as the unbroken spirit with which they maintained themselves linked and banded together in spite of the most severe laws executed with the greatest rigour against all who bore this proscribed name.

MACGREGOR.

THE MACGREGORS are generally esteemed one of the purest of all the Celtic tribes, and there seems to be no doubt of their unmixed and direct descent from the ancient Celtic inhabitants of Scotland. They were once numerous in Balquhiddy and Menteith, and also in Glenorchy, which appears to have been their original seat. An air of romance has been thrown around this particular clan from the exploits and adventures of the celebrated Rob Roy, and the cruel sufferings and pro-



MACGREGOR.

scriptions to which they were, at different times, subjected by the government.

MACGREGOR.



BADGE—Pine.

Claiming a regal origin, their motto anciently was, "My race is royal." Griogar, said to have been the third son of Alpin, king of Scotland, who commenced his reign in 833, is mentioned as their remote ancestor, but it is impossible to trace their descent from any such personage, or from his eldest brother, Kenneth Macalpine, from whom they also claim to be sprung.

According to Buchanan of Auchmar, the clan Gregor were located in Glenorchy as early as the reign of Malcolm Canmore (1057–1093). As, however, they were in the reign of Alexander II. (1214–1249) vassals of the Earl of Ross, Skene thinks it probable that Glenorchy was given to them, when that monarch conferred a large extent of territory on that potent noble. Hugh of Glenorchy appears to have been the first of their chiefs who was so styled. Malcolm, the chief of the clan in the days of Bruce, fought bravely on the national side at the battle of Bannockburn. He accompanied Edward Bruce to Ireland, and being severely wounded at Dundalk, he was ever afterwards known as "the lame lord."

In the reign of David II., the Campbells managed to procure a legal title to the lands of Glenorchy; nevertheless, the Macgregors maintained, for a long time, the actual possession of them by the strong hand. They knew no other right than that of the sword, but, ulti-

mately, that was found unavailing, and, at last, expelled from their own territory, they became an outlawed, lawless, and landless clan.

John Macgregor of Glenorchy, who died in 1390, is said to have had three sons: Patrick, his successor; John Dow, ancestor of the family of Glenstrae, who became the chief of the clan; and Gregor, ancestor of the Macgregors of Roro. Patrick's son, Malcolm, was compelled by the Campbells to sell the lands of Auchinrevach in Strathfillan, to Campbell of Glenorchy, who thus obtained the first footing in Breadalbane, which afterwards gave the title of earl to his family.

The principal families of the Macgregors, in process of time, except that of Glenstrae, who held that estate as vassals of the Earl of Argyll, found themselves reduced to the position of tenants on the lands of Campbell of Glenorchy and other powerful barons. It being the policy of the latter to get rid of them altogether, the unfortunate clan were driven, by a continuous system of oppression and annycance, to acts of rapine and violence, which brought upon them the vengeance of the government. The clan had no other means of subsistence than the plunder of their neighbours' property, and as they naturally directed their attacks chiefly against those who had wrested from them their own lands, it became still more the interest of their oppressors to represent to the king that nothing could put a stop to their lawless conduct, "save the cutting off the tribe of Macgregor root and branch." In 1488, soon after the youthful James IV. had ascended the throne which the murder of his father had rendered vacant, an act was passed "for staunching of thiftreif and other enormities throw all the realme;" evidently designed against the Macgregors, for among the barons to whom power was given for enforcing it, were Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, Neil Stewart of Fortingall, and Ewin Campbell of Strachur. At this time the Macgregors were still a numerous clan. Besides those in Glenorchy, they were settled in great numbers in the districts of Breadalbane and Athol, and they all acknowledged Macgregor of Glenstrae, who bore the title of captain of the clan, as their chief.

With the view of reducing these branches, Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy obtained, in 1492, the office of baird of the crown lands of Disher and Toyer, Glenlyon, and Glendochart, and in 1502 he procured a charter of the lands of Glenlyon. "From this period," says Mr Skene, "the history of the Macgregors consists of a mere list of acts of privy council, by which commissions are granted to pursue the clan with fire and sword, and of various atrocities which a state of desperation, the natural result of these measures, as well as a deep spirit of vengeance, against both the framers and executors of them, frequently led the clan to committ. These actions led to the enactment of still severer laws, and at length to the complete proscription of the clan."

But still the Macgregors were not subdued. Taking refuge in their mountain fastnesses, they set at defiance all the efforts made by their enemies for their entire extermination, and inflicted upon some of them a terrible vengeance. In 1589 they seized and murdered John Drummond of Drummond Ernoch, a forester of the royal forest of Glenartney, an act which forms the foundation of the incident detailed in Sir Walter Scott's "Legend of Montrose." The clan swore upon the head of the victim that they would avow and defend the deed in common. An outrage like this led at once to the most rigorous proceedings on the part of the crown. Fresh letters of fire and sword for three years were issued against the whole clan, and all persons were interdicted from harbouring or having any communication with them. Then followed the conflict at Glenfruin in 1603, when the Macgregors, under Alexander Macgregor of Glenstrae, their chief, defeated the Colquhouns, under the laird of Luss, and 140 of the latter were killed. Details of this celebrated clan battle have been already given in the former part of this work, and more will be found under the Colquhouns. Dugald Ciar Mohr, ancestor of Rob Roy, is said on this occasion to have exhibited extraordinary ferocity and courage.

In relation to the betrayal and melancholy end of the unfortunate chief, Alexander, Macgregor of Glenstrae, there is the following entry in the MS. diary of Robert Birrell: "The 2 of

October (1603,) Allester M'Gregour Glainstro tane be the laird of Arkynles, bot escapit againe; bot efter, taken be the Earle of Argyll the 4 of Januar; and brocht to Edinburghe the 9 of Januar 1604, with mae of 18 his friendis, M'Gregouris. He wes convoyit to Berwick be the gaird, conforme to the earlis promese; for he promesit to put him out of Scottis grund. Swa he keipit ane Hielandmanis promes; in respect he sent the gaird to convoy him out of Scottis grund: Bot thai wer not directit to pairt with him back agane! The 18 of Januar, at evine, he come agane to Edinburghe; and vpone the 20 day, he was hangit at the croce, and ij (eleven) of his freindis and name, upone ane gallous: Himself, being chieff, he was hangit his awin hicht above the rest of his friendis." That Argyll had an interest in his death appears from a declaration, printed in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*,⁵ which the chief made before his execution, wherein he says that the earl had enticed him to commit several slaughters and disorders, and had endeavoured to prevail upon him to commit "sundrie mair."

Among other severe measures passed against this doomed clan was one which deprived them of their very name. By an act of the privy council, dated 3d April 1603, all of the name of Macgregor were compelled, on pain of death, to adopt another surname, and all who had been engaged at the battle of Glenfruin, and other marauding expeditions detailed in the act, were prohibited, also under the pain of death, from carrying any weapon but a knife without a point to cut their victuals. They were also forbidden, under the same penalty of death, to meet in greater numbers than four at a time. The Earls of Argyll and Athole were charged with the execution of these enactments, and it has been shown how the former carried out the task assigned to him. With regard to the ill-fated chief so treacherously "done to death" by him, the following interesting tradition is related:—His son, while out hunting one day, met the young laird of Lamond travelling with a servant from Cowal towards Inverlochry. They dined together at a house on the Blackmount, between Tyndrum and King's House;

⁵ Vol. ii. p. 435.

but having unfortunately quarrelled during the evening, dirks were drawn, and the young Macgregor was killed. Lamond instantly fled, and was closely pursued by some of the clan Gregor. Outstripping his foes, he reached the house of the chief of Glenstrae, whom he besought earnestly, without stating his crime, to afford him protection. "You are safe with me," said the chief, "whatever you may have done." On the pursuers arriving, they informed the unfortunate father of what had occurred, and demanded the murderer; but Macgregor refused to deliver him up, as he had passed his word to protect him. "Let none of you dare to injure the man," he exclaimed; "Macgregor has promised him safety, and, as I live, he shall be safe while with me." He afterwards, with a party of his clan, escorted the youth home; and, on bidding him farewell, said, "Lamond, you are now safe on your own land. I cannot, and I will not protect you farther! Keep away from my people; and may God forgive you for what you have done!" Shortly afterwards the name of Macgregor was proscribed, and the chief of Glenstrae became a wanderer without a name or a home. But the laird of Lamond, remembering that he owed his life to him, hastened to protect the old chief and his family, and not only received the fugitives into his house, but shielded them for a time from their enemies.

Logan states, that on the death of Alexander, the executed chief, without surviving lawful issue, the clan, then in a state of disorder, elected a chief, but the head of the collateral branch, deeming Grégor, the natural son of the late chief, better entitled to the honour, without ceremony dragged the chief-elect from his inaugural chair in the kirk of Strathfillan, and placed Gregor therein, in his stead.

The favourite names assumed by the clan while compelled to relinquish their own, were Campbell, Graham, Stewart, and Drummond. Their unity as a clan remained unbroken, and they even seemed to increase in numbers, notwithstanding all the oppressive

proceedings directed against them. These did not cease with the reign of James VI., for under Charles I. all the enactments against them were renewed, and yet in 1644, when the Marquis of Montrose set up the king's standard in the Highlands, the clan Gregor, to the number of 1000 fighting men, joined him, under the command of Patrick Macgregor of Glenstrae, their chief. In reward for their loyalty, at the Restoration the various statutes against them were annulled, when the clan men were enabled to resume their own name. In the reign of William III., however, the penal enactments against them were renewed in their full force. The clan were again proscribed, and compelled once more to take other names.

According to Buchanan of Auchmar, the direct male line of the chiefs became extinct in the reign of the latter monarch, and the representation fell, by "a formal renunciation of the chiefship," into the branch of Glengyle.



Rob Roy. From an original painting in the possession of Herbert Buchanan, Esq., of Arden.

Of this branch was the celebrated Rob Roy, that is, Red Rob, who assumed the name of Campbell under the proscriptive act.

As we promised in the former part of the

work, we shall here give some account of this celebrated robber-chief. Born about 1660, he was the younger son of Donald Macgregor of Glengyle, a lieutenant-colonel in the service of King James VII., by his wife, the daughter of William Campbell of Glenfalloch, the third son of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy. Rob Roy himself married Helen-Mary, the daughter of Macgregor of Cromar. His own designation was that of Inversnaid, but he seems to have acquired a right to the property of Craig Royston, a domain of rock and forest lying on the east side of Loch Lomond. He became tutor to his nephew, the head of the Glengyle branch, then in his minority, who claimed the chiefship of the clan.

Like many other Highland gentlemen, Rob Roy was a trader in cattle or master drover, and in this capacity he had borrowed several sums of money from the Duke of Montrose, but becoming insolvent, he absconded. In June 1712 an advertisement appeared for his apprehension, and he was involved in prosecutions which nearly ruined him. Some messengers of the law who visited his house in his absence are said to have abused his wife in a most shameful manner, and she, being a high-spirited woman, incited her husband to acts of vengeance. At the same time, she gave vent to her feelings in a fine piece of pipe music, still well known by the name of "Rob Roy's Lament." As the duke had contrived to get possession of Rob's lands of Craig Royston, he was driven to become the "bold outlaw" which he is represented in song and story.

"Determined," says General Stewart of Garth, "that his grace should not enjoy his lands with impunity, he collected a band of about twenty followers, declared open war against him, and gave up his old course of regular droving, declaring that the estate of Montrose should in future supply him with cattle, and that he would make the duke rue the day he quarrelled with him. He kept his word; and for nearly thirty years—that is, till the day of his death—regularly levied contributions on the duke and his tenants, not by nightly depredations, but in broad day, and in a systematic manner; on an appointed time making a complete sweep of all the cattle of a district—always passing over those not be-

longing to the duke's estates, or the estates of his friends and adherents; and having previously given notice where he was to be on a certain day with his cattle, he was met there by people from all parts of the country, to whom he sold them publicly. These meetings, or *trysts*, as they were called, were held in different parts of the country; sometimes the cattle were driven south, but oftener to the north and west, where the influence of his friend the Duke of Argyll protected him. When the cattle were in this manner driven away, the tenants paid no rent, so that the duke was the ultimate sufferer. But he was made to suffer in every way. The rents of the lower farms were partly paid in grain and meal, which was generally lodged in a storehouse or granary, called a *girnall*, near the Loch of Monteath. When Macgregor wanted a supply of meal, he sent notice to a certain number of the duke's tenants to meet him at the *girnall* on a certain day, with their horses to carry home his meal. They met accordingly, when he ordered the horses to be loaded, and, giving a regular receipt to his grace's storekeeper for the quantity taken, he marched away, always entertaining the people very handsomely, and careful never to take the meal till it had been lodged in the duke's storehouse in payment of rent. When the money rents were paid, Macgregor frequently attended. On one occasion, when Mr Graham of Killearn, the factor, had collected the tenants to pay their rents, all Rob Roy's men happened to be absent, except Alexander Stewart, called 'the bailie.' With this single attendant he descended to Chapel Errock, where the factor and the tenants were assembled. He reached the house after it was dark, and, looking in at a window, saw Killearn, surrounded by a number of the tenants, with a bag full of money which he had received, and was in the act of depositing it in a press or cupboard, at the same time saying that he would cheerfully give all that he had in the bag for Rob Roy's head. This notification was not lost on the outside visitor, who instantly gave orders in a loud voice to place two men at each window, two at each corner, and four at each of two doors, thus appearing to have twenty men. Immediately the door opened, and he walked

in with his attendant close behind, each armed with a sword in his right hand and a pistol in his left hand, and with dirks and pistols slung in their belts. The company started up, but he desired them to sit down, as his business was only with Killearn, whom he ordered to hand down the bag and put it on the table. When this was done, he desired the money to be counted, and proper receipts to be drawn out, certifying that he received the money from the Duke of Montrose's agent, as the duke's property, the tenants having paid their rents, so that no after demand could be made on them on account of this transaction; and finding that some of the people had not obtained receipts, he desired the factor to grant them immediately, 'to show his grace,' said he, 'that it is from him I take the money, and not from these honest men who have paid him.' After the whole was concluded, he ordered supper, saying that, as he had got the purse, it was proper he should pay the bill; and after they had drunk heartily together for several hours, he called his bailie to produce his dirk, and lay it naked on the table. Killearn was then sworn that he would not move, nor direct any one else to move, from that spot for an hour after the departure of Macgregor, who thus cautioned him—'If you break your oath, you know what you are to expect in the next world, and in this,' pointing to his dirk. He then walked away, and was beyond pursuit before the hour expired."

At the breaking out of the rebellion of 1715, in spite of the obligations which he owed to the indirect protection of the Duke of Argyll, Rob Roy's Jacobite partialities induced him to join the rebel forces under the Earl of Mar.

On this occasion none of the Clan Gregor, except the sept of Ciar Mohr, to which Rob Roy belonged, took up arms for the Chevalier, though they were joined by connexions of the family, and among others by Leckie of Croy-Leckie, a large landed proprietor in Dumbartonshire, who had married a daughter of Donald M'Gregor, by his wife the daughter of Campbell of Glenfalloch, and who was thus the brother-in-law of Rob Roy. "They were not," says Sir Walter Scott, "commanded by Rob Roy, but by his nephew already mentioned, Gregor Macgregor, otherwise called

James Grahame of Glengyle, and still better remembered by the Gaelic epithet of *Ghlune Dhu*, i.e. Black Knee, from a black spot on one of his knees, which his Highland garb rendered visible. There can be no question, however, that being then very young, Glengyle must have acted on most occasions by the advice and direction of so experienced a leader as his uncle. The Macgregors assembled in numbers at that period, and began even to threaten the lowlands towards the lower extremity of Loch Lomond. They suddenly seized all the boats which were upon the lake, and, probably with a view to some enterprise of their own, drew them overland to Inversnaid, in order to intercept the progress of a large body of west country whigs who were in arms for the government, and moving in that direction. The whigs made an excursion for the recovery of the boats. Their forces consisted of volunteers from Paisley, Kilpatrick, and elsewhere, who, with the assistance of a body of seamen, were towed up the river Leven in long boats belonging to the ships of war then lying in the Clyde. At Luss, they were joined by the forces of Sir Humphrey Colquhoun, and James Grant, his son-in-law, with their followers, attired in the Highland dress of the period, which is picturesquely described. The whole party crossed to Craig Royston, but the Macgregors did not offer combat. If we were to believe the account of the expedition given by the historian Rae, they leaped on shore at Craig Royston with the utmost intrepidity, no enemy appearing to oppose them, and by the noise of their drums, which they beat incessantly, and the discharge of their artillery and small arms, terrified the Macgregors, whom they appear never to have seen, out of their fastnesses, and caused them to fly in a panic to the general camp of the Highlanders at Strathfillan. The low-countrymen succeeded in getting possession of the boats, at a great expenditure of noise and courage, and little risk of danger.

"After this temporary removal from his old haunts, Rob Roy was sent by the Earl of Mar to Aberdeen, to raise, it is believed, a part of the clan Gregor, which is settled in that country. These men were of his own family (the race of the Ciar Mohr). They were the

descendants of about three hundred Macgregors whom the Earl of Moray, about the year 1624, transported from his estates in Monteith to oppose against his enemies the Mackintoshes, a race as hardy and restless as they were themselves. We have already stated that Rob Roy's conduct during the insurrection of 1715 was very equivocal. His person and followers were in the Highland army, but his heart seems to have been with the Duke of Argyll's. Yet the insurgents were constrained to trust to him as their only guide, when they marched from Perth towards Dunblane, with the view of crossing the Forth at what are called the Fords of Frew, and when they themselves said he could not be relied upon.

"This movement to the westward, on the part of the insurgents, brought on the battle of Sheriffmuir; indecisive, indeed, in its immediate results, but of which the Duke of Argyll reaped the whole advantage." We have already given an account of Rob Roy's vacillating behaviour at this battle. "One of the Macphersons, named Alexander, one of Rob's original profession, *videlicet* a drover, but a man of great strength and spirit, was so incensed at the inactivity of his temporary leader, that he threw off his plaid, drew his sword, and called out to his clansmen, 'Let us endure this no longer! if he will not lead you, I will.' Rob Roy replied, with great coolness, 'Were the question about driving Highland stots or kyloes, Sandie, I would yield to your superior skill; but as it respects the leading of men, I must be allowed to be the better judge.' 'Did the matter respect driving Glen-Eigas stots,' answered Macpherson, 'the question with Rob would not be, which was to be last, but which was to be foremost.' Incensed at this sarcasm, Macgregor drew his sword, and they would have fought upon the spot if their friends on both sides had not interfered.

"Notwithstanding the sort of neutrality which Rob Roy had continued to observe during the progress of the rebellion, he did not escape some of its penalties. He was included in the act of attainder, and the house in Breadalbane, which was his place of retreat, was burned by General Lord Cadogan, when, after the conclusion of the insurrection, he marched through the Highlands to disarm and

punish the offending clans. But upon going to Inverary with about forty or fifty of his followers, Rob obtained favour, by an apparent surrender of their arms to Colonel Patrick Campbell of Finnah, who furnished them and their leader with protections under his hand. Being thus in a great measure secured from the resentment of government, Rob Roy established his residence at Craig Royston, near Loch Lomond, in the midst of his own kinsmen, and lost no time in resuming his private quarrel with the Duke of Montrose. For this purpose, he soon got on foot as many men, and well armed too, as he had yet commanded. He never stirred without a body guard of ten or twelve picked followers, and without much effort could increase them to fifty or sixty."⁶

For some years he continued to levy blackmail from those whose cattle and estates he protected, and although an English garrison was stationed at Inversnaid, near Aberfoyle, his activity, address, and courage continually saved him from falling into their hands. The year of his death is uncertain, but it is supposed to have been after 1738. He died at an advanced age in his bed, in his own house at Balquhider. When he found death approaching, "he expressed," says Sir Walter Scott, "some contrition for particular parts of his life. His wife laughed at these scruples of conscience, and exhorted him to die like a man, as he had lived. In reply, he rebuked her for her violent passions, and the counsels she had given him. 'You have put strife,' he said, 'between me and the best men of the country, and now you would place enmity between me and my God.' There is a tradition noway inconsistent with the former, if the character of Rob Roy be justly considered, that, while on his deathbed, he learned that a person with whom he was at enmity, proposed to visit him. 'Raise me from my bed,' said the invalid, 'throw my plaid around me, and bring me my claymore, dirk, and pistols; it shall never be said that a foeman saw Rob Roy Macgregor defenceless and unarmed.' His foe-man, conjectured to be one of the Maclarens, entered and paid his compliments, inquiring after the health of his formidable neighbour.

⁶ Introduction to *Rob Roy*.

Rob Roy maintained a cold haughty civility during their short conference, and as soon as he had left the house, 'Now,' he said, 'all is over; let the piper play *Ha til mi tulidh*' (we return no more), and he is said to have expired before the dirge was finished." The grave of Macgregor, in the churchyard of Balquhider, is distinguished by a rude tombstone, over which a sword is carved.

Rob Roy had five sons—Coll, Ranald, James (called James Roy, after his father, and James Mohr, or big James, from his height), Duncan, and Robert, called Robin Oig, or Young Robin.

On the breaking out of the rebellion of 1745, the clan Gregor adhered to the cause of the Pretender. A Macgregor regiment, 300 strong, was raised by Robert Macgregor of Glencairnock, who was generally considered chief of the clan, which joined the prince's army. The branch of *Ciar Mohr*, however, regarded William Macgregor Drummond of Bohaldie, then in France, as their head, and a separate corps formed by them, commanded by Glengyle, and James Roy Macgregor, united themselves to the levies of the titular Duke of Perth, James assuming the name of Drummond, the duke's family name, instead of that of Campbell. This corps was the relics of Rob Roy's band, and with only twelve men of it, James Roy, who seems to have held the rank of captain or major, succeeded in surprising and burning, for the second time, the fort at Inversnaid, constructed for the express purpose of keeping the country of the Macgregors in order.

At the battle of Prestonpans, the Duke of Perth's men and the Macgregors composed the centre. Armed only with scythes, this party cut off the legs of the horses, and severed, it is said, the bodies of their riders in twain. Captain James Roy, at the commencement of the battle, received five wounds, but recovered from them, and rejoined the prince's army with six companies. He was present at the battle of Culloden, and after that defeat the clan Gregor returned in a body to their own country, when they dispersed. James Roy was attainted for high treason, but from some letters of his, published in *Blackwood's Magazine* for December 1817, it appears that

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he had entered into some communication with the government, as he mentions having obtained a pass from the Lord Justice-clerk in 1747, which was a sufficient protection to him from the military.

On James Roy's arrival in France, he seems to have been in very poor circumstances, as he addressed a letter to Mr Edgar, secretary to the Chevalier de St George, dated Boulogne-sur-Mer, May 22, 1753, craving assistance "for the support of a man who has always shown the strongest attachment to his majesty's person and cause." To relieve his necessities, James ordered his banker at Paris to pay Macgregor 300 livres. James Roy, availing himself of a permission he had received to return to Britain, made a journey to London, and had an interview, according to his own statement, with Lord Holderness, secretary of state. The latter and the under secretary offered him, he says, a situation in the government service, which he rejected, as he avers his acceptance of it would have been a disgrace to his birth, and would have rendered him a scourge to his country. On this he was ordered instantly to quit England. On his return to France, an information was lodged against him by Macdonnell of Lochgarry, before the high bailie of Dunkirk, accusing him of being a spy. In consequence, he was obliged to quit that town and proceed to Paris, with only thirteen livres in his pocket. In his last letter to his acknowledged chief, Macgregor of Bohaldie, dated Paris, 25th September 1754, he describes himself as being in a state of extreme destitution, and expresses his anxiety to obtain some employment as a breaker and breeder of horses, or as a hunter or fowler, "till better cast up." In a postscript he asks his chief to lend him his bagpipes, "to play some melancholy tunes." He died about a week after writing this letter, it is supposed of absolute starvation.

It was not till 1784 that the oppressive acts against the Macgregors, which, however, for several years had fallen into desuetude, were rescinded by the British parliament, when they were allowed to resume their own name, and were restored to all the rights and privileges of British citizens. A deed was immediately entered into, subscribed by 826 persons of the name of Macgregor, recognising John Murray

of Lanrick, representative of the family of Glencarnock, as their chief, Murray being the name assumed, under the Proscriptive act, by John Macgregor, who was chief in 1715. Although he secretly favoured the rebellion of that year, the latter took no active part in it; but Robert, the next chief, mortgaged his estate, to support the cause of the Stuarts, and he commanded that portion of the clan who acknowledged him as their head in the rebellion of 1745. Altogether, with the Ciar Mohr branch, the Macgregors could then muster 700 fighting men. To induce Glencarnock's followers to lay down their arms, the Duke of Cumberland authorised Mr Gordon, at that time minister of Alva, in Strathspey, to treat with them, offering them the restoration of their name, and other favours, but the chief replied that they could not desert the cause. They chose rather to risk all, and die with the characters of honest men, than live in infamy, and disgrace their posterity.

After the battle of Culloden, the chief was long confined in Edinburgh castle, and on his death in 1758, he was succeeded by his brother Evan, who held a commission in the 41st regiment, and served with distinction in Germany. His son, John Murray of Lanrick, was the chief acknowledged by the clan, on the restoration of their rights in 1784. He was a general in the East India Company's service, and auditor-general in Bengal. Created a baronet of Great Britain 23d July 1795, he resumed in 1822 the original surname of the family, Macgregor, by royal license. He died the same year. The chiefship, however, was disputed by the Glengyle family, to which Rob Roy belonged.

Sir John Murray Macgregor's only son, Sir Evan John Macgregor, second baronet, was born in January 1785. He was a major-general in the army, K.C.B., and G.C.H., and governor-general of the Windward Isles. He died at his seat of government, 14th June 1841. By his wife, Lady Elizabeth Murray, daughter of John, fourth Duke of Athole, he had five sons and four daughters.

His eldest son, Sir John Athole Bannatyne Macgregor, third baronet, born 20th January 1810, was lieutenant-governor of the Virgin Islands, and died at Tortola, his seat of govern-

ment, 11th May 1851. He had four sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Sir Malcolm Murray Macgregor, fourth baronet, was born 29th August 1834, and styled of Macgregor, county Perth.



BADGE—Pine (or, according to some, Cranberry Heath).

With regard to the clan GRANT, Mr Skene says,—“Nothing certain is known regarding the origin of the Grants. They have been said to be of Danish, English, French, Norman, and of Gaelic extraction; but each of these suppositions depends for support upon conjecture alone, and amidst so many conflicting opinions it is difficult to fix upon the most probable. It is maintained by the supporters of their Gaelic origin, that they are a branch of the Macgregors, and in this opinion they are certainly borne out by the ancient and unvarying tradition of the country; for their Norman origin, I have upon examination entirely failed in discovering any further reason than that their name may be derived from the French, grand or great, and that they occasionally use the Norman form of de Grant. The latter reason, however, is not of any force, for it is impossible to trace an instance of their using the form de Grant until the 15th century; on the contrary, the form is invariably Grant or le Grant, and on the very first appearance of the family it is ‘dictus Grant.’ It is certainly not a territorial name, for there was no ancient property of that name, and the peculiar form under which it invariably appears in the earlier generations, proves that the name



GRANT.

is derived from a personal epithet. It so happens, however, that there was no epithet so common among the Gael as that of Grant, as a perusal of the Irish annals will evince; and at the same time Ragman's Roll shows that the Highland epithets always appear among the Norman signatures with the Norman 'le' prefixed to them. The clan themselves unanimously assert their descent from Gregor Mor Macgregor, who lived in the 12th century; and this is supported by their using to this day the same badge of distinction. So strong is this belief in both the clans of Grant and Macgregor, that in the early part of the last century a meeting of the two was held in the Blair of Athole, to consider the policy of re-uniting them. Upon this point all agreed, and also that the common surname should be Macgregor, if the reversal of the attainder of that name could be got from government. If that could not be obtained it was agreed that either MacAlpine or Grant should be substituted. This assembly of the clan Alpine lasted for fourteen days, and was only rendered abortive by disputes as to the chieftainship of the combined clan. Here then is as strong an attestation of a tradition as it is possible to conceive, and when to this is added the utter absence of the name in the old Norman rolls, the only trustworthy mark of a Norman descent, we are warranted in placing the Grants among the Siol Alpine."

With Mr Smibert we are inclined to think that, come the clan designation whence it may, the great body of the Grants were Gael of the stock of Alpine, which, as he truly says, is after all the main point to be considered.¹

The first of the name on record in Scotland is Gregory de Grant, who, in the reign of Alexander II. (1214 to 1249), was sheriff of

the shire of Inverness, which then, and till 1583, comprehended Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, besides what is now Inverness-shire. By his marriage with Mary, daughter of Sir John Bisset of Lovat, he became possessed of the lands of Stratherrick, at that period a part of the province of Moray, and had two sons, namely, Sir Lawrence, his heir, and Robert, who appears to have succeeded his father as sheriff of Inverness.

The elder son, Sir Lawrence de Grant, with his brother Robert, witnessed an agreement, dated 9th Sept. 1258, between Archibald, bishop of Moray, and John Bisset of Lovat; Sir Lawrence is particularly mentioned as the friend and kinsman of the latter. Chalmers² states that he married Bigla, the heiress of Comyn of Glenchernach, and obtained his father-in-law's estates in Strathspey, and a connection with the most potent family in Scotland. Douglas, however, in his *Baronage*,³ says that she was the wife of his elder son, John. He had two sons, Sir John and Rudolph. They supported the interest of Bruce against Baliol, and were taken prisoners in 1296, at the battle of Dunbar. After Baliol's surrender of his crown and kingdom to Edward, the English monarch, with his victorious army, marched north as far as Elgin. On his return to Berwick he received the submission of many of the Scottish barons, whose names were written upon four large rolls of parchment, so frequently referred to as the Ragman Roll. Most of them were dismissed on their swearing allegiance to him, among whom was Rudolph de Grant, but his brother, John de Grant, was carried to London. He was released the following year, on condition of serving King Edward in France, John Comyn of Badenoch being his surety on the occasion. Robert de Grant, who also swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296, is supposed to have been his uncle.

At the accession of Robert the Bruce in 1306, the Grants do not seem to have been very numerous in Scotland; but as the people of Strathspey, which from that period was known as "the country of the Grants," came to form a clan, with their name, they soon acquired the position and power of Highland chiefs.

¹ A MS., part of it evidently of ancient date, a copy of which was kindly lent to the editor by John Grant of Kilgraston, Esq., boldly sets out by declaring that the great progenitor of the Grants was the Scandinavian god Wodin, who "came out of Asia about the year 600" A.D. While a thread of genealogical truth seems to run through this MS., little reliance can be placed on the accuracy of its statements. It pushes dates, till about the 16th century, back more than 200 years, and contains many stories which are evidently traditional or wholly fabulous. The latter part of it, however, written about the end of last century, may undoubtedly be relied upon as the work of a contemporary.

² *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 596.

³ P. 321.

Sir John had three sons—Sir John, who succeeded him; Sir Allan, progenitor of the clan Allan, a tribe of the Grants, of whom the Grants of Auchernick are the head; and Thomas, ancestor of some families of the name. Sir John's grandson, John de Grant, had a son; and a daughter, Agnes, married to Sir Richard Comyn, ancestor of the Cummings of Altyre. The son, Sir Robert de Grant, in 1385, when the king of France, then at war with Richard II., remitted to Scotland a subsidy of 40,000 French crowns, to induce the Scots to invade England, was one of the principal barons, about twenty in all, among whom the money was divided. He died in the succeeding reign.

At this point there is some confusion in the pedigree of the Grants. The family papers state that the male line was continued by the son of Sir Robert, named Malcolm, who soon after his father's death began to make a figure as chief of the clan. On the other hand, some writers maintain that Sir Robert had no son, but a daughter, Maud or Matilda, heiress of the estate, and lineal representative of the family of Grant, who about the year 1400 married Andrew Stewart, son of Sir John Stewart, commonly called the Black Stewart, sheriff of Bute, and son of King Robert II., and that this Andrew sunk the royal name, and assumed instead the name and arms of Grant. This marriage, however, though supported by the tradition of the country, is not acknowledged by the family or the clan, and the very existence of such an heiress is denied.

Malcolm de Grant, above mentioned, had a son, Duncan de Grant, the first designed of Freuchie, the family title for several generations. By his wife, Muriel, a daughter of Mackintosh of Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, he had, with a daughter, two sons, John and Patrick. The latter, by his elder son, John, was ancestor of the Grants of Ballindalloch, county of Elgin, of whom afterwards, and of those of Tomnavoulen, Tulloch, &c.; and by his younger son, Patrick, of the Grants of Dunlugas in Banffshire.

Duncan's elder son, John Grant of Freuchie, by his wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir James Ogilvie of Deskford, ancestor of the Earls of Findlater, had, with a daughter, married to her

cousin, Hector, son of the chief of Mackintosh, three sons—John, his heir; Peter or Patrick, said to be the ancestor of the tribe of Phadrig, or house of Tullochgorum; and Duncan, progenitor of the tribe called clan Donachie, or house of Gartenbeg. By the daughter of Baron Stewart of Kincardine, he had another son, also named John, ancestor of the Grants of Glenmoriston.

His eldest son, John, the tenth laird, called, from his poetical talents, the Bard, succeeded in 1508. He obtained four charters under the great seal, all dated 3d December 1509, of various lands, among which were Urquhart and Glenmoriston in Inverness-shire. He had three sons; John, the second son, was ancestor of the Grants of Shoggie, and of those of Corrimony in Urquhart.

The younger son, Patrick, was the progenitor of the Grants of Bonhard in Perthshire. John the Bard died in 1525.

His eldest son, James Grant of Freuchie, called, from his daring character, *Shemas nan Creach*, or James the Bold, was much employed, during the reign of King James V., in quelling insurrections in the northern counties. His lands in Urquhart were, in November 1513, plundered and laid waste by the adherents of the Lord of the Isles, and again in 1544 by the Clanranald, when his castle of Urquhart was taken possession of. This chief of the Grants was in such high favour with King James V. that he obtained from that monarch a charter, dated 1535, exempting him from the jurisdiction of all the courts of judicature, except the court of session, then newly instituted. He died in 1553. He had, with two daughters, two sons, John and Archibald; the latter the ancestor of the Grants of Cullen, Monymusk, &c.

His eldest son, John, usually called *Evan Baold*, or the Gentle, was a strenuous promoter of the Reformation, and was a member of that parliament which, in 1560, abolished Popery as the established religion in Scotland. He died in 1585, having been twice married—first, to Margaret Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Athole, by whom he had, with two daughters, two sons, Duncan and Patrick, the latter ancestor of the Grants of Rothiemurchus; and, secondly, to a daughter of Barclay of

Towie, by whom he had an only son, Archibald, ancestor of the Grants of Bellintomb, represented by the Grants of Monymusk.

Duncan, the elder son, predeceased his father in 1581, leaving four sons—John; Patrick, ancestor of the Grants of Easter Elchies, of which family was Patrick Grant, Lord Elchies, a lord of session; Robert, progenitor of the Grants of Lurg; and James, of Ardnellie, ancestor of those of Moyness.

John, the eldest son, succeeded his grandfather in 1585, and was much employed in public affairs. A large body of his clan, at the battle of Glenlivet, was commanded by John Grant of Gartenbeg, to whose treachery, in having, in terms of a concerted plan, retreated with his men as soon as the action began, as well as to that of Campbell of Loch-nell, Argyll owed his defeat in that engagement. This laird of Grant greatly extended and improved his paternal estates, and is said to have been offered by James VI., in 1610, a patent of honour, which he declined. From the Shaws he purchased the lands of Rothiemurchus, which he exchanged with his uncle Patrick for the lands of Muchrach. On his marriage with Lilius Murray, daughter of John, Earl of Athole, the nuptials were honoured with the presence of King James VI. and his queen. Besides a son and daughter by his wife, he had a natural son, Duncan, progenitor of the Grants of Cluny. He died in 1622.

His son, Sir John, by his extravagance and attendance at court, greatly reduced his estates, and when he was knighted he got the name of "Sir John Sell-the-land." He had eight sons and three daughters, and dying at Edinburgh in April 1637, was buried at the abbey church of Holyroodhouse.

His elder son, James, joined the Covenanters on the north of the Spey in 1638, and on 19th July 1644, was, by the Estates, appointed one of the committee for trying the malignants in the north. After the battle of Inverlochy, however, in the following year, he joined the standard of the Marquis of Montrose, then in arms for the king, and ever after remained faithful to the royal cause. In 1663, he went to Edinburgh, to see justice done to his kinsman, Allan Grant of Tulloch, in a criminal

prosecution for manslaughter, in which he was successful; but he died in that city soon after his arrival there. A patent had been made out creating him Earl of Strathspey, and Lord Grant of Freuchie and Urquhart, but in consequence of his death it did not pass the seals. The patent itself is said to be preserved in the family archives. He had two sons, Ludovick and Patrick, the latter ancestor of the family of Wester Elchies in Speyside.

Ludovick, the eldest son, being a minor, was placed under the guardianship of his uncle, Colonel Patrick Grant, who faithfully discharged his trust, and so was enabled to remove some of the burdens on the encumbered family estates. Ludovick Grant of Grant and Freuchie took for his wife Janet, only child of Alexander Brodie of Lethen. By the favour of his father-in-law, the laird of Grant was enabled in 1685, to purchase the barony of Pluscardine, which was always to descend to the second son. By King William he was appointed colonel of a regiment of foot, and sheriff of Inverness. In 1700 he raised a regiment of his own clan, being the only commoner that did so, and kept his regiment in pay a whole year at his own expense. In compensation, three of his sons got commissions in the army, and his lands were erected into a barony. He died at Edinburgh in 1718, in his 66th year, and, like his father and grandfather, was buried in Holyrood abbey.

Alexander, his eldest son, after studying the civil law on the continent, entered the army, and soon obtained the command of a regiment of foot, with the rank of brigadier. When the rebellion broke out, being with his regiment in the south, he wrote to his brother, Captain George Grant, to raise the clan for the service of government, which he did, and a portion of them assisted at the reduction of Inverness. As justiciary of the counties of Inverness, Moray, and Banff, he was successful in suppressing the bands of outlaws and robbers which infested these counties in that unsettled time. He succeeded his father in 1718, but died at Leith the following year, aged 40. Though twice married, he had no children.

His brother, Sir James Grant of Pluscardine, was the next laird. In 1702, in his father's lifetime, he married Anne, only daughter of

Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss, Baronet. By the marriage contract it was specially provided that he should assume the surname and arms of Colquhoun, and if he should at any time succeed to the estate of Grant, his second son should, with the name of Colquhoun, become proprietor of Luss. In 1704, Sir Humphrey obtained a new patent in favour of his son-in-law, James Grant, who on his death, in 1715, became in consequence Sir James Grant Colquhoun of Luss, Baronet. On succeeding, however, to the estate of Grant four years after, he dropped the name of Colquhoun, retaining the baronetcy, and the estate of Luss went to his second surviving son. He had five daughters, and as many sons, viz. Humphrey, who predeceased him in 1732; Ludovick; James, a major in the army, who succeeded to the estate and baronetcy of Luss, and took the name of Colquhoun; Francis, who died a

general in the army; and Charles, a captain in the Royal Navy.

The second son, Ludovick, was admitted advocate in 1728; but on the death of his brother he relinquished his practice at the bar, and his father devolving on him the management of the estate, he represented him thereafter as chief of the clan. He was twice married—first, to a daughter of Sir Robert Dalrymple of North Berwick, by whom he had a daughter, who died young; secondly, to Lady Margaret Ogilvie, eldest daughter of James Earl of Findlater and Seafield, in virtue of which marriage his grandson succeeded to the earldom of Seafield. By his second wife Sir Ludovick had one son, James, and eleven daughters, six of whom survived him. Penuel, the third of these, was the wife of Henry Mackenzie, Esq., author of the *Man of Feeling*. Sir Ludovick died at Castle Grant, 18th March 1773.



Castle Grant. From a photograph.

His only son, Sir James Grant of Grant, Baronet, born in 1738, was distinguished for his patriotism and public spirit. On the declaration of war by France in 1793, he was among the first to raise a regiment of fencibles, called the Grant or Strathspey fencibles, of which he was appointed colonel. After a

lingering illness, he died at Castle Grant on 18th February 1811. He had married, in 1763, Jean, only child of Alexander Duff, Esq. of Hatton, Aberdeenshire, and had by her three sons and three daughters. Sir Lewis Alexander Grant, the eldest son, in 1811 succeeded to the estates and earldom of Seafield, on the

death of his cousin, James Earl of Findlater and Seafield, and his brother, Francis William, became, in 1840, sixth earl. The younger children obtained in 1822 the rank and precedence of an earl's junior issue.

The Grants of BALLINDALLOCH, in the parish of Inveravon, Banffshire—commonly called the Craig-Achrochcan Grants—as already stated, descend from Patrick, twin brother of John, ninth laird of Freuchie. Patrick's grandson, John Grant, was killed by his kinsman, John Roy Grant of Carron, as afterwards mentioned, and his son, also John Grant, was father of another Patrick, whose son, John Roy Grant, by his extravagant living and unhappy differences with his lady, a daughter of Leslie of Balquhain, entirely ruined his estate, and was obliged to consent to placing it under the management and trust of three of his kinsmen, Brigadier Grant, Captain Grant of Elchies, and Walter Grant of Arndilly, which gave occasion to W. Elchies' verses of "What meant the man?"

General James Grant of Ballindalloch succeeded to the estate on the death of his nephew, Major William Grant, in 1770. He died at Ballindalloch, on 13th April 1806, at the age of 86. Having no children, he was succeeded by his maternal grand-nephew, George Macpherson, Esq. of Invereshie, who assumed in consequence the additional name of Grant, and was created a baronet in 1838.

The Grants of GLENMORISTON, in Invernesshire, are sprung from John More Grant, natural son of John Grant, ninth laird of Freuchie. His son, John Roy Grant, acquired the lands of Carron from the Marquis of Huntly. In a dispute about the marches of their respective properties, he killed his kinsman, John Grant of Ballindalloch, in 1588, an event which led to a lasting feud between the families, of which, in the first part of the work we have given a detailed account. John Roy Grant had four sons—Patrick, who succeeded him in Carron; Robert of Nether Glen of Rothes; James *an Tuim*, or James of the hill; and Thomas.

The Glenmoriston branch of the Grants adhered faithfully to the Stuarts. Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston appeared in arms in Viscount Dundee's army at Killiecrankie. He

was also at the skirmish at Cromdale against the government soon after, and at the battle of Sheriffmuir in 1715. His estate was, in consequence, forfeited, but through the interposition of the chief of the Grants, was bought back from the barons of the Exchequer. The laird of Glenmoriston in 1745 also took arms for the Pretender; but means were found to preserve the estate to the family. The families proceeding from this branch, besides that of Carron, which estate is near Elchies, on the river Spey, are those of LYNACHOARN, AVIEMORE, CROSKIE, &c.

The favourite song of "Roy's Wife of Aldivalloch" (the only one she was ever known to compose), was written by a Mrs Grant of Carron, whose maiden name was Grant, born, near Aberlour, about 1745. Mr Grant of Carron, whose wife she became about 1763, was her cousin. After his death she married, a second time, an Irish physician practising at Bath, of the name of Murray, and died in that city in 1814.

The Grants of DALVEY, who possess a baronetcy, are descended from Duncan, second son of John the Bard, tenth laird of Grant.

The Grants of MONYMUSK, who also possess a baronetcy (date of creation, December 7, 1705), are descended from Archibald Grant of Ballintomb, an estate conferred on him by charter, dated 8th March 1580. He was the younger son of John Grant of Freuchie, called *Evan Baold*, or the Gentle, by his second wife, Isobel Barclay. With three daughters, Archibald Grant had two sons. The younger son, James, was designed of Tombreak. Duncan of Ballintomb, the elder, had three sons—Archibald, his heir; Alexander, of Allachie; and William, of Arndillie. The eldest son, Archibald, had, with two daughters, two sons, the elder of whom, Archibald Grant, Esq. of Bellinton, had a son, Sir Francis, a lord of session, under the title of Lord Cullen, the first baronet of this family.

The Grants of KILGRASTON, in Perthshire, are lineally descended, through the line of the Grants of Glenloch, from the ninth laird of Grant. Peter Grant, the last of the lairds of Glenloch, which estate he sold, had two sons, John and Francis. The elder son, John, chief justice of Jamaica from 1783 to 1790, purchased the estates of Kilgraston and Pitcaith-

ley, lying contiguous to each other in Strath-earn; and, dying in 1793, without issue, he was succeeded by his brother, Francis. This gentleman married Anne, eldest daughter of Robert Oliphant, Esq. of Rossie, postmaster-general of Scotland, and had five sons and two daughters. He died in 1819, and was succeeded by his son, John Grant, the present representative of the Kilgraston family. He married—first, 1820, Margaret, second daughter of the late Lord Gray; second, 1828, Lucy, third daughter of Thomas, late Earl of Elgin. Heir, his son, Charles Thomas Constantine, born, 1831, and married, 1856, Matilda, fifth daughter of William Hay, Esq. of Dunse Castle.

The badge of the clan Grant was the pine or cranberry heath, and their slogan or gathering cry, "Stand fast, Craigellachie!" the bold projecting rock of that name ("the rock of alarm") in the united parishes of Duthil and Rothiemurchus, being their hill of rendezvous. The Grants had a long-standing feud with the Gordons, and even among the different branches of themselves there were faction fights, as between the Ballindalloch and Carron Grants. The clan, with few exceptions, was noted for its loyalty, being generally, and the family of the chief invariably, found on the side of government. In Strathspey the name prevailed almost to the exclusion of every other, and to this day Grant is the predominant surname in the district, as alluded to by Sir Alexander Boswell, Baronet, in his lively verses—

"Come the Grants of Tullochgorum,
Wi' their pipers gaun before 'em,
Proud the mothers are that bore 'em.

Next the Grants of Rothiemurchus,
Every man his sword and durk has,
Every man as proud 's a Turk is."

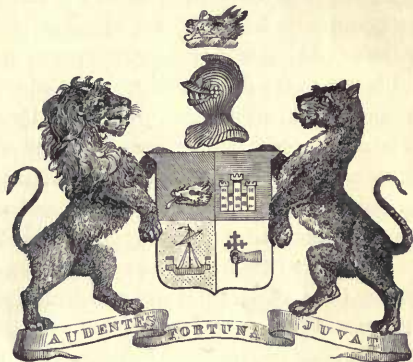
In 1715, the force of the clan was 800, and in 1745, 850.

MACKINNON.

The clan FINGON or the MACKINNONS, another clan belonging to the Siol Alpine, are said to have sprung from Fingon, brother of Anrias or Andrew, an ancestor of the Macgregors. This Fingon or Finguin is mentioned in the MS. of 1450 as the founder of the clan

Finguin, that is, the Mackinnons. Of the history of this clan, Mr Skene says, little is known. At an early period they became followers of the Lords of the Isles, and they appear to have been engaged in few transactions "by which their name is separately brought forward."

MACKINNON.



BADGE—Pine.

Their seat was in the islands of Skye and Mull, and the first authentic notice of them is to be found in an indenture (printed in the Appendix to the second edition of Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*) between the Lords of the Isles and the Lord of Lorn. The latter stipulates, in surrendering to the Lord of the Isles the island of Mull and other lands, that the keeping of the castle of Kerneburg in the Treshinish Isles, is not to be given to any of the race of clan Finnon. "This," says Mr Gregory, "proves that the Mackinnons were then connected with Mull. They originally possessed the district of Griban in that island, but exchanged it for the district of Mishnish, being that part of Mull immediately to the north and west of Tobermory. They, likewise, possessed the lands of Strathairdle in Skye, from which the chiefs usually took their style. Lauchlan Macfingon, or Mackinnon, chief of his clan, witnessed a charter by Donald, Lord of the Isles, in 1409. The name of the chief in 1493 is uncertain; but Neil Mackinnon of Mishnish was at the head of the tribe in 1515."¹ Two years afterwards

¹ *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 80.

this Neil and several others, described as "kin, men, servants, and part-takers" of Lauchlan Maclean of Dowart, were included in a remission which that chief obtained for their share in the rebellion of Sir Donald Macdonald of Lochalsh. In 1545 the chief's name was Ewen. He was one of the barons and council of the Isles who, in that year, swore allegiance to the king of England at Knockfergus in Ireland.

"In consequence," says Mr Skene, "of their connection with the Macdonalds, the Mackinnons have no history independent of that clan; and the internal state of these tribes during the government of the Lords of the Isles is so obscure that little can be learned regarding them, until the forfeiture of the last of these lords. During their dependence upon the Macdonalds there is but one event of any importance in which we find the Mackinnons taking a share, for it would appear that on the death of John of the Isles, in the fourteenth century, Mackinnon, with what object it is impossible now to ascertain, stirred up his second son, John Mor, to rebel against his eldest brother, apparently with a view to the chiefship, and his faction was joined by the Macleans and the Macleods. But Donald, his elder brother, was supported by so great a proportion of the tribe, that he drove John Mor and his party out of the Isles, and pursued him to Galloway, and from thence to Ireland. The rebellion being thus put down, John Mor threw himself upon his brother's mercy, and received his pardon, but Mackinnon was taken and hanged, as having been the instigator of the disturbance,"² This appears to have taken place after 1380, as John, Lord of the Isles, died that year. In the disturbances in the Isles, during the 16th century, Sir Lauchlan Mackinnon bore an active part.

As a proof of the common descent of the Mackinnons, the Macgregors and the Macnabs, although their territories were far distant from each other, two bonds of friendship exist, which are curious specimens of the manners of the times. The one dated 12th July 1606, was entered into between Lauchlan

Mackinnon of Strathairdle and Finlay Macnab of Bowaine, who, as its tenor runs, happened "to forgether togedder, with certain of the said Finlay's friends, in their rooms, in the laird of Glenurchy's country, and the said Lauchlan and Finlay, being come of ane house, and being of one surname and lineage, notwithstanding the said Lauchlan and Finlay this long time bygane oversaw their awn dueties, till udderis, in respect of the long distance betwixt their dwelling places," agreed, with the consent of their kin and friends, to give all assistance and service to each other. And are "content to subscribe to the same, *with their hands led to the pen.*" Mackinnon's signature is characteristic. It is "Lauchland, mise (i. e. myself) Mac Fingon." The other bond of manrent, dated at Kilmorie in 1671, was between Lauchlan Mackinnon of Strathairdle and James Macgregor of Macgregor, and it is therein stated that "for the special love and amitie between these persons, and condescending that they are descended lawfully *fra tua breethren of auld descent*, wherefore and for certain onerous causes moving, we witt ye we to be bound and obleisit, likeas by the tenor hereof we faithfully bind and obleise us and our successors, our kin, friends, and followers, faithfully to serve aue anither in all causes with our men and servants, against all who live or die."

During the civil wars the Mackinnons joined the standard of the Marquis of Montrose, and formed part of his force at the battle of Inverlochy, Feb. 2, 1645. In 1650, Lauchlan Mackinnon, the chief, raised a regiment of his clan for the service of Charles II., and, at the battle of Worcester, in 1646, he was made a knight banneret. His son, Daniel Mohr, had two sons, John, whose great-grandson died in India, unmarried, in 1808, and Daniel, who emigrated to Antigua, and died in 1720. The latter's eldest son and heir, William Mackinnon of Antigua, an eminent member of the legislature of that island, died at Bath, in 1767. The son of the latter, William Mackinnon of Antigua and Binfield, Berkshire, died in 1809. The youngest of his four sons, Henry, major-general Mackinnon, a distinguished officer, was killed by the explosion of a magazine, while leading on the

² Skene's *Highlanders*, vol. ii. p. 259.

main storming party, at Ciudad Rodrigo, Feb. 29, 1812. The eldest son, William Mackinnon, died young, leaving, with two daughters, two sons, William Alexander Mackinnon, who succeeded his grandfather, and Daniel, colonel of the Coldstream Guards.

William Alexander Mackinnon of Mackinnon, M.P., the chief magistrate and deputy lieutenant for the counties of Middlesex, Hampshire, and Essex, born in 1789, succeeded in 1809. He married Emma, daughter of Joseph Palmer, Esq. of Rush House, county Dublin, with issue, three sons and three daughters. The eldest son, William Alexander, also M.P., born in 1813, married daughter of F. Willes, Esq.

Lauchlan Mackinnon of Letterfearn also claims to be the heir-male of the family. Although there are many gentlemen of the name still resident in Skye, there is no Mackinnon proprietor of lands now either in that island or in Mull.

The Mackinnons engaged in both rebellions in favour of the Stuarts. In 1715, 150 of them fought with the Macdonalds of Sleat at the battle of Sheriffmuir, for which the chief was forfeited, but received a pardon, 4th January 1727. In 1745, Mackinnon, though then old and infirm, joined Prince Charles with a battalion of his clan. President Forbes estimated their effective force at that period at 200 men. After the battle of Culloden, the prince, in his wanderings, took refuge in the country of the Mackinnons, when travelling in disguise through Skye, and was concealed by the chief in a cave, to which Lady Mackinnon brought him a refreshment of cold meat and wine.

MACNAB.

The clan ANABA or MACNAB has been said by some to have been a branch of the Macdonalds, but we have given above a bond of manrent which shows that they were allied to the Mackinnons and the Macgregors. "From their comparatively central position in the Highlands," says Smibert, "as well as other circumstances, it seems much more likely that they were of the primitive Albionic race, a shoot of the Siol Alpine." The chief has his residence at Kinnell, on the banks of the Dochart, and the family possessions, which

originally were considerable, lay mainly on the western shores of Loch Tay. The founder of the Macnabs, like the founder of the Macphersons, is said to have belonged to the clerical profession, the name Mac-anab being said to mean in Gaelic, the son of the abbot. He is said to have been abbot of Glendochart.

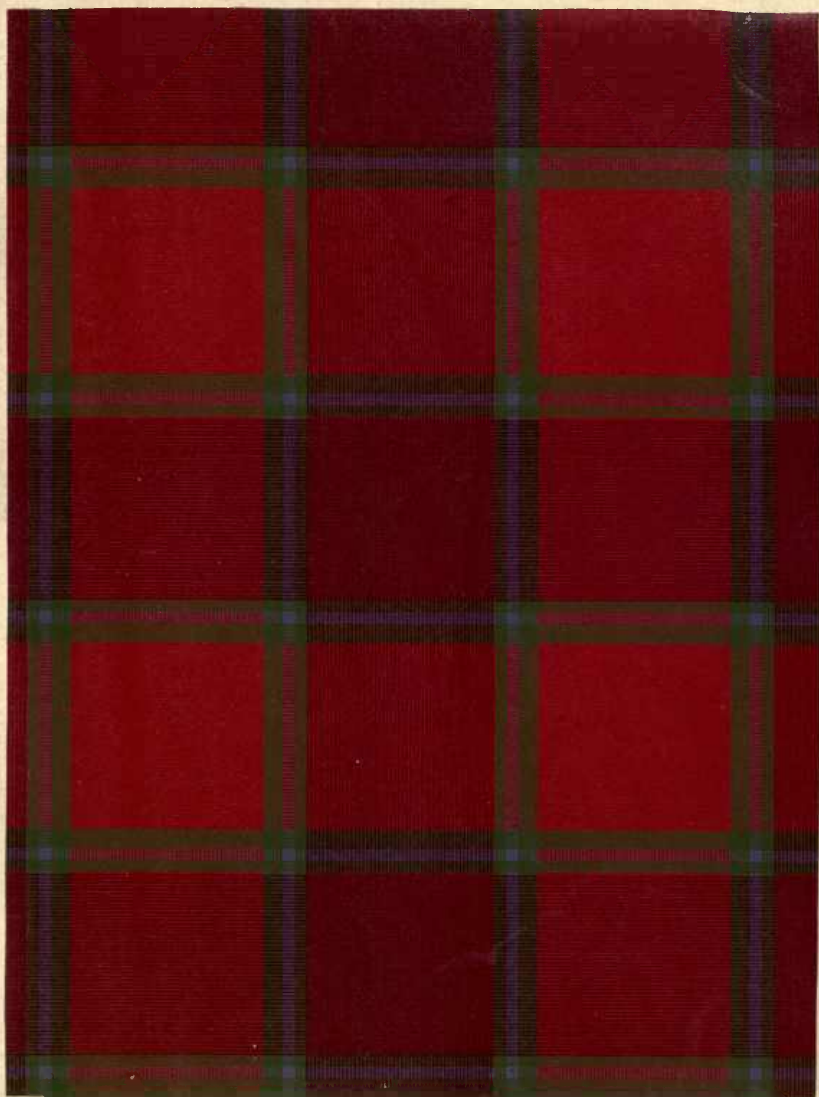
MACNAB.



BADGE—Common Heath.

The Macnabs were a considerable clan before the reign of Alexander III. When Robert the Bruce commenced his struggle for the crown, the baron of Macnab, with his clan, joined the Macdougalls of Lorn, and fought against Bruce at the battle of Dalree. Afterwards, when the cause of Bruce prevailed, the lands of the Macnabs were ravaged by his victorious troops, their houses burnt, and all their family writs destroyed. Of all their possessions only the barony of Bowain or Bovain, in Glendochart, remained to them, and of it, Gilbert Macnab of that ilk, from whom the line is usually deduced, as the first undoubted laird of Macnab, received from David II., on being reconciled to that monarch, a charter, under the great seal, to him and his heirs whomsoever, dated in 1336. He died in the reign of Robert II.

His son, Finlay Macnab, styled of Bovain, as well as "of that ilk," died in the reign of James I. He is said to have been a famous bard. According to tradition he composed one of the Gaelic poems which Macpherson attributed to Ossian. He was the father of Patrick Macnab of Bovain and of that ilk, whose son was named Finlay Macnab, after



MAGNAB.

nis grandfather. Indeed, Finlay appears to have been, at this time, a favourite name of the chief, as the next three lairds were so designated. Upon his father's resignation, he got a charter, under the great seal, in the reign of James III., of the lands of Ardechyle, and Wester Duinish, in the barony of Glendochart and county of Perth, dated January 1, 1486. He had also a charter from James IV., of the lands of Ewir and Leiragan, in the same barony, dated January 9, 1502. He died soon thereafter, leaving a son, Finlay Macnab, fifth laird of Macnab, who is witness in a charter, under the great seal, to Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, wherein he is designed "*Finlaus Macnab, dominus de eodem*," &c., Sept. 18, 1511. He died about the close of the reign of James V.

His son, Finlay Macnab of Bovain and of that ilk, sixth chief from Gilbert, alienated or mortgaged a great portion of his lands to Campbell of Glenorchy, ancestor of the Marquis of Breadalbane, as appears by a charter to "Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, his heirs and assignees whatever, according to the deed granted to him by Finlay Macnab of Bovain, 24th November 1552, of all and sundry the lands of Bovain and Ardechyle, &c., confirmed by a charter under the great seal from Mary, dated 27th June 1553." Glenorchy's right of superiority the Macnabs always refused to acknowledge.

His son, Finlay Macnab, the seventh laird, who lived in the reign of James VI., was the chief who entered into the bond of friendship and manrent with his cousin, Lauchlan Mackinnon of Strathairdle, 12th July 1606. This chief carried on a deadly feud with the Neishes or M'Iduys, a tribe which possessed the upper parts of Strathearn, and inhabited an island in the lower part of Loch Earn, called from them Neish Island. Many battles were fought between them, with various success. The last was at Glenboultachan, about two miles north of Loch Earn foot, in which the Macnabs were victorious, and the Neishes cut off almost to a man. A small remnant of them, however, still lived in the island referred to, the head of which was an old man, who subsisted by plundering the people in the neighbourhood. One Christmas, the chief of

the Macnabs had sent his servant to Crieff for provisions, but, on his return, he was waylaid, and robbed of all his purchases. He went home, therefore, empty-handed, and told his tale to the laird. Macnab had twelve sons, all men of great strength, but one in particular exceedingly athletic, who was called for a by-name, *Iain mion Mac an Appa*, or "Smooth John Macnab." In the evening, these men were gloomily meditating some signal revenge on their old enemies, when their father entered, and said in Gaelic, "The night is the night, if the lads were but lads!" Each man instantly started to his feet, and belted on his dirk, his claymore, and his pistols. Led by their brother John, they set out, taking a fishing-boat on their shoulders from Loch Tay, carrying it over the mountains and glens till they reached Loch Earn, where they launched it, and passed over to the island. All was silent in the habitation of Neish. Having all the boats at the island secured, they had gone to sleep without fear of surprise. Smooth John, with his foot dashed open the door of Neish's house; and the party, rushing in, attacked the unfortunate family, every one of whom was put to the sword, with the exception of one man and a boy, who concealed themselves under a bed. Carrying off the heads of the Neishes, and any plunder they could secure, the youths presented themselves to their father, while the piper struck up the pibroch of victory.

The next laird, "Smooth John," the son of this Finlay, made a distinguished figure in the reign of Charles I., and suffered many hardships on account of his attachment to the royal cause. He was killed at the battle of Worcester in 1651. During the commonwealth, his castle of Eilan Rowan was burned, his estates ravaged and sequestered, and the family papers again lost. Taking advantage of the troubles of the times, his powerful neighbour, Campbell of Glenorchy, in the heart of whose possessions Macnab's lands were situated, on the pretence that he had sustained considerable losses from the clan Macnab, got possession of the estates in recompense thereof.

The chief of the Macnabs married a daughter of Campbell of Glenlyon, and with one daughter,

had a son, Alexander Macnab, ninth laird, who was only four years old when his father was killed on Worcester battle-field. His mother and friends applied to General Monk for some relief from the family estates for herself and children. That general made a favourable report on the application, but it had no effect.

After the Restoration, application was made to the Scottish estates, by Lady Macnab and her son, for redress, and in 1661 they received a considerable portion of their lands, which the family enjoyed till the beginning of the present century, when they were sold.

By his wife, Elizabeth, a sister of Sir Alexander Menzies of Weem, Baronet, Alexander Macnab of that ilk had a son and heir, Robert Macnab, tenth laird, who married Anne Campbell, sister of the Earl of Breadalbane. Of several children only two survived, John, who succeeded his father, and Archibald. The elder son, John, held a commission in the Black Watch, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Prestonpans, and, with several others, confined in Deune Castle, under the charge of Macgregor of Glengyle, where he remained till after the battle of Culloden. The majority of the clan took the side of the house of Stuart, and were led by Allister Macnab of Inshewan and Archibald Macnab of Acharne.

John Macnab, the eleventh laird, married the only sister of Francis Buchanan, Esq. of Arnprior, and had a son, Francis, twelfth laird.

Francis, twelfth laird, died, unmarried, at Callander, Perthshire, May 25, 1816, in his 82d year. One of the most eccentric men of his time, many anecdotes are related of his curious sayings and doings.

We give the following as a specimen, for which we are indebted to Mr Smibert's excellent work on the clans:—

"Macnab had an intense antipathy to excisemen, whom he looked on as a race of intruders, commissioned to suck the blood of his country: he never gave them any better name than *vermin*. One day, early in the last war, he was marching to Stirling at the head of a corps of fencibles, of which he was commander. In those days the Highlanders were notorious for incurable smuggling propensities; and an excursion to the Lowlands, whatever might be

its cause or import, was an opportunity by no means to be neglected. The Breadalbane men had accordingly contrived to stow a considerable quantity of the genuine 'peat reek' (whisky) into the baggage carts. All went well with the party for some time. On passing Alloa, however, the excisemen there having got a hint as to what the carts contained, hurried out by a shorter path to intercept them. In the meantime, Macnab, accompanied by a gillie, in the true feudal style, was proceeding slowly at the head of his men, not far in the rear of the baggage. Soon after leaving Alloa, one of the party in charge of the carts came running back and informed their chief that they had all been seized by a posse of excisemen. This intelligence at once roused the blood of Macnab. 'Did the lousy villains *dare* to obstruct the march of the Breadalbane Highlanders!' he exclaimed, inspired with the wrath of a thousand heroes; and away he rushed to the scene of contention. There, sure enough, he found a party of excisemen in possession of the carts. 'Who the devil are you?' demanded the angry chieftain. 'Gentlemen of the excise,' was the answer. 'Robbers! thieves! you mean; how dare you lay hands on His Majesty's stores? If you be gaugers, show me your commissions.' Unfortunately for the excisemen, they had not deemed it necessary in their haste to bring such documents with them. In vain they asserted their authority, and declared they were well known in the neighbourhood. 'Ay, just what I took ye for; a parcel of highway robbers and scoundrels. Come, my good fellows,' (addressing the soldiers in charge of the baggage, and extending his voice with the lungs of a stentor,) 'prime!—load!' The excisemen did not wait the completion of the sentence; away they fled at top speed towards Alloa, no doubt glad they had not caused the waste of His Majesty's ammunition. 'Now, my lads,' said Macnab, 'proceed—your whisky's safe.'"

He was a man of gigantic height and strong originality of character, and cherished many of the manners and ideas of a Highland gentleman, having in particular a high notion of the dignity of the chieftainship. He left numerous illegitimate children.

The only portion of the property of the Macnabs remaining is the small islet of Innis-Buie, formed by the parting of the water of the Dochart just before it issues into Loch Tay, in which is the most ancient burial place of the family; and outside there are numerous gravestones of other members of the clan. The lands of the town of Callander chiefly belong to a descendant of this laird, not in marriage.

Archibald Macnab of Macnab, nephew of Francis, succeeded as thirteenth chief. The estates being considerably encumbered, he was obliged to sell his property for behoof of his creditors.

Many of the clan having emigrated to Canada about the beginning of the nineteenth century, and being very successful, 300 of those remaining in Scotland were induced about 1817 to try their fortunes in America, and in 1821, the chief himself, with some more of the clan, took their departure for Canada. He returned in 1853, and died at Lannion, Cotes du Nord, France, Aug. 12, 1860, aged 83. Subjoined is his portrait, from a daguerreotype, taken at Saratoga, United States of America, in 1848.



The last Laird of Macnab.

He left a widow, and one surviving daughter, Sophia Frances.

The next Macnabs by descent entitled to the chiefship are believed to be Sir Allan Napier Macnab, Bart., Canada; Dr Robert Macnab, 5th Fusileers; and Mr John Macnab, Glenmavis, Bathgate.

The lairds of Macnab, previous to the reign of Charles I., intermarried with the families of Lord Gray of Kilfauns, Gleneagles, Inchbraco, Robertson of Strowan, &c.

The chief cadets of the family were the Macnabs of Dundurn, Acharne, Newton, Cowie, and Inchewen.

CLAN OR DUFFIE MACFIE.

The clan DUFFIE (in Gaelic, *clann Dhubhie* means "the coloured tribe") or MACPHIE (generally spelt Macfie) appear to have been the original inhabitants of the island of Colonsay, which they held till the middle of the 17th century, when they were dispossessed of it by the Macdonalds. They were probably a branch of the ancient Albionic race of Scotland, and their genealogy given in the MS. of 1450, according to Skene, evinces their connection by descent with the Macgregors and Mac-kinnons.

On the south side of the church of the monastery of St Augustine in Colonsay, according to Martin (writing in 1703), "lie the tombs of Macduffie, and of the cadets of his family; there is a ship under sail, and a two-handed sword engraven on the principal tombstone, and this inscription: 'Hic jacet Malcolumbus Macduffie de Collonsay;' his coat of arms and colour-staff is fixed in a stone, through which a hole is made to hold it. About a quarter of a mile on the south side of the church there is a cairn, in which there is a stone cross fixed, called Macduffie's cross; for when any of the heads of this family were to be interred, their corpses were laid on this cross for some moments, in their way toward the church."

Donald Macduffie is witness to a charter by John, Earl of Ross, and Lord of the Isles, dated at the Earl's castle of Dingwall, 12th April 1463.³ After the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493, the clan Duffie followed the Macdonalds of Isla. The name of

³ Register of the Great Seal, lib. vi. No. 17

the Macduffie chief in 1531 was Murroch. In 1609 Donald Macfie in Colonsay was one of the twelve chiefs and gentlemen who met the bishop of the Isles, the king's representative, at Iona, when, with their consent, the nine celebrated "Statutes of Icolmkill" were enacted. In 1615, Malcolm Macfie of Colonsay joined Sir James Macdonald of Isla, after his escape from the castle of Edinburgh, and was one of the principal leaders in his subsequent rebellion. He and eighteen others were delivered up by Coll Macgillespick Macdonald, the celebrated Colkitto, to the Earl of Argyll, by whom he was brought before the privy council. He appears afterwards to have been slain by Colkitto, as by the Council Records for 1623 we learn that the latter was accused, with several of his followers, of being "art and pairt guilty of the felonie and cruell slaughter of umquhill Malcolm Macphie of Collonsay."

"From this period," says Skene, "their estate seems to have gone into the possession of the Macdonalds, and afterwards of the Macneills, by whom it is still held; while the clan gradually sunk until they were only to be found, as at present, forming a small part of the inhabitants of Colonsay."

A branch of the clan Duffie, after they had lost their inheritance, followed Cameron of Lochiel, and settled in Lochaber.

MACQUARRIE.



BADGE—Pine.

The clan QUARRIE or MACQUARRIE is another clan held by Mr Skene to belong to the ancient

stock of Alpine, their possessions being the small island of Ulva, and a portion of Mull.

The Gaelic MS. of 1450 deduces their descent from Guarie or Godfrey, called by the Highland Sennachies, Gor or Gorbred, said to have been "a brother of Fingon, ancestor of the Mackinnons, and Anrias or Andrew, ancestor of the Macgregors." This is the belief of Mr Skene, who adds, "The history of the Macquarries resembles that of the Mackinnons in many respects; like them they had migrated far from the head-quarters of their race, they became dependent on the Lords of the Isles, and followed them as if they had become a branch of the clan."

Mr Smibert, however, thinks this origin highly improbable, and is inclined to believe that they constituted one branch of the Celto-Irish immigrants. "Their mere name," he says, "connects them strongly with Ireland—the tribe of the Macquarries, Macquires, Macguires (for the names are the same), being very numerous at this day in that island, and having indeed been so at all times." We do not think he makes out a very strong case in behalf of this origin.

According to a history of the family, by one of its members, in 1249 Cormac Mohr, then "chief of Ulva's Isle," joined Alexander II., with his followers and three galleys of sixteen oars each, in his expedition against the western islands, and after that monarch's death in the Island of Kerrera, was attacked by Haco of Norway, defeated and slain. His two sons, Allan and Gregor, were compelled to take refuge in Ireland, where the latter, surnamed Garbh or the rough, is said to have founded the powerful tribe of the MacGuires, the chief of which at one time possessed the title of Lord Inniskillen. Allan returned to Scotland, and his descendant, Hector Macquarrie of Ulva, chief in the time of Robert the Bruce, fought with his clan at Bannockburn.

The first chief of whom there is any notice in the public records was John Macquarrie of Ulva, who died in 1473.⁴ His son, Dunslass, was chief when the last Lord of the Isles was forfeited twenty years afterwards. After that event, the Macquarries, like the other vassal

⁴ *Register of Great Seal*, 31, No. 159.

tribes of the Macdonalds, became independent. In war, however, they followed the banner of their neighbour, Maclean of Dowart. With the latter, Dunslass supported the claims of Donald Dubh to the Lordship of the Isles, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and in 1504, "MacGorry of Ullowaa" was summoned, with some other chiefs, before the Estates of the kingdom, to answer for his share in Donald Dubh's rebellion.

His son, John Macquarrie of Ulva, was one of the thirteen chiefs who were denounced the same year for carrying on a traitorous correspondence with the king of England, with the view of transferring their allegiance to him.

Allan Macquarrie of Ulva was slain, with most of his followers, at the battle of Inverkeithing against the English parliamentary troops, 20th July 1651, when the Scots army was defeated, and a free passage opened to Cromwell to the whole north of Scotland.

According to tradition one of the chiefs of Ulva preserved his life and estate by the exercise of a timely hospitality under the following circumstances:—Maclean of Dowart had a natural son by a beautiful young woman of his own clan, and the boy having been born in a barn was named, from his birth-place, *Allan-a-Sop*, or Allan of the straw. The girl afterwards became the wife of Maclean of Torloisk, residing in Mull, but though he loved the mother he cared nothing for her boy, and when the latter came to see her, he was very unkind to him. One morning the lady saw from her window her son approaching and hastened to put a cake on the fire for his breakfast. Her husband noticed this, and snatching the cake hot from the girdle, thrust it into his stepson's hands, forcibly clasping them on the burning bread. The lad's hands were severely burnt, and in consequence he refrained from going again to Torloisk. As he grew up Allan became a mariner, and joined the Danish pirates who infested the western isles. From his courage he soon got the command of one galley, and subsequently of a flotilla, and made his name both feared and famous. Of him it may be said that—

"Sir Ralph the Rover sailed away,
He scoured the seas for many a day,

And now, grown rich with plunder'd store,
He steers his way for Scotland's shore."

The thought of his mother brought him back once more to the island of Mull, and one morning he anchored his galleys in front of the house of Torloisk. His mother had been long dead, but his stepfather hastened to the shore, and welcomed him with apparent kindness. The crafty old man had a feud with Macquarrie of Ulva, and thought this a favourable opportunity to execute his vengeance on that chief. With this object he suggested to Allan that it was time he should settle on land, and said that he could easily get possession of the island of Ulva, by only putting to death the laird, who was old and useless. Allan agreed to the proposal, and, setting sail next morning, appeared before Macquarrie's house. The chief of Ulva was greatly alarmed when he saw the pirate galleys, but he resolved to receive their commander hospitably, in the hope that good treatment would induce him to go away, without plundering his house or doing him any injury. He caused a splendid feast to be prepared, and welcomed Allan to Ulva with every appearance of sincerity. After feasting together the whole day, in the evening the pirate-chief, when about to retire to his ships, thanked the chief for his entertainment, remarking, at the same time, that it had cost him dear. "How so?" said Macquarrie, "when I bestowed this entertainment upon you in free good will." "It is true," said Allan, who, notwithstanding his being a pirate, seems to have been of a frank and generous disposition, "but it has disarranged all my plans, and quite altered the purpose for which I came hither, which was to put you to death, seize your castle and lands, and settle myself here in your stead." Macquarrie replied that he was sure such a suggestion was not his own, but must have originated with his stepfather, old Torloisk, who was his personal enemy. He then reminded him that he had made but an indifferent husband to his mother, and was a cruel stepfather to himself, adding, "Consider this matter better, Allan, and you will see that the estate and harbour of Torloisk lie as conveniently for you as those of Ulva, and if you must make a settlement by force, it is much better you

should do so at the expense of the old churl, who never showed you kindness, than of a friend like me who always loved and honoured you."

Allan-a-Sop, remembering his scorched fingers, straightway sailed back to Torloisk, and meeting his stepfather, who came eagerly expecting to hear of Macquarrie's death, thus accosted him: "You hoary old villain, you instigated me to murder a better man than yourself. Have you forgotten how you scorched my fingers twenty years ago with a burning cake? The day has come when that breakfast must be paid for." So saying, with one stroke of his battle-axe he cut down his stepfather, took possession of his castle and property, and established there that branch of the clan Maclean afterwards represented by Mr Clephane Maclean.

Hector, brother of Allan Macquarrie of Ulva, and second son of Donald the twelfth chief of the Macquarries, by his wife, a daughter of Lauchlan Oig Maclean, founder of the Macleans of Torloisk, obtained from his father the lands of Ormaig in Ulva, and was the first of the Macquarries of Ormaig. This family frequently intermarried with the Macleans, both of Lochbuy and Dowart. Lauchlan, Donald's third son, was ancestor of the Macquarries of Laggan, and John, the fourth son, of those of Ballighartan.

Lauchlan Macquarrie of Ulva, the sixteenth chief in regular succession, was compelled to dispose of his lands for behoof of his creditors, and in 1778, at the age of 63, he entered the army. He served in the American war, and died in 1818, at the age of 103, without male issue. He was the last chief of the Macquarries, and was the proprietor of Ulva when Dr Samuel Johnson and Mr Boswell visited that island in 1773.

A large portion of the ancient patrimonial property was repurchased by General Macquarrie, long governor of New South Wales, and from whom Macquarrie county, Macquarrie river, and Port Macquarrie in that colony, Macquarrie's harbour, and Macquarrie's island in the South Pacific, derive their name. He was the eldest cadet of his family, and was twice married, first, to Miss Baillie of Jerviswood, and secondly, to a daughter of Sir John

Campbell of Airds, by whom he had an only son, Lauchlan, who died without issue.

MACAULAY.

The last clan claimed by Mr Skene as belonging to the Siol Alpine is the minor one of MacAulay, or clan Aula. Many formerly held that the MacAulays derived their origin from the ancient earls of Lennox, and that their ancestor was Maurice, brother of Earl Maldouin and son of Aulay, whose name appears in the Ragman Roll as having sworn fealty to Edward I. in 1296. According to Skene, these Aulays were of the family of De Fasselan, who afterwards succeeded to the earldom.

The MacAulays consider themselves a sept of the clan Gregor, their chief being designed of Ardincaple from his residence in Dumbartonshire. That property was in their possession in the reign of Edward I. They early settled in the Lennox, and their names often occur in the Lennox chartulary, hence the very natural supposition that they sprung from that distinguished house. In a bond of manrent, or deed of clanship, entered into between MacGregor of Glenstrae and MacAulay of Ardincaple, of date 27th May 1591, the latter acknowledges his being a cadet of the former, and agrees to pay him the "calp," that is, a tribute of cattle given in acknowledgment or superiority. In 1694, in a similar bond given to Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, they again declared themselves MacGregors. "Their connection with the MacGregors," says Mr Skene, "led them to take some part in the feuds that unfortunate race were at all times engaged in, but the protection of the Earls of Lennox seems to have relieved the MacAulays from the consequences which fell so heavily on the MacGregors."

Mr Joseph Irving, in his *History of Dumbartonshire* (p. 418), states that the surname of the family was originally Ardincaple of that ilk, and seems inclined to believe in their descent from the Earl of Lennox. He says, "A Celtic derivation may be claimed for this family, founded on the agreement entered into between the chief of the clan Gregor and Ardincaple in 1591, where they describe themselves as originally descended from the same stock, 'M'Alpins of auld,' but the

theory most in harmony with the annals of the house (of Ardincaple of that ilk) fixes their descent from a younger son of the second Alwyn, Earl of Lennox." Alexander de Ardincaple who lived in the reign of James V., son of Aulay de Ardincaple, was the first to assume the name of MacAulay, as stated in the *Historical and Critical Remarks* on the Ragman Roll,⁵ "to humour a patronymical designation, as being more agreeable to the head of a clan than the designation of Ardincaple of that ilk."

When the MacGregors fell under the ban of the law, Sir Aulay MacAulay, the then chief, became conspicuous by the energy with which he turned against them, probably to avert suspicion from himself, as a bond of caution was entered into on his account on Sept. 8, 1610. He died in Dec. 1617, and was succeeded by his cousin-german, Alexander.

Walter MacAulay, the son of Alexander, was twice sheriff of Dumbarton.

With Aulay MacAulay, his son and successor, commenced the decline of the family. He and his successors indulged in a system of extravagant living, which compelled them to dispose, piece by piece, of every acre of their once large possessions. Although attached to Episcopacy, he was by no means a partisan of James VII., for in 1689 he raised a company of fencibles in aid of William and Mary.

Aulay MacAulay, the twelfth and last chief of the MacAulays, having seen the patrimony of his house sold, and his castle roofless, died about 1767. Ardincaple had been purchased by John, fourth Duke of Argyll, and now belongs to the Argyll family.

About the beginning of the 18th century, a number of MacAulays settled in Caithness and Sutherland. Others went into Argyleshire, and some of the MacPheiderans of that county acknowledged their descent from the MacAulays.

A tribe of MacAulays were settled at Uig, Ross-shire, in the south-west of the island of Lewis, and many were the feuds which they had with the Morrisons, or clan *Alle Mhuire*, the tribe of the servant or disciple of Marg, who were located at Ness, at the north end

of the same island. In the reign of James VI., one of the Lewis MacAulays, Donald Cam, so called from being blind of one eye, renowned for his great strength, distinguished himself on the patriotic side, in the troubles that took place, first with the Fife-shire colonies at Stornoway. Donald Cam Macaulay had a son, *Fear Bhreinis*, "The Man," or Tacksman "of Brenish," of whose feats of strength many songs and stories are told. His son, Aulay MacAulay, minister of Harris, had six sons and some daughters. Five of his sons were educated for the church, and one named Zachary he bred for the bar.

One of Aulay MacAulay's sons was the Rev. John Macaulay, A.M., was grandfather of the celebrated orator, statesman, and historian, Lord Macaulay. One of his sons entered the East India Company's military service, and attained the rank of general.

Another son, Aulay Macaulay, was known as a miscellaneous writer. In 1796 he was presented to the vicarage of Rothley, by Thomas Babington, Esq., M.P., who had married his sister Jane. He died February 24, 1819.

Zachary, a third son, was for some years a merchant at Sierra Leone. On his return to London, he became a prominent member of the Anti-slavery Society, and obtained a monument in Westminster Abbey. He married Miss Mills, daughter of a Bristol merchant, and had a son, Thomas Babington Macaulay, LORD MACAULAY, author of "The History of England," "Lays of Ancient Rome," &c., and M.P. for the city of Edinburgh.

CHAPTER VIII.

Mackay, or Siol Mhorgan—Mackays of Clan-Abrach—Bighouse—Strathy—Melness—Kinloch—Mackays of Holland—Macnicol—Sutherland—Gunn—Maclaurin or Maclaren—Macrae—Buchanan—"The King of Kippen"—Buchanan of Auchmar—Colquhoun—Macgregors and Macfarlanes in Dumbartonshire—Forbes—Forbes of Tolquhoun—Craigievar—Pitsligo and Fettercairn—Culloden—Urquhart.

THE most northern mainland county of Scotland is that of Caithness, and the principal clan inhabiting this district is the important

⁵ *Nisbet*, vol. ii. App.

one of Mackay, or the siol Mhorgan. With regard to Caithness, Mr Skene says—"The district of Caithness was originally of much greater extent than the modern county of that name, as it included the whole of the extensive and mountainous district of Strathnaver. Towards the middle of the tenth century the Norwegian Jarl of Orkney obtained possession of this province, and with the exception of a few short intervals, it continued to form a part of his extensive territories for a period of nearly two hundred years. The district of Strathnaver, which formed the western portion of the ancient district of Caithness, differed very much in appearance from the rest of it, exhibiting indeed the most complete contrast which could well be conceived, for while the eastern division was in general low, destitute of mountains, and altogether of a Lowland character, Strathnaver possessed the characteristics of the rudest and most inaccessible of Highland countries; the consequence of this was, that while the population of Caithness proper became speedily and permanently Norse, that of Strathnaver must, from the nature of the country, have remained in a great measure Gaelic; and this distinction between the two districts is very strongly marked throughout the Norse Sagas, the eastern part being termed simply *Katenesi*, while Strathnaver, on the other hand, is always designated 'Dölum a Katenesi,' or the Glens of Caithness. That the population of Strathnaver remained Gaelic we have the distinct authority of the Sagas, for they inform us that the Dölum, or glens, were inhabited by the 'Gaddgedli,' a word plainly signifying some tribe of the Gael, as in the latter syllable we recognise the word Gaelil or Gael, which at all events shews that the population of that portion was not Norse.

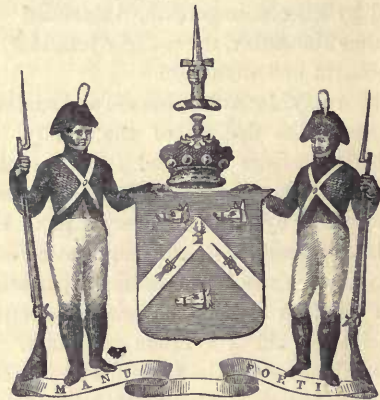
MACKAY.

"The oldest Gaelic clan which we find in possession of this part of the ancient district of Caithness is the clan Morgan or Mackay."

The accounts of the origin of the Mackays are various. In the MS. of 1450, there is no reference to it, although mention is made of the Mackays of Kintyre, who were called of Ugadale. These, however, were vassals of the

Isles, and had no connection with the Mackays of Strathnaver. Pennant assigns to them a Celto-Irish descent, in the 12th century, after King William the Lion had defeated Harald, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, and taken possession of these districts. Mr Skene⁶ supposes that they were descended from what he calls the aboriginal Gaelic inhabitants of Caithness. The Norse Sagas state that about the beginning of the twelfth century, "there lived in the Dölum of Katenesi (or Strathnaver) a man named Moddan, a noble and rich man," and that his sons were Magnus Orfi and Ottar, the Jarl in Thurso. The title of jarl was the same as the Gaelic *maormor*, and Mr Skene is of opinion that Moddan and his son Ottar were the Gaelic *maormors* of Caithness.

MACKAY.

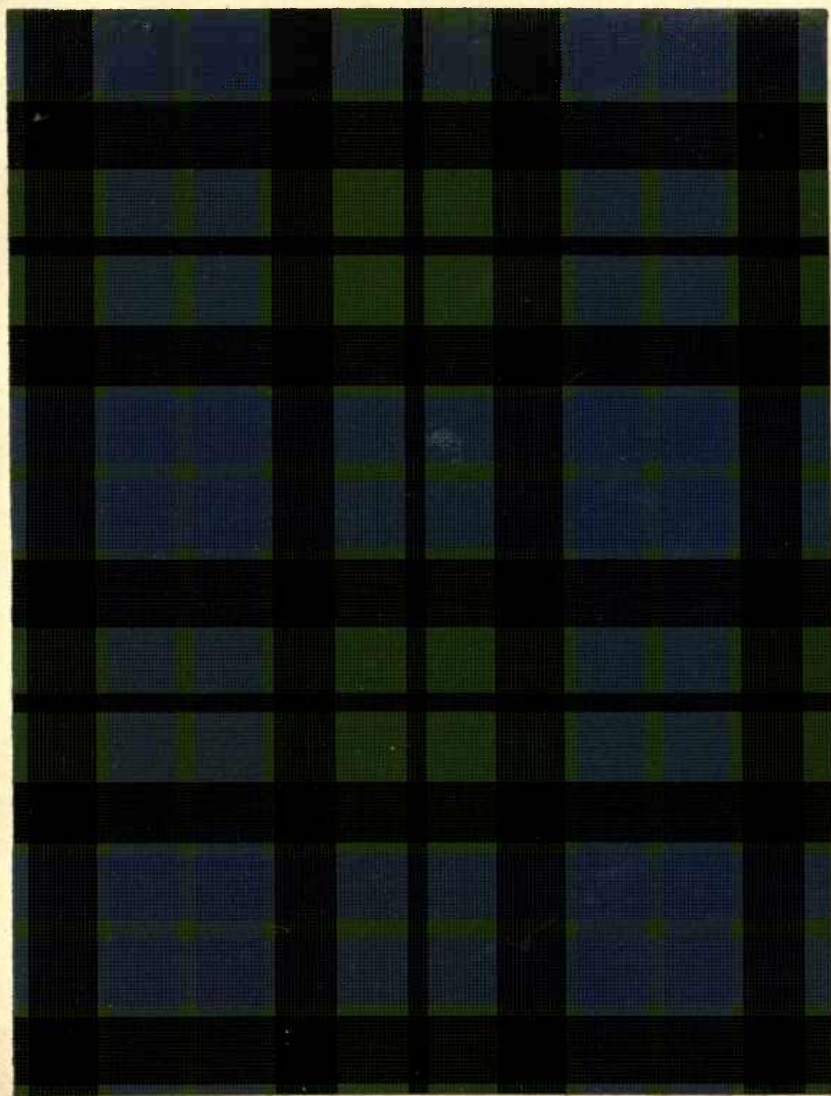


BADGE.—Bulrush.

Sir Robert Gordon, in his *History of Sutherland* (p. 302), from a similarity of badge and armorial bearings, accounts the clan Mackay a branch of the Forbeses, but this is by no means probable.

Mr Smibert is of opinion that the Mackays took their name from the old *Catti* of Caithness, and that the chiefs were of the Celto-Irish stock. This, however, is a very improbable supposition. Whatever may have been the origin of the chiefs, there is every reason to believe that the great body of the clan Mackay originally belonged to the early Celtic population of Scotland, although, from their

⁶ *Highlands of Scotland*, p. 288.



MACKAY.

proximity to the Norse immigrants, it is not at all improbable that latterly the two races became largely blended.

As we have already, in the first part of the work, had occasion to enter somewhat minutely into the early history of this important clan, it will be unnecessary to enter into lengthened detail in this place, although it will be scarcely possible to avoid some slight repetition. We must refer the reader for details to the earlier chapters of the general history.

Alexander, who is said to have been the first of the family, aided in driving the Danes from the north. His son, Walter, chamberlain to Adam, bishop of Caithness, married that prelate's daughter, and had a son, Martin, who received from his maternal grandfather certain church lands in Strathnaver, being the first of the family who obtained possessions there. Martin had a son, Magnus or Manus, who fought at Bannockburn under Bruce, and had two sons, Morgan and Farquhar. From Morgan the clan derived their Gaelic name of Clan-wic-Worgan, or Morgan, and from Farquhar were descended the Clan-wic-Farquhar in Strathnaver.

Donald, Morgan's son, married a daughter of Macneill of Gigha, who was named Iye, and had a son of the same name, in Gaelic Aodh, pronounced like Y or I.

Aodh had a son, another Donald, called Donald Macaodh, or Mackaoi, and it is from this son that the clan has acquired the patronymic of Mackay. He and his son were killed in the castle of Dingwall, by William, Earl of Sutherland, in 1395. The Mackays, however, were too weak to take revenge, and a reconciliation took place between Robert, the next earl, and Angus Mackay, the eldest of Donald's surviving sons, of whom there were other two, viz., Houcheon Dubh, and Neill. Angus, the eldest son, married a sister of Malcolm Macleod of the Lewis, and had by her two sons, Angus Dubh, that is, dark-complexioned, and Roderick Gald, that is, Lowland. On their father's death, their uncle, Houcheon Dubh, became their tutor, and entered upon the management of their lands.

In 1411, when Donald, Lord of the Isles, in prosecution of his claim to the earldom of Ross, burst into Sutherland, he was attacked

at Dingwall, by Angus Dubh, or Black Angus Mackay. The latter, however, was defeated and taken prisoner, and his brother, Roriegald, and many of his men were slain. After a short confinement, Angus was released by the Lord of the Isles, who, desirous of cultivating the alliance of so powerful a chief, gave him his daughter, Elizabeth, in marriage, and with her bestowed upon him many lands by charter in 1415. He was called *Enneas-en-Imprissi*, or "Angus the Absolute," from his great power. At this time, we are told, Angus Dubh could bring into the field 4000 fighting men.

Angus Dubh, with his four sons, was arrested at Inverness by James I. After a short confinement, Angus was pardoned and released with three of them, the eldest, Neill Mackay, being kept as a hostage for his good behaviour. Being confined in the Bass at the mouth of the Firth of Forth, he was ever after called Neill Wasse (or Bass) Mackay.

In 1437, Neill Wasse Mackay was released from confinement in the Bass, and on assuming the chiefship, he bestowed on John Aberigh, for his attention to his father, the lands of Lochnaver, in fee simple, which were long possessed by his posterity, that particular branch of the Mackays, called the Sliochd-ean-Aberigh, or an-Abrach. Neill Wasse, soon after his accession, ravaged Caithness, but died the same year, leaving two sons, Angus, and John Roy Mackay, the latter founder of another branch, called the Sliochd-ean-Roy.

Angus Mackay, the elder son, assisted the Keiths in invading Caithness in 1464, when they defeated the inhabitants of that district in an engagement at Blaretannie. He was burnt to death in the church of Tarbet in 1475, by the men of Ross, whom he had often molested. With a daughter, married to Sutherland of Dilred, he had three sons, viz., John Reawigh, meaning yellowish red, the colour of his hair; Y-Roy Mackay; and Neill Naverigh Mackay.

To revenge his father's death, John Reawigh Mackay, the eldest son, raised a large force, and assisted by Robert Sutherland, uncle to the Earl of Sutherland, invaded Strathoikell, and laid waste the lands of the Rosses in that district. A battle took place, 11th July 1487,

at Aldy-Charrish, when the Rosses were defeated, and their chief, Alexander Ross of Balnagowan, and seventeen other principal men of that clan were slain. The victims returned home with a large booty.

It was by forays such as these that the great Highland chiefs, and even some of the Lowland nobles, contrived, in former times, to increase their stores and add to their possessions, and the Mackays about this time obtained a large accession to their lands by a circumstance narrated in the former part of this history, connected with Alexander Sutherland of Dilerd, nephew of Y-Roy Mackay, the then chief.

In 1516, Y-Roy Mackay gave his bond of service to Adam Gordon of Aboyne, brother of the Earl of Huntly, who had become Earl of Sutherland, by marriage with Elizabeth, sister and heiress of the ninth earl, but died soon after. Donald, his youngest son, slain at Morinish, was ancestor of a branch of the Mackays called the Sliochd-Donald-Mackay. John, the eldest son, had no sooner taken possession of his father's lands, than his uncle, Neill Naverigh Mackay and his two sons, assisted by a force furnished them by the Earl of Caithness, entered Strathnaver, and endeavoured unsuccessfully to dispossess him of his inheritance.

In 1517, in the absence of the Earl of Sutherland, who had wrested from John Mackay a portion of his lands, he and his brother Donald invaded Sutherland with a large force. But after several reverses, John Mackay submitted to the Earl of Sutherland in 1518, and granted him his bond of service. But such was his restless and turbulent disposition that he afterwards prevailed upon Alexander Sutherland, the bastard, who had married his sister and pretended a claim to the earldom, to raise the standard of insurrection against the earl. After this he again submitted to the earl, and a second time gave him his bond of service and manrent in 1522. He died in 1529, and was succeeded by his brother, Donald.

In 1539, Donald Mackay obtained restitution of the greater part of the family estates, which had been seized by the Sutherland Gordons, and in 1542 he was present in the engagement at Solway Moss. Soon after, he

committed various ravages in Sutherland, but after a considerable time, became reconciled to the earl, to whom he again gave his bond of service and manrent on 8th April 1549. He died in 1550.

He was succeeded by his son, Y-Mackay, who, with the Earl of Caithness, was perpetually at strife with the powerful house of Sutherland, and so great was his power, and so extensive his spoiliations, that in the first parliament of James VI. (Dec. 1567), the lords of the articles were required to report, "By what means might Mackay be dantoned." He died in 1571, full of remorse, it is said, for the wickedness of his life.

His son, Houcheon, or Hugh, succeeded him when only eleven years old. In 1587, he joined the Earl of Caithness, when attacked by the Earl of Sutherland, although the latter was his superior. He was excluded from the temporary truce agreed to by the two earls in March of that year, and in the following year they came to a resolution to attack him together. Having received secret notice of their intention from the Earl of Caithness, he made his submission to the Earl of Sutherland, and ever after remained faithful to him.

Of the army raised by the Earl of Sutherland in 1601, to oppose the threatened invasion of his territories by the Earl of Caithness, the advance guard was commanded by Patrick Gordon of Gartay and Donald Mackay of Scourie, and the right wing by Hugh Mackay. Hugh Mackay died at Tongue, 11th September 1614, in his 55th year. He was connected with both the rival houses by marriage; his first wife being Lady Elizabeth Sinclair, second daughter of George, fourth Earl of Caithness, and relict of Alexander Sutherland of Duffus; and his second, Lady Jane Gordon, eldest daughter of Alexander, eleventh Earl of Sutherland. The former lady was drowned, and left a daughter. By the latter he had two sons, Sir Donald Mackay of Far, first Lord Reay, and John, who married in 1619, a daughter of James Sinclair of Murkle, by whom he had Hugh Mackay and other children. Sir Donald Mackay of Far, the elder son, was, by Charles I., created a peer of Scotland, by the title of Lord Reay, by patent, dated 20th June 1628, to him and his heirs male

whatever. From him the land of the Mackays in Sutherland acquired the name of "Lord Reay's Country," which it has ever since retained.

On the breaking out of the civil wars, Lord Reay, with the Earl of Sutherland and others, joined the Covenanters on the north of the river Spey. He afterwards took arms in defence of Charles I., and in 1643 arrived from Denmark, with ships and arms, and a large sum of money, for the service of the king. He was in Newcastle in 1644, when that town was stormed by the Scots, and being made prisoner, was conveyed to Edinburgh tolbooth. He obtained his release after the battle of Kilsyth in August 1645, and embarked at Thurso in July 1648 for Denmark, where he died in February 1649. He married, first, in 1610, Barbara, eldest daughter of Kenneth, Lord Kintail, and had by her Y-Mackay, who died in 1617; John, second Lord Reay, two other sons and two daughters. By a second wife, Rachel Winterfield or Harrison, he had two sons, the Hon. Robert Mackay Forbes and the Hon. Hugh Forbes. Of this marriage he procured a sentence of nullity, and then took to wife Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Thomson of Greenwich, but in 1637 was ordained to pay his second wife £2,000 sterling for part maintenance, and £3,000 sterling yearly during his non-adherence. By Elizabeth Thomson he had one daughter.

John, second Lord Reay, joined the royalists under the Earl of Glencairn in 1654, and was taken at Balveny and imprisoned. By his wife, a daughter of Donald Mackay of Scourie, he had three sons; 1. Donald, master of Reay, who predeceased his father, leaving by his wife Ann, daughter of Sir George Munro of Culcairn, a son, George, third Lord Reay; 2. The Hon. Brigadier-General Æneas Mackay, who married Margaretta, Countess of Puchlor; and 3. The Hon. Colin Mackay. Æneas, the second son, was colonel of the Mackay Dutch regiment. His family settled at the Hague, where they obtained considerable possessions, and formed alliances with several noble families. Their representative, Berthold Baron Mackay, died 26th December 1854, at his chateau of Ophemert, in Guelderland, aged eighty-one.

He married the Baroness Van Renasse Van Wilp, and his eldest son, the Baron Æneas Mackay, at one time chamberlain to the king of Holland, became next heir to the peerage of Reay, after the present family.

George, third Lord Reay, F.R.S., took the oaths and his seat in parliament, 29th October 1700. In the rebellion of 1715, he raised his clan in support of the government. In 1719, when the Earls Marischal and Seaforth, and the Marquis of Tullibardine, with 300 Spaniards, landed in the Western Highlands, he did the same, and also in 1745. He died at Tongue, 21st March 1748. He was thrice married, and had by his first wife, one son, Donald, fourth Lord Reay.

Donald, fourth Lord Reay, succeeded his father in 1748, and died at Durness, 18th August 1761. He was twice married, and, with one daughter, the Hon. Mrs Edgar, had two sons, George, fifth Lord Reay, who died at Rosebank, near Edinburgh, 27th February 1768, and Hugh, sixth lord. The fifth Lord Reay was also twice married, but had issue only by his second wife, a son, who died young, and three daughters. Hugh, his half-brother, who succeeded him, was for some years in a state of mental imbecility. He died at Skerray, 26th January 1797, unmarried, when the title devolved on Eric Mackay, son of the Hon. George Mackay of Skibo, third son of the third Lord Reay. He died at Tongue, June 25, 1782. By his wife, Anne, third daughter of Hon. Eric Sutherland, only son of the attainted Lord Duffus, he had five sons and four daughters. His eldest son, George, died in 1790. Eric, the second son, became seventh Lord Reay. Alexander, the next, an officer in the army, succeeded as eighth Lord Reay. Donald Hugh, the fourth son, a vice-admiral, died March 26, 1850. Patrick, the youngest, died an infant.

Eric, seventh Lord Reay, was, in 1806, elected one of the representative Scots peers. He died, unmarried, July 8, 1847, and was succeeded, as eighth Lord Reay, by his brother, Alexander, barrack-master at Malta, born in 1775. He married in 1809, Marion, daughter of Colonel Goll, military secretary to Warren Hastings, and relict of David Ross, Esq. of Calcutta, eldest son of the Scottish judge,

Lord Ankerville; he had two sons and six daughters. He died in 1863, and was succeeded by his second son, Eric, who was born in 1813, George, the eldest son, having died in 1811.

The Mackays became very numerous in the northern counties, and the descent of their chiefs, in the male line, has continued unbroken from their first appearance in the north down to the present time. In the county of Sutherland, they multiplied greatly also, under other names, such as MacPhail, Polson, Bain, Nielson, &c. The names of Mackie and MacGhie are also said to be derived from Mackay. The old family of MacGhie of Balmaghie, which for about 600 years possessed estates in Galloway, used the same arms as the chief of the Mackays. They continued in possession of their lands till 1786. Balmaghie means Mackay town. The name MacCrie is supposed to be a corruption of MacGhie.

At the time of the rebellion of 1745, the effective force of the Mackays was estimated at 800 men by President Forbes. It is said that in the last Sutherland fencibles, raised in 1793 and disbanded in 1797, there were 33 John Mackays in one company alone. In 1794 the Reay fencibles, 800 strong, were raised in a few weeks, in "Lord Reay's country," the residence of the clan Mackay. The names of no fewer than 700 of them had the prefix *Mac*.

With regard to the term *Sìol Mhorgan* applied to the clan Mackay, it is right to state that Mr Robert Mackay of Thurso, the family historian, denies that as a clan they were ever known by that designation, which rests, he says, only on the affirmation of Sir Robert Gordon, without any authority. He adds: "There are, indeed, to this day, persons of the surname Morgan and Morganach, who are understood to be of the Mackays, but that the whole clan, at any period, went under that designation, is incorrect; and those of them who did so, were always few and of but small account. The name seems to be of Welsh origin; but how it obtained among the Mackays it is impossible now to say."

Of the branches of the clan Mackay, the family of Scourie is the most celebrated. They

were descended from Donald Mackay of Scourie and Eriboll, elder son of Y Mackay III., chief of the clan from 1550 to 1571, by his first wife, a daughter of Hugh Macleod of Assynt.

Donald Mackay, by his wife, Euphemia, daughter of Hugh Munro of Assynt in Ross, brother of the laird of Foulis, had three sons and four daughters. The sons were Hugh, Donald, and William. Hugh, the eldest, succeeded his father, and by the Scots Estates was appointed colonel of the Reay countrymen. He married a daughter of James Corbet of Rheims, by whom he had five sons, William, Hector, Hugh, the celebrated General Mackay,⁷ commander of the government forces at the battle of Killiecrankie, James and Roderick. He had also three daughters, Barbara, married to John, Lord Reay; Elizabeth, to Hugh Munro of Eriboll, and Ann, to the Hon. Capt. William Mackay of Kinloch. William and Hector, the two eldest sons, both unmarried, met with untimely deaths. In February 1688, the Earl of Caithness, whose wife was younger than himself, having conceived some jealousy against William, caused him to be seized at Dunnet, while on his way to Orkney, with a party of 30 persons. He was conveyed to Thurso, where he was immured in a dungeon, and after long confinement was sent home in an open boat, and died the day after. In August of the same year, his brother, Hector, accompanied by a servant, having gone to Aberdeenshire, on his way to Edinburgh, was waylaid and murdered by William Sinclair of Dunbeath and John Sinclair of Murkle, and their two servants. A complaint was immediately raised before the justiciary, at the instance of John, Earl of Sutherland, and the relatives of the deceased, against the Earl of Caithness and the two Sinclairs for these crimes. A counter complaint was brought by Caithness against the pursuers, for several alleged crimes from 1649 downwards, but a compromise took place between the parties.

General Mackay's only son, Hugh, major of his father's regiment, died at Cambray, in 1708, aged about 28. He left two sons, Hugh and Gabriel, and a daughter. Hugh died at

⁷ For portrait of General Hugh Mackay, *vide* vol. i. p. 361.

Breda, a lieutenant-general in the Dutch service, and colonel of the Mackay Dutch regiment, which took its name from his father. He had an only daughter, the wife of lieutenant-general Prevost, of the British service, who, on the death of his father-in-law, without male issue, obtained the king's license to bear the name and arms of Mackay of Scourie in addition to his own, which his descendants in Holland still bear. Gabriel, the younger son, lieutenant-colonel of the Mackay regiment, died without issue. James, the next brother of General Mackay, a lieutenant-colonel in his regiment, was killed at Killiecrankie, and Roderick, the youngest, died in the East Indies, both unmarried.

The eldest branch of the Mackays was that of the Clan-Abrach, descended from John Aberigh Mackay, second son of Angus Dubh, who received the lands of Auchness, Breachat, and others, from his brother, Neill Wasse. Of this family was Robert Mackay, writer, Thurso, historian of the clan Mackay. According to this gentleman, John Aberigh, the first of this branch, gave his name to the district of Strathnaver. In the Gaelic language, he says, the inhabitants of Strathnaver are called Naverigh, and that tribe the Sliochd-nan-Aberigh. John, their founder, some say, took his appellation of Aberigh from Lochaber, where he resided in his youth with some relatives, and from Strath-na-Aberich the transition is natural to Strath-n'-Averich. Neill Naverich, above mentioned, was so called from his having belonged to the Reay Country, that is, Strathnaver. The Clan-Abrach were the most numerous and powerful branch of the Mackays. They acted as wardens of their country, and never betrayed their trust.

The BIGHOUSE branch were descendants of William Mackay of Far, younger half-brother of Donald Mackay of Scourie, by his second wife, Christian Sinclair, daughter of the laird of Dun.

The STRATHY branch sprung from John Mackay of Dilred and Strathy, brother of the first Lord Reay, and son of Hugh Mackay of Far, by his wife, Lady Jane Gordon, eldest daughter of Alexander, Earl of Sutherland.

The MELNESS branch came from the Hon. Colonel Æneas Mackay, second son of the

first Lord Reay, by his first wife, the Hon. Barbara Mackenzie, daughter of Lord Kintail.

The KINLOCH branch descended from the Hon. Captain William Mackay, and the SANDWOOD branch from the Hon. Charles Mackay, sons of the first Lord Reay by his last wife, Marjory Sinclair, daughter of Francis Sinclair of Stircoke.

The founder of the HOLLAND branch of the Mackays, General Hugh Mackay, prior to 1680, when a colonel in the Dutch service, and having no prospect of leaving Holland, wrote for some of his near relatives to go over and settle in that country. Amongst those were his brother, James, and his nephews, Æneas and Robert, sons of the first Lord Reay. The former he took into his own regiment, in which, in a few years, he became lieutenant-colonel. The latter he sent to school at Utrecht for a short time, and afterwards obtained commissions for them in his own regiment. In the beginning of 1687, several British officers in the Dutch service were recalled to England by King James, and amongst others was Æneas Mackay, then a captain. On his arrival in London, the King made him some favourable propositions to enter his service, which he declined, and, in consequence, when he reached Scotland, he was ordered to be apprehended as a spy. He had been imprisoned nearly seven months in Edinburgh Castle, when the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay, and he was liberated upon granting his personal bond to appear before the privy council when called upon, under a penalty of £500 sterling. The Dutch Mackays married among the nobility of Holland, and one of the families of that branch held the title of baron.

MACNICOL.

In a district mostly in Ross-shire, anciently known by the name of Ness, there was originally located a small and broken clan, known as the MACNICOLS. The only districts, according to Skene, which at all answers to the description of Ness, are those of Assynt, Edderachylis, and Duirness.

The Macnicols were descended from one Mackrycul (the letter r in the Gaelic being invariably pronounced like n), who, tradition

says, as a reward for having rescued from some Scandinavians a great quantity of cattle carried off from Sutherland, received from one of the ancient thanes of that province, the district of Assynt, then a forest belonging to them. This Mackrycul held that part of the coast of Cogeach, which is called Ullapool. In the MS. of 1450, the descent of the clan Nicail is traced in a direct line from a certain Gregall, plainly the Krycul here mentioned, who is supposed to have lived in the twelfth century. He is said to have been the ancestor, besides the Macnicols, of the Nicols and the Nicholsons. When Gregall lived, Sutherland was occupied by Gaelic tribes, and the Macnicols may therefore be considered of Gaelic origin.

About the beginning of the 14th century, the family of the chief ended in an heiress, who married Torquil Macleod, a younger son of Macleod of Lewis. Macleod obtained a crown charter of the district of Assynt and other lands in Wester Ross, which had been the property of the Macnicols. That sept subsequently removed to the Isle of Skye, and the residence of their head or chief was at Scoirebreac, on the margin of the loch near Portree.

Even after their removal to Skye the Macnicols seem to have retained their independence, for tradition relates that on one occasion when the head of this clan, called Macnicol Mor, was engaged in a warm discussion with Macleod of Rasay, carried on in the English language, the servant of the latter coming into the room, imagined they were quarrelling, and drawing his sword mortally wounded Macnicol. To prevent a feud between the two septs, a council of chieftains and elders was held to determine in what manner the Macnicols could be appeased, when, upon some old precedent, it was agreed that the meanest person in the clan Nicol should behead the laird of Rasay. The individual of least note among them was one Lomach, a maker of pannier baskets, and he accordingly cut off the head of the laird of Rasay.

In Argyleshire there were many Macnicols, but the clan may be said to have long been extinct.

SUTHERLAND.



BADGE—Broom (butcher's broom).

The clan SUTHERLAND, which gets its name from being located in the district of that name, is regarded by Skene and others as almost purely Gaelic. The district of Sutherland, which was originally considerably smaller than the modern county of that name, got its name from the Orcadian Norsemen, because it lay south from Caithness, which, for a long time, was their only possession in the mainland of Scotland.

According to Skene, the ancient Gaelic population of the district now known by the name of Sutherland were driven out or destroyed by the Norwegians when they took possession of the country, after its conquest by Thorfinn, the Norse Jarl of Orkney, in 1034, and were replaced by settlers from Moray and Ross. He says, "There are consequently no clans whatever descended from the Gaelic tribe which anciently inhabited the district of Sutherland, and the modern Gaelic population of part of that region is derived from two sources. In the first place, several of the tribes of the neighbouring district of Ross, at an early period, gradually spread themselves into the nearest and most mountainous parts of the country, and they consisted chiefly of the clan Anrias. Secondly, Hugh Freskin, a descendant of Freskin de Moravia, and whose family was a branch of the ancient Gaelic tribe of Moray, obtained from King William the territory of Sutherland, although it is impossible to discover the circumstances which occasioned the grant. He was of course



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accompanied in this expedition by numbers of his followers, who increased in Sutherland to an extensive tribe; and Freskin became the founder of the noble family of Sutherland, who, under the title of Earls of Sutherland, have continued to enjoy possession of this district for so many generations."⁸ We do not altogether agree with this intelligent author that the district in question was at any time entirely colonised by the Norsemen. There can be no doubt that a remnant of the old inhabitants remained, after the Norwegian conquest, and it is certain that the Gaelic population, reinforced as they were undoubtedly by incomers from the neighbouring districts and from Moray, ultimately regained the superiority in Sutherland. Many of them were unquestionably from the province of Moray, and these, like the rest of the inhabitants, adopted the name of Sutherland, from the appellation given by the Norwegians to the district.

The chief of the clan was called "the Great Cat," and the head of the house of Sutherland has long carried a black cat in his coat-of-arms. According to Sir George Mackenzie, the name of Cattu was formerly given to Sutherland and Caithness (originally Cattu-ness), on account of the great number of wild cats with which it was, at one period, infested.

The Earl of Sutherland was the chief of the clan, but on the accession to the earldom in 1766, of Countess Elizabeth, the infant daughter of the eighteenth earl, and afterwards Duchess of Sutherland, as the chiefship could not descend to a female, William Sutherland of Killipheder, who died in 1832, and enjoyed a small annuity from her grace, was accounted the eldest male descendant of the old earls. John Campbell Sutherland, Esq. of Fors, was afterwards considered the real chief.

The clan Sutherland could bring into the field 2,000 fighting men. In 1715 and 1745 they were among the loyal clans, and zealously supported the succession of the house of Hanover. Further details concerning this clan will be given in the History of the Highland Regiments.

The Earldom of Sutherland, the oldest extant in Britain, is said to have been granted

by Alexander II., to William, Lord of Sutherland, about 1228, for assisting to quell a powerful northern savage of the name of Gillespie.⁹ William was the son of Hugh Freskin, who acquired the district of Sutherland by the forfeiture of the Earl of Caithness for rebellion in 1197. Hugh was the grandson of Freskin the Fleming, who came into Scotland in the reign of David I., and obtained from that prince the lands of Strathbrock in Linlithgowshire, also, the lands of Duffus and others in Moray.¹ His son, William, was a constant attendant on King William the Lion, during his frequent expeditions into Moray, and assumed the name of William de Moravia. He died towards the end of the 12th century. His son, Hugh, got the district of Sutherland, as already mentioned. Hugh's son, "Willielmus dominus de Sutherlandia filius et hæres quondam Hugonis Freskin," is usually reckoned the first Earl of Sutherland, although Sir Robert Gordon, the family historian, puts it three generations farther back.

The date of the creation of the title is not known; but from an indenture executed in 1275, in which Gilbert, bishop of Caithness, makes a solemn composition of an affair that had been long in debate betwixt his predecessors in the see and the noble men, William of famous memory, and William, his son, Earls of Sutherland, it is clear that there existed an Earl of Sutherland betwixt 1222, the year of Gilbert's consecration as bishop, and 1245, the year of his death, and it is on the strength of this deed that the representative of the house claims the rank of premier earl of Scotland, with the date 1228.

Earl William died at Dunrobin² in 1248. His son, William, second earl, succeeded to the title in his infancy. He was one of the Scots nobles who attended the parliament of Alexander III. at Scone, 5th February 1284, when the succession to the crown of Scotland was settled, and he sat in the great convention at Bingham, 12th March 1290. He was one of the eighteen Highland chiefs who fought at the battle of Bannockburn, in 1314, on the side of Bruce, and he subscribed the

⁹ See p. 61, vol. i.

¹ See p. 60, vol. i.

² For view of old Dunrobin Castle, *vide* vol. i. p. 83.

⁸ *Skene's Highlanders*, vol. ii. p. 301.

famous letter of the Scots nobles to the Pope, 6th April 1320. He died in 1325, having enjoyed the title for the long period of 77 years.

His son, Kenneth, the third earl, fell at the battle of Halidon-hill in 1333, valiantly supporting the cause of David II. With a daughter, Eustach, he had two sons, William, fourth earl, and Nicholas, ancestor of the Lords Duffus.

William, fourth earl, married the Princess Margaret, eldest daughter of Robert I., by his second wife, Elizabeth de Burgo, and he made grants of land in the counties of Inverness and Aberdeen to powerful and influential persons, to win their support of his eldest son, John's claim to the succession to the crown. John was selected by his uncle, David II., as heir to the throne, in preference to the high-steward, who had married the Princess Marjory, but he died at Lincoln in England in 1361, while a hostage there for the payment of the king's ransom. His father, Earl William, was one of the commissioners to treat for the release of King David in 1351, also on 13th June 1354, and again in 1357. He was for some years detained in England as a hostage for David's observance of the treaty on his release from his long captivity. The earl did not obtain his full liberty till 20th March 1367. He died at Dunrobin in Sutherland in 1370. His son, William, fifth earl, was present at the surprise of Berwick by the Scots in November 1384.

With their neighbours, the Mackays, the clan Sutherland were often at feud, and in all their contests with them they generally came off victorious.³

John, seventh earl, resigned the earldom in favour of John, his son and heir, 22d February 1456, reserving to himself the liferent of it, and died in 1460. He had married Margaret, daughter of Sir William Baillie of Lamington, Lanarkshire, and by her had four sons and two daughters. The sons were—1. Alexander, who predeceased his father; 2. John, eighth Earl of Sutherland; 3. Nicholas; 4. Thomas Beg. The elder daughter, Lady Jane, married Sir James Dunbar of Cumnock, and was the mother of Gawin Dunbar, bishop of Aberdeen.

John, eighth earl, died in 1508. He had married Lady Margaret Macdonald, eldest daughter of Alexander, Earl of Ross, Lord of the Isles, and by her, who was drowned crossing the ferry of Uness, he had two sons—John ninth earl, and Alexander, who died young, and a daughter, Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland.

The ninth earl died, without issue, in 1514, when the succession devolved upon his sister Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland in her own right. This lady had married Adam Gordon of Aboyne, second son of George, second Earl of Huntly, high-chancellor of Scotland, and in his wife's right, according to the custom of the age, he was styled Earl of Sutherland. The Earl of Sutherland, when far advanced in life, retired for the most part to Strathbogie and Aboyne, in Aberdeenshire, to spend the remainder of his days among his friends, and intrusted the charge of the country to his eldest son, Alexander Gordon, master of Sutherland, a young man of great intrepidity and talent; and on the countess' resignation, a charter of the earldom was granted to him by King James V., on 1st December 1527. She died in 1535, and her husband in 1537. Their issue were—1. Alexander, master of Sutherland, who was infeft in the earldom in 1527, under the charter above mentioned, and died in 1529, leaving, by his wife, Lady Jane Stewart, eldest daughter of the second Earl of Athole, three sons—John, Alexander, and William, and two daughters; 2. John Gordon; 3. Adam Gordon, killed at the battle of Pinkie, 10th September 1547; 4. Gilbert Gordon of Gartay, who married Isobel Sinclair, daughter of the laird of Dunbeath.

Alexander's eldest son, John, born about 1525, succeeded his grandfather as eleventh earl. He was lieutenant of Moray in 1547 and 1548, and with George, Earl of Huntly, was selected to accompany the queen regent to France in September 1550.

On the charge of having engaged in the rebellion of the Earl of Huntly in 1562, the Earl of Sutherland was forfeited, 28th May 1563, when he retired to Flanders. He returned to Scotland in 1565, and his forfeiture was rescinded by act of parliament, 19th April 1567. He and his countess, who was then in

³ Details of these feuds will be found in vol. i.

a state of pregnancy, were poisoned at Helmsdale Castle by Isobel Sinclair, the wife of the earl's uncle, Gilbert Gordon of Gartay, and the cousin of the Earl of Caithness, and died five days afterwards at Dunrobin Castle. This happened in July 1567, when the earl was in his 42d year.⁴ Their only son, Alexander, master of Sutherland, then in his fifteenth year, fortunately escaped the same fate.

The eleventh earl, styled the good Earl John, was thrice married—1st, to Lady Elizabeth Campbell, only daughter of the third Earl of Argyll, relict of James, Earl of Moray, natural son of James IV.; 2dly, to Lady Helen Stewart, daughter of the third Earl of Lennox, relict of the fifth Earl of Errol; and 3dly, to Marion, eldest daughter of the fourth Lord Seton, relict of the fourth Earl of Menteith. This was the lady who was poisoned with him. He had issue by his second wife only—two sons and three daughters. John, the elder son, died an infant. Alexander, the younger, was the twelfth Earl of Sutherland.

Being under age when he succeeded to the earldom, the ward of this young nobleman was granted to his eldest sister, Lady Margaret Gordon, who committed it to the care of John, Earl of Athole. The latter sold the wardship to George, Earl of Caithness, the enemy of his house. Having by treachery got possession of the castle of Skibo, in which the young earl resided, he seized his person and carried him off to Caithness, where he forced him to marry his daughter, Lady Barbara Sinclair, a profligate woman of double his own age. When he attained his majority he divorced her. In 1569, he escaped from the Earl of Caithness, who had taken up his residence at Dunrobin Castle and formed a design upon his life.

In 1583 he obtained from the Earl of Huntly, the king's lieutenant in the north, a grant of the superiority of Strathnaver, and of the heritable sheriffship of Sutherland and Strathnaver, which last was granted in lieu of the lordship of Aboyne. This grant was confirmed by his majesty in a charter under the great seal, by which Sutherland and Strath-

naver were disjoined and dismembered from the sheriffdom of Inverness. The earl died at Dunrobin, 6th December 1594, in his 43d year. Having divorced Lady Barbara Sinclair in 1573, he married, secondly, Lady Jean Gordon, third daughter of the fourth Earl of Huntly, high-chancellor of Scotland, who had been previously married to the Earl of Bothwell, but repudiated to enable that ambitious and profligate nobleman to marry Queen Mary. She subsequently married Alexander Ogilvy of Boyne, whom she also survived. To the Earl of Sutherland she had, with two daughters, four sons—1. John, thirteenth earl; 2. Hon. Sir Alexander Gordon; 3. Hon. Adam Gordon; 4. Hon. Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, the historian of the family of Sutherland, created a baronet of Nova Scotia, being the first of that order, 28th May 1625.

John, thirteenth Earl of Sutherland, was born 20th July 1576. Many details concerning him will be found in the former part of this work. He died at Dornoch, 11th September 1615, aged 40. By his countess, Lady Anna Elphinston, he had, with two daughters, four sons, namely—1. Patrick, master of Sutherland, who died young; 2. John, fourteenth earl; 3. Hon. Adam Gordon, who entered the Swedish service, and was killed at the battle of Nordlingen, 27th August 1634, aged 22; 4. Hon. George Posthumus Gordon, born after his father's death, 9th February 1616, a lieutenant-colonel in the army.

John, fourteenth Earl of Sutherland, born 4th March 1609, was only six years old when he succeeded his father, and during his minority his uncle, Sir Robert Gordon, was tutor of Sutherland. In this capacity the latter was much engaged in securing the peace of the country, so often broken by the lawless proceedings of the Earl of Caithness. By Sir Robert's judicious management of the affairs of the house of Sutherland, his nephew, the earl, on attaining his majority, found the hostility of the enemy of his house, the Earl of Caithness, either neutralised, or rendered no longer dangerous. In 1637, the earl joined the supplicants against the service book, and on the breaking out of the civil war in the following year, espoused the liberal cause. In

⁴ For the circumstances attending this unnatural murder, which the Earl of Caithness is said to have instigated, see vol. i. p. 90.

1641 he was appointed by parliament a privy councillor for life, and in 1644 he was sent north with a commission for disarming malignants, as the royalists were called. In 1645 he was one of the committee of estates. The same year he joined General Hurry, with his retainers at Inverness, just immediately before the battle of Auldearn. In 1650 he accompanied General David Leslie when he was sent by the parliament against the royalists in the north.

On the Marquis of Montrose's arrival in Caithness, the earl assembled all his countrymen to oppose his advance into Sutherland. Montrose, however, had secured the important pass of the Ord, and on his entering Sutherland, the earl, not conceiving himself strong enough to resist him, retired with about 300 men into Ross. In August of the same year, the earl set off to Edinburgh, with 1,000 men, to join the forces under General Leslie, collected to oppose Cromwell, but was too late for the battle of Dunbar, which was fought before his arrival. During the Protectorate of Cromwell the earl lived retired. He is commonly said to have died in 1663, but the portrait of John, who must be this earl, prefixed to Gordon's history of the family (Ed. 1813) has upon it "*Aetatis Suae* 60 : 1669." This would seem to prove that he was then alive.

His son, George, fifteenth earl, died 4th March 1703, aged 70, and was buried at Holyrood-house, where a monument was erected to his memory. The son of this nobleman, John, sixteenth earl, married, when Lord Strathnaver, Helen, second daughter of William, Lord Cochrane, sister of the Viscountess Dundee. He was one of the sixteen representatives of the Scots peerage chosen in the last Scots parliament in 1707, and subsequently three times re-elected. His services in quelling the rebellion were acknowledged by George I., who, in June 1716, invested him with the order of the Thistle, and in the following September settled a pension of £1,200 per annum upon him. He figured conspicuously both as a statesman and a soldier, and obtained leave to add to his armorial bearings the double "tressure circum-fleur-de-lire," to indicate his descent from the

royal family of Bruce. His lordship died at London, 27th June 1733.

His son, William, Lord Strathnaver, predeceased his father 19th July 1720. He had five sons and two daughters. His two eldest sons died young. William, the third son, became seventeenth Earl of Sutherland. The elder daughter, the Hon. Helen Sutherland, was the wife of Sir James Colquhoun of Luss. The younger, the Hon. Janet Sutherland, married George Sinclair, Esq. of Ulbster, and was the mother of the celebrated Sir John Sinclair, baronet.

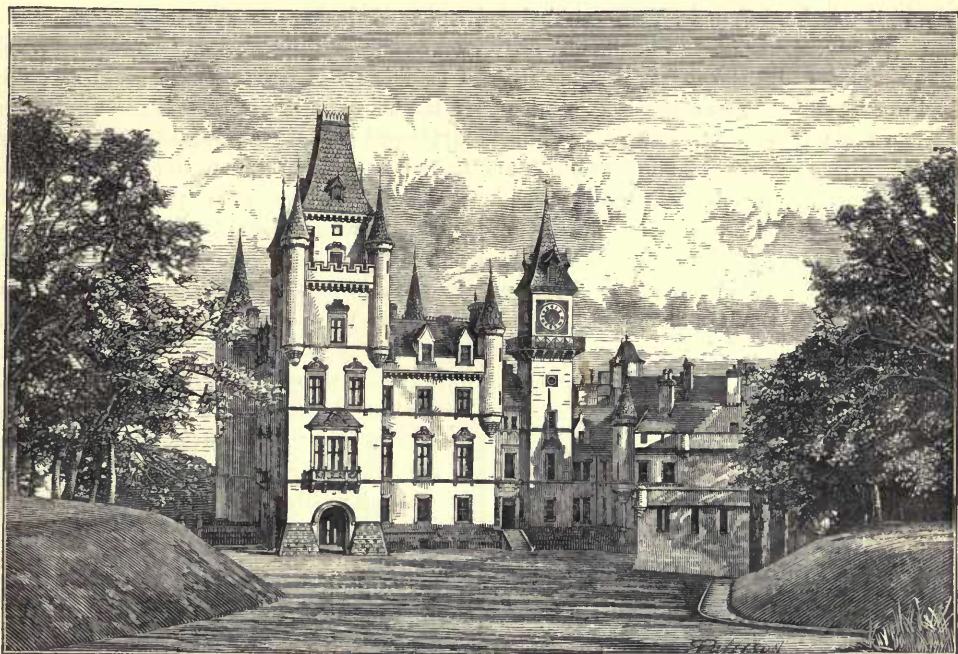
William, seventeenth Earl of Sutherland, contributed greatly to the suppression of the rebellion in the north. Under the heritable jurisdictions' abolition act of 1747, he had £1,000 allowed him for the redeemable sheriffship of Sutherland. He died in France, December 7, 1750, aged 50. By his countess, Lady Elizabeth Wemyss, eldest daughter of the third Earl of Wemyss, he had, with a daughter, Lady Elizabeth, wife of her cousin, Hon. James Wemyss of Wemyss, a son, William.

The son, William, eighteenth Earl of Sutherland, born May 29, 1735, was an officer in the army, and in 1759, when an invasion was expected, he raised a battalion of infantry, of which he was constituted lieutenant-colonel. He was appointed aide-de-camp to the king, with the rank of colonel in the army, 20th April 1763. He was one of the sixteen representative Scots peers, and died at Bath, 16th June 1766, aged 31. He had married at Edinburgh, 14th April 1761, Mary, eldest daughter and coheirress of William Maxwell, Esq. of Preston, stewardry of Kirkcudbright, and had two daughters, Lady Catherine and Lady Elizabeth. The former, born 24th May 1764, died at Dunrobin Castle, 3d January 1766. The loss of their daughter so deeply affected the earl and countess that they went to Bath, in the hope that the amusements of that place would dispel their grief. There, however, the earl was seized with a fever, and the countess devoted herself so entirely to the care of her husband, sitting up with him for twenty-one days and nights without retiring to bed, that her health was affected, and she died 1st June the same year, sixteen days before his lordship. Their bodies were

brought to Scotland, and interred in Holyrood-house.

Their only surviving daughter, Elizabeth, born at Leven Lodge, near Edinburgh, 24th May 1765, succeeded as Countess of Sutherland, when little more than a year old. She was placed under the guardianship of John, Duke of Athole, Charles, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, Sir Adam Fergusson of Kilkerran, and Sir David Dalrymple of Hailes, baronets, and John Mackenzie, Esq. of Delvin. A sharp

contest arose for the title, her right to the earldom being disputed on the ground that it could not legally descend to a female heir. Her opponents were Sir Robert Gordon of Gordons-toun and Letterfourie, baronet, and George Sutherland, Esq. of Fors. Lord Hailes drew up a paper for her ladyship, entitled "Additional Case for Elizabeth, claiming the title and dignity of Countess of Sutherland," which evinced great ability, accuracy, and depth of research. The House of Lords decided in her



Dunrobin Castle, from a photograph by Collier and Park, Inverness.

favour, 21st March 1771. The countess, the nineteenth in succession to the earldom, married 4th September 1785, George Granville Leveson Gower, Viscount of Trentham, eldest son of Earl Gower, afterwards Marquis of Stafford, by his second wife, Lady Louisa Egerton, daughter of the first Duke of Bridgewater. His lordship succeeded to his father's titles, and became the second Marquis of Stafford. On 14th January 1833 he was created Duke of Sutherland, and died 19th July, the same year. The Duchess of Sutherland, countess in her own right, thenceforth styled Duchess-Countess of Sutherland, held the earl-

dom during the long period of 72 years and seven months, and died in January 1839.

Her eldest son, George Granville, born in 1786, succeeded his father as second Duke of Sutherland, in 1833, and his mother in the Scottish titles, in 1839. He married in 1823, Lady Harriet Elizabeth Georgiana, third daughter of the sixth Earl of Carlisle; issue—four sons and seven daughters. His grace died Feb. 28, 1861, and was succeeded by his eldest son, George Granville William. The second duke's eldest daughter married in 1844, the Duke of Argyll; the second daughter married in 1843, Lord Blantyre; the third

daughter married in 1847, the Marquis of Kildare, eldest son of the Duke of Leinster.

George Granville William, third Duke of Sutherland, previously styled Marquis of Stafford and Lord Strathnaver, born Dec. 19, 1828, married in 1849, Anne, only child of John Hay Mackenzie, Esq. of Cromartie and Newhall, and niece of Sir William Gibson Craig, Bart.; issue—three sons and two daughters. Sons—1. George Granville, Earl Gower, born July 25, 1850, died July 5, 1858; 2. Cromartie, Marquis of Stafford, born 20th July 1851; 3. Lord Francis, Viscount Tarbet, born August 3, 1852. Daughters, Lady Florence and Lady Alexandra; for the latter the Princess of Wales was sponsor.

There are a number of clans not dignified by Mr Skene with separate notice, probably because he considers them subordinate branches of other clans. The principal of these, however, we shall shortly notice here, before giving an account of four important clans located in the Highlands, which are generally admitted to be of foreign origin, at least so far as their names and chiefs are concerned.

GUNN.



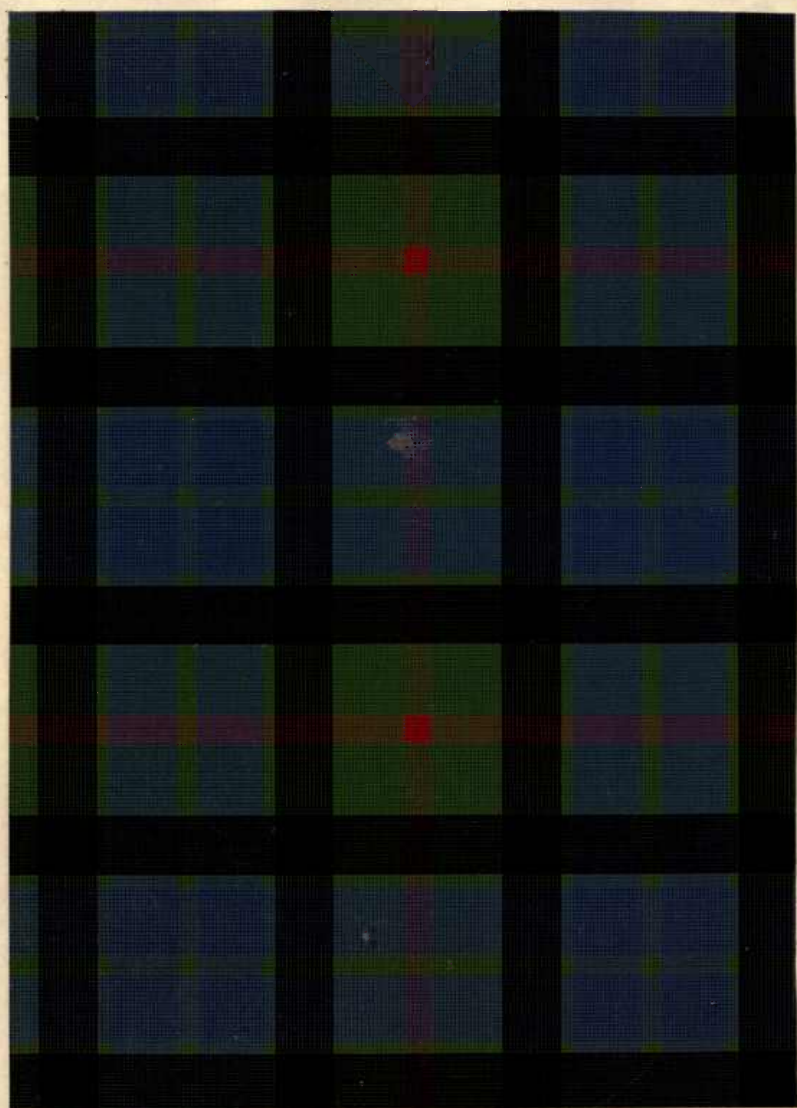
BADGE—Juniper.

As we have given in minute detail the history of the somewhat turbulent clan Gunn in the first part of the work, our notice of it here will be brief.

The clan, a martial and hardy, though not a numerous race, originally belonged to Caithness, but in the sixteenth century they settled in Sutherland. Mr Smibert thinks they are perhaps among the very purest remnants of

the Gael to be found about Sutherlandshire and the adjoining parts. "It is probable," he says, "that they belong to the same stock which produced the great body of the Sutherland population. But tradition gives the chieftains at least a Norse origin. They are said to have been descended from *Gun*, or *Gunn*, or *Guin*, second son of Olaus, or Olav, the Black, one of the Norwegian kings of Man and the Isles, who died 18th June 1237. One tradition gives them a settlement in Caithness more than a century earlier, deducing their descent from *Gun*, the second of three sons of Olaf, described as a man of great bravery, who, in 1100, dwelt in the Orcadian isle of Græmsay. The above-mentioned *Gun* or *Guin* is said to have received from his grandfather on the mother's side, Farquhar, Earl of Ross, the possessions in Caithness which long formed the patrimony of his descendants: the earliest stronghold of the chief in that county being Halbury castle, or Easter Clythe, situated on a precipitous rock, overhanging the sea. From a subsequent chief who held the office of coroner, it was called *Crowner Gun's Castle*. It may be mentioned here that the name *Gun* is the same as the Welsh *Gwynn*, and the Manx *Gawne*. It was originally *Gun*, but is now spelled *Gunn*.

The clan Gunn continued to extend their possessions in Caithness till about the middle of the fifteenth century, when, in consequence of their deadly feuds with the Keiths, and other neighbouring clans, they found it necessary to remove into Sutherland, where they settled on the lands of Kildonan, under the protection of the Earls of Sutherland, from whom they had obtained them. Mixed up as they were with the clan feuds of Caithness and Sutherland, and at war with the Mackays as well as the Keiths, the history of the clan up to this time is full of incidents which have more the character of romance than reality. In one place Sir Robert Gordon, alluding to "the inveterat deidlie feud betuein the clan Gun and the Slaightean-Aberigh,"—a branch of the Mackays,—he says: "The long, the many, the horrible encounters which happened between these two trybes, with the bloodshed and infinit spoils



GUNN.

committed in every part of the dioc of Catteynes by them and their associats, are of so disordered and troublesome memorie," that he declines to give details.

Previous to their removal into Sutherland, George Gun, commonly called the *Chruner*, or Coroner, and by the Highlanders, *Fear N'm Braisteach-more*, from the great brooch which he wore as the badge of his office of coroner, was killed by the Keiths of Caithness, as formerly narrated.

The Crowner's eldest son, James, succeeded as chief, and he it was who, with his family and the greater portion of his clan, removed into Sutherland. The principal dwelling-house of the chiefs was, thereafter, Killernan, in the parish of Kildonan, until the house was accidentally destroyed by fire about 1690. From this chief, the patronymic of Mac-Sheumais, or MacKeamish, (that is, the son of James,) which then became the Gaelic sept-name of the chiefs, is derived. From one of the sons of the Crowner, named William, are descended the Wilsons of Caithness, (as from a subsequent chief of the same name, the Williamsons,) and from another, Henry, the Hendersons. Another son, Robert, who was killed with his father, was the progenitor of the Gun Robsons; and another son, John, also slain by the Keiths, of the Gun MacEans, or MacIans, that is Johnsons, of Caithness. The Gallies are also of this clan, a party of whom settling in Ross-shire being designated as coming from *Gall'aobh*, the stranger's side.

William Gunn, the eighth MacKeamish, an officer in the army, was killed in battle in India, without leaving issue, when the chiefship devolved on Hector, great-grandson of George, second son of Alexander, the fifth MacKeamish, to whom he was served nearest male heir, on the 31st May 1803, and George Gunn, Esq. of Rhives, county of Sutherland, his only son, became, on his death, chief of the clan Gunn, and the tenth MacKeamish.

MACLAURIN.

MACLAURIN, more commonly spelled Mac-laren, is the name of a small clan belonging to Perthshire, and called in Gaelic the *clann Labhrin*. The name is said to have been derived from the district of Lorn, in Argyre-

shire, the Gaelic orthography of which is Lubhrin. The Maclaurins bear the word *Dal-riadu*, as a motto above their coat of arms.

MACLAURIN OR MACLAREN.



BADGE—Laurel.

From Argyleshire the tribe of Laurin moved into Perthshire, having, it is said, acquired from Kenneth Macalpin, after his conquest of the Picts in the 9th century, the districts of Balquhidder and Strathearn, and three brothers are mentioned as having got assigned to them in that territory the lands of Bruach, Auchleskin, and Stank. In the churchyard of Balquhidder, celebrated as containing the grave of Rob Roy, the burial places of their different families are marked off separately, so as to correspond with the situation which these estates bear to each other, a circumstance which so far favours the tradition regarding them.

When the earldom of Strathearn became vested in the crown in 1370, the Maclaurins were reduced from the condition of proprietors to that of "kyndly" or perpetual tenants, which they continued to be till 1508, when it was deemed expedient that this Celtic holding should be changed, and the lands set in feu, "for increase of policie and augmentation of the king's rental."

About 1497, some of the clan Laurin having carried off the cattle from the Braes of Lochaber, the Macdonalds followed the spoilers, and, overtaking them in Glenurchy, after a sharp fight, recovered the "lifting." The Maclaurins straightway sought the assistance of their kinsman, Dugal Stewart of Appin, who

at once joined them with his followers, and a conflict took place, when both Dugal and Macdonald of Keppoch, the chiefs of their respective clans, were among the slain. This Dugal was the first of the Stewarts of Appin. He was an illegitimate son of John Stewart, third Lord of Lorn, by a lady of the clan Laurin, and in 1469 when he attempted, by force of arms, to obtain possession of his father's lands, he was assisted by the Maclaurins, 130 of whom fell in a battle that took place at the foot of Bendoran, a mountain in Glenurchy.

The clan Laurin were the strongest sept in Balquhidder, which was called "the country of the Maclaurins." Although there are few families of the name there now, so numerous were they at one period that none dared enter the church until the Maclaurins had taken their seats. This invidious right claimed by them often led to unseemly brawls and fights at the church door, and lives were sometimes lost in consequence. In 1532, Sir John Maclaurin, vicar of Balquhidder, was killed in one of these quarrels, and several of his kinsmen, implicated in the deed, were outlawed.

A deadly feud existed between the Maclaurins and their neighbours, the Macgregors of Rob Roy's tribe. In the 16th century, the latter slaughtered no fewer than eighteen householders of the Maclaurin name, with the whole of their families, and took possession of the farms which had belonged to them. The deed was not investigated till 1604, forty-six years afterwards, when it was thus described in their trial for the slaughter of the Colquhouns: "And siclyk, John M'Coull cheire, ffor airt and pairt of the crewall murthour and burning of aughtene housholders of the clan Lawren, thair wyves and bairns, committit fourtie sax zeir syne, or thairby." The verdict was that he was "clene, innocent, and acquit of the said crymes."⁵ The hill farm of

Inverenty, on "The Braes of Balquhidder," was one of the farms thus forcibly occupied by the Macgregors, although the property of a Maclaurin family, and in the days of Rob Roy, two centuries afterwards, the aid of Stewart of Appin was called in to replace the Maclaurins in their own, which he did at the head of 200 of his men. All these farms, however, are now the property of the chief of clan Gregor, having been purchased about 1798 from the commissioners of the forfeited estates.

The Maclaurins were out in the rebellion of 1745. According to President Forbes, they were followers of the Murrays of Athole, but although some of them might have been so, the majority of the clan fought for the Pretender with the Stewarts of Appin under Stewart of Ardsheil.

The chiefship was claimed by the family to which belonged Colin Maclaurin, the eminent mathematician and philosopher, and his son, John Maclaurin, Lord Dreghorn. In the application given in for the latter to the Lyon Court, he proved his descent from a family which had long been in possession of the island of Tiree, one of the Argyleshire Hebrides.

MACRAE.



BADGE—Club-moss.

MACRAE (MACRA or MACRATH)⁶ is the name of a Ross-shire clan at one time very numerous

of a banditti of incendiaries from Glendochart, A.D. 1558. Erected by Daniel Maclaurin, Esq. of St John's Wood, London, author of a short history of his own clan, and for the use of his clansmen only.—October 1868."

⁶ For the information here given, we are mainly indebted to the MS. above referred to.

⁵ In reference to this, we extract the following from the *Scotsman*, Feb. 12, 1869:—"Within the last few days a handsome monument from the granite works of Messrs Macdonald, Field, & Co., Aberdeen, has been erected in the churchyard of Balquhidder, bearing the following inscription:—'In memoriam of the Clan Laurin, anciently the allodian inhabitants of Balquhidder and Strathearn, the chief of whom, in the decrepitude of old age, together with his aged and infirm adherents, their wives and children, the widows of their departed kindred—all were destroyed in the silent midnight hour by fire and sword, by the hands

on the shores of Kintail, but now widely scattered through Scotland and the colonies, more especially Canada. The oldest form of the name "M'Rath" signifies "son-of-good-luck." The clan is generally considered to be of pure Gaelic stock, although its earliest traditions point to an Irish origin. They are said to have come over with Colin Fitzgerald, the founder of the clan Mackenzie, of whose family they continued through their whole history the warm friends and adherents, so much so that they were jocularly called "Seaforth's shirt," and under his leadership they fought at the battle of Largs, in 1263. They settled first in the Aird of Lovat, but subsequently emigrated into Glenshiel, in the district of Kintail. At the battle of Auldearn, in May 1645, the Macraes fought under the "Caber-Fey," on the side of Montrose, where they lost a great number of men. The chief of the Macraes is Macrae of Inverinate, in Kintail, whose family since about the year 1520 held the honourable post of constables of Islandonan. A MS. genealogical account of the clans, written by the Rev. John Macrae, minister of Dingwall, who died in 1704, was formerly in possession of Lieut.-Col. Sir John Macrae of Ardintoul, and is now possessed by the present head of the Inverinate family, Colin Macrae, Esq., W.S., who has also a copy of a treaty of friendship between the Campbells of Craignish and the Macraes of Kintail, dated 1702. This history contains many interesting stories, descriptive of the great size, strength, and courage for which the clan was remarkable. One Duncan Mòr, a man of immense strength, contributed largely to the defeat of the Macdonalds at the battle of Park, in 1464, and it was said of him that, though engaged in many conflicts and always victorious, he never came off without a wound; and another Duncan, who lived in the beginning of the 18th century, was possessed of so great strength that he is said to have carried for some distance a stone of huge size, and laid it down on the farm of Auchnangart, where it is still to be seen. He was the author of several poetical pieces, and was killed with many of his clan at Sheriffmuir, in 1715, his two brothers falling at his side. His sword, long preserved in the Tower of London, was shown as "the great Highlander's sword."

II.

Both males and females of the Macraes are said to have evinced a strong taste, not only for severe literary studies, but for the gentler arts of poetry and music. From the beginning of the 15th century, one of the Inverinate family always held the office of vicar of Kintail; and John, the first vicar, was much revered for his learning, which he acquired with the monks of Beaulieu. Farquhar Macrae, born 1580, who entered the church, is said to have been a great Latin scholar. It is told of this Farquhar, that on his first visit to the island of Lewes, he had to baptize the whole population under forty years of age, no minister being resident on the island.

We shall here give a short account of the Buchanans and Colquhouns, because, as Smibert says of the latter, they have ever been placed among the clans practically, although the neighbouring Lowlanders gave to them early Saxon names. It is probable that primitively they were both of Gaelic origin.

BUCHANAN.



BADGE—Bilberry or Oak.

The BUCHANANS belong to a numerous clan in Stirlingshire, and the country on the north side of Loch Lomond. The reputed founder of the clan was Anselan, son of O'Kyan, king of Ulster, in Ireland, who is said to have been compelled to leave his native country by the incursions of the Danes, and take refuge in Scotland. He landed, with some attendants, on the northern coast of Argyleshire, near the Lennox, about the year 1016, and having, according to the family tradition, in all such

cases made and provided, lent his assistance to King Malcolm the Second in repelling his old enemies the Danes, on two different occasions of their arrival in Scotland, he received from that king for his services a grant of land in the north of Scotland. The improbable character of this genealogy is manifested by its farther stating that the aforesaid Anselan married the heiress of the lands of Buchanan, a lady named Dennistoun; for the Dennistouns deriving their name from lands given to a family of the name of Danziel, who came into Scotland with Alan, the father of the founder of the Abbey of Paisley, and the first *dapifer*, seneschal, or steward of Scotland, no heiress of that name could have been in Scotland until long after the period here referred to. It is more probable that a portion of what afterwards became the estate of Buchanan formed a part of some royal grant as being connected with the estates of the Earls of Lennox, whom Skene and Napier have established to have been remotely connected with the royal family of the Canmore line, and to have been in the first instance administrators, on the part of the crown, of the lands which were afterwards bestowed upon them.

The name of Buchanan is territorial, and is now that of a parish in Stirlingshire, which was anciently called Inchcaileoch ("old woman's island"), from an island of that name in Loch Lomond, on which in earlier ages there was a nunnery, and latterly the parish church for a century after the Reformation. In 1621 a detached part of the parish of Luss, which comprehends the lands of the family of Buchanan, was included in this parish, when the chapel of Buchanan was used for the only place of worship, and gave the name to the whole parish.

Anselan (in the family genealogies styled the third of that name) the seventh laird of Buchanan, and the sixth in descent from the above-named Irish prince, but not unlikely to be the first of the name, which is Norman French, is dignified in the same records with the magniloquent appellation of seneschal or chamberlain to Malcolm the first Earl of Lennox (as Lennox was then called). In 1225, this Anselan obtained from the same earl a charter of a small island in Lochlomond called

Clareinch—witnesses Dougal, Gilchrist, and Amalyn, the earl's three brothers—the name of which island afterwards became the rallying cry of the Buchanans. He had three sons, viz., Methlen, said by Buchanan of Auchmar to have been ancestor of the MacMillans; Colman, ancestor of the MacColmans; and his successor Gilbert.

His eldest son, Gilbert, or Gillebrid, appears to have borne the surname of Buchanan.

Sir Maurice Buchanan, grandson of Gilbert, and son of a chief of the same name, received from Donald, Earl of Lennox, a charter of the lands of Salloch, with confirmation of the upper part of the carrucate of Buchanan. Sir Maurice also obtained a charter of confirmation of the lands of Buchanan from King David II. in the beginning of his reign.

Sir Maurice de Buchanan the second, above mentioned, married a daughter of Menteith of Rusky, and had a son, Walter de Buchanan, who had a charter of confirmation of some of his lands of Buchanan from Robert the Second, in which he is designed the king's "consanguineus," or cousin. His eldest son, John, married Janet, daughter and sole heiress of John Buchanan of Leny, fourth in descent from Allan already noticed. John, who died before his father, had three sons, viz., Sir Alexander, Walter, and John, who inherited the lands of Leny, and carried on that family.

Sir Alexander died unmarried, and the second son, Sir Walter, succeeded to the estate of Buchanan.

This Sir Walter de Buchanan married Isabel, daughter of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, by Isabel, countess of Lennox, in her own right. With a daughter, married to Gray of Foulis, ancestor of Lord Gray, he had three sons, viz., Patrick, his successor; Maurice, treasurer to the Princess Margaret, the daughter of King James I., and Dauphiness of France, with whom he left Scotland; and Thomas, founder of the Buchanans of Carbeth.

The eldest son, Patrick, acquired a part of Strathyre in 1455, and had a charter under the great seal of his estate of Buchanan, dated in 1460. He had two sons and a daughter, Anabella, married to her cousin, James Stewart of Baldorrans, grandson of Murdoch,

Duke of Albany. Their younger son, Thomas Buchanan, was, in 1482, founder of the house of Drumakill, whence, in the third generation, came the celebrated George Buchanan. Patrick's elder son, Walter Buchanan of that ilk, married a daughter of Lord Graham, and by her had two sons, Patrick and John, and two daughters, one of them married to the laird of Lamond, and the other to the laird of Ardkinglass.

John Buchanan, the younger son, succeeded by testament to Menzies of Arnprior, and was the facetious "King of Kippen," and faithful ally of James V. The way in which the laird of Arnprior got the name of "King of Kippen" is thus related by a tradition which Sir Walter Scott has introduced into his *Tales of a Grandfather*:—"When James the Fifth travelled in disguise, he used a name which was known only to some of his principal nobility and attendants. He was called the Goodman (the tenant, that is) of Ballengeich. Ballengeich is a steep pass which leads down behind the castle of Stirling. Once upon a time when the court was feasting in Stirling, the king sent for some venison from the neighbouring hills. The deer was killed and put on horses' backs to be transported to Stirling. Unluckily they had to pass the castle gates of Arnprior, belonging to a chief of the Buchanans, who chanced to have a considerable number of guests with him. It was late, and the company were rather short of victuals, though they had more than enough of liquor. The chief, seeing so much fat venison passing his very door, seized on it, and to the expostulations of the keepers, who told him it belonged to King James, he answered insolently, that if James was king in Scotland, he (Buchanan) was king in Kippen; being the name of the district in which Arnprior lay. On hearing what had happened, the king got on horseback, and rode instantly from Stirling to Buchanan's house, where he found a strong fierce-looking Highlander, with an axe on his shoulder, standing sentinel at the door. This grim warder refused the king admittance, saying that the laird of Arnprior was at dinner, and would not be disturbed. 'Yet go up to the company, my good friend,' said the king, 'and tell him that the Goodman of Ballengeich is

come to feast with the King of Kippen.' The porter went grumbling into the house, and told his master that there was a fellow with a red beard at the gate, who called himself the Goodman of Ballengeich, who said he was come to dine with the King of Kippen. As soon as Buchanan heard these words, he knew that the king was come in person, and hastened down to kneel at James's feet, and to ask forgiveness for his insolent behaviour. But the king, who only meant to give him a fright, forgave him freely, and, going into the castle, feasted on his own venison which Buchanan had intercepted. Buchanan of Arnprior was ever afterwards called the King of Kippen."⁷ He was killed at the battle of Pinkie in 1547.

The elder son, Patrick, who fell on Flodden field, during his father's lifetime, had married a daughter of the Earl of Argyll. She bore to him two sons and two daughters. The younger son, Walter, in 1519, conveyed to his son Walter the lands of Spittal, and was thus the founder of that house. On the 14th December of that year, he had a charter from his father of the temple-lands of Easter-Catter.

The elder son, George Buchanan of that ilk, succeeded his grandfather, and was sheriff of Dumbartonshire at the critical epoch of 1561. By Margaret, daughter of Edmonstone of Duntreath, he had a son, John, who died before his father, leaving a son. By a second lady, Janet, daughter of Cunninghame of Craigans, he had William, founder of the now extinct house of Auchmar.

John Buchanan, above mentioned as dying before his father, George Buchanan of that ilk, was twice married, first to the Lord Livingston's daughter, by whom he had one son, George, who succeeded his grandfather. The son, Sir George Buchanan, married Mary Graham, daughter of the Earl of Monteith, and had, with two daughters, a son, Sir John Buchanan of that ilk. Sir John married Anabella Erskine, daughter of Adam, commendator of Cambuskenneth, a son of the Master of Mar. He had a son, George, his successor, and a daughter married to Campbell of Rahein.

Sir George Buchanan the son married Eliza-

⁷ *History of Scotland.*

beth Preston, daughter of the laird of Craigmillar. Sir George was taken prisoner at Inverkeithing, in which state he died in the end of 1651, leaving, with three daughters, one son, John, the last laird of Buchanan, who was twice married, but had no male issue. By his second wife, Jean Pringle, daughter of Mr Andrew Pringle, a minister, he had a daughter Janet, married to Henry Buchanan of Leny. John, the last laird, died in December 1682. His estate was sold by his creditors, and purchased by the ancestor of the Duke of Montrose.

The barons or lairds of Buchanan built a castle in Stirlingshire, where the present Buchanan house stands, formerly called the Peel of Buchanan. Part of it exists, forming the charter-room. A more modern house was built by these chiefs, adjoining the east side. This mansion came into the possession of the first Duke of Montrose, who made several additions to it, as did also subsequent dukes, and it is now the chief seat of that ducal family in Scotland.

The principal line of the Buchanans becoming, as above shown, extinct in 1682, the representation of the family devolved on Buchanan of AUCHMAR. This line became, in its turn, extinct in 1816, and, in the absence of other competitors, the late Dr Francis Hamilton-Buchanan of Bardowie, Spittal, and Leny, as heir-male of Walter, first of the family of Spittal, established in 1826 his claims as chief of the clan.

The last lineal male descendant of the Buchanans of Leny was Henry Buchanan, about 1723, whose daughter and heiress, Catherine, married Thomas Buchanan of Spittal, an officer in the Dutch service, who took for his second wife, Elizabeth, youngest daughter of John Hamilton of Bardowie, the sole survivor of her family, and by her he had four sons and two daughters. Their eldest son John, born in 1758, succeeded to the estate of Bardowie, and assumed the additional name of Hamilton, but dying without male issue, was succeeded by his brother, the above named Dr Francis Hamilton-Buchanan.

There were at one time so many heritors of the name of Buchanan, that it is said the laird of Buchanan could, in a summer's day,

call fifty heritors of his own surname to his house, upon any occasion, and all of them might with convenience return to their respective residences before night, the most distant of their homes not being above ten miles from Buchanan Castle.

COLQUHOUN.



BADGE—Bearberry.

The territory of the COLQUHOUNS is in Dumbartonshire, and the principal families of the name are Colquhoun of Colquhoun and Luss, the chief of the clan, a baronet of Scotland and Nova Scotia, created in 1704, and of Great Britain in 1786; Colquhoun of Killermont and Garscadden; Colquhoun of Ardenconnel; and Colquhoun of Glenmillan. There was likewise Colquhoun of Tilliquhoun, a baronet of Scotland and Nova Scotia (1625), but this family is extinct.

The origin of the name is territorial. One tradition deduces the descent of the first possessor from a younger son of the old Earls of Lennox, because of the similarity of their armorial bearings. It is certain that they were anciently vassals of that potent house.

The immediate ancestor of the family of Luss was Humphry de Kilpatrick, who, in the reign of Alexander II., not later than 1246, obtained from Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, a grant of the lands and barony of Colquhoun, in the parish of Old or West Kilpatrick, *pro servitio unius militis*, &c., and in consequence assumed the name of Colquhoun, instead of his own.

His grandson, Ingelram, third Colquhoun, lived in the reign of Alexander III.

His son, Humphry de Colquhoun, is witness in a charter of Malcolm, fifth Earl of Lennox, in favour of Sir John de Luss,* between the years 1292-1333. The following remarkable reference to the construction of a house *ad opus Culquhanorum*, by order of King Robert Bruce, is extracted from the *Compotum Constabularii de Cardross*, vol. i., in the accounts of the Great Chamberlains of Scotland, under date 30th July 1329, as quoted by Mr Tytler in the appendix to the second volume of his *History of Scotland*: "Item, in construccione cujusdam domus ad opus *Culquhanorum* Domini Regis ibidem, 10 solidi." Mr Tytler in a note says that *Culquhanorum* is "an obscure word, which occurs nowhere else—conjectured by a learned friend to be 'keepers of the dogs,' from the Gaelic root *Gillen-au-con*—abbreviated, *Gillecon*, Culquhoun."

Sir Robert de Colquhoun, supposed by Mr Fraser, the family historian, to be fifth in descent from the first Humphry, and son of a Humphry, the fourth of Colquhoun, in the reign of David Bruce, married in or previous to the year 1368 the daughter and sole heiress (known in the family tradition as "The Fair Maid of Luss,") of Godfrey de Luss, lord of Luss, head or chief of an ancient family of that name, and the sixth in a direct male line from Malduin, dean of Lennox, who, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, received from Alwyn, second Earl of Lennox, a charter of the lands of Luss. The Luss territories lie in the mountainous but beautiful and picturesque district on the margin of Loch Lomond. Sir Robert was designed "*dominus de Colquhoun and de Luss*," in a charter dated in 1368; since which time the family have borne the designation of Colquhoun of Colquhoun and Luss. He is also witness in a charter of the lands of Auchmar by Walter of Faslane, Lord of Lennox, to Walter de Buchanan in 1373. He had four sons, namely—Sir Humphry, his heir; Robert, first of the family of Camstraddan, from whom several other families of the name of Colquhoun in Dumbartonshire are descended; Robert mentioned in the Camstraddan charter as "*frater junior*;" and Patrick, who is mentioned in a

charter from his brother Sir Humphry to his other brother Robert.

The eldest son, Sir Humphry, sixth of Colquhoun, and eighth of Luss, is a witness in three charters by Duncan, Earl of Lennox, in the years 1393, 1394, and 1395. He died in 1406, and left three sons and two daughters. Patrick, his youngest son, was ancestor of the Colquhouns of Glennis, from whom the Colquhouns of Barrowfield, Piemont, and others were descended. The second son, John, succeeded his eldest brother. The eldest son, Sir Robert, died in 1408, and was succeeded by his brother. Sir John Colquhoun was appointed governor of the castle of Dumbarton, by King James I., for his fidelity to that king during his imprisonment in England. From his activity in punishing the depredations of the Highlanders, who often committed great outrages in the low country of Dumbartonshire, he rendered himself obnoxious to them, and a plot was formed for his destruction. He received a civil message from some of their chiefs, desiring a friendly conference, in order to accommodate all their differences. Suspecting no treachery, he went out to meet them but slightly attended, and was immediately attacked by a numerous body of Islanders, under two noted robber-chiefs, Lachlan Maclean and Murdoch Gibson, and slain in Inchmurren, on Loch Lomond, in 1439. By his wife, Jean, daughter of Robert, Lord Erskine, he had a son, Malcolm, a youth of great promise. He died before his father, leaving a son, John, who succeeded his grandfather in 1439. This Sir John Colquhoun was one of the most distinguished men of his age in Scotland, and highly esteemed by King James III., from whom he got a charter in 1457 of the lands of Luss, Colquhoun, and Garscube, in Dumbartonshire, and of the lands of Glyn and Sauchie, in Stirlingshire, incorporating the whole into a free barony, to be called the Barony of Luss; and in the following year he obtained from the king a charter erecting into a free forest the lands of Rosdhu and Glenmachome. From 1465 to 1469 he held the high office of comptroller of the Exchequer, and was subsequently appointed sheriff principal of Dumbartonshire. In 1645 he got a grant of the lands of Kilmardinny, and in 1473 and in 1474,

* Fraser's *Chiefs of Colquhoun*.

of Roseneath, Strone, &c. In 1474 he was appointed lord high chamberlain of Scotland, and immediately thereafter was nominated one of the ambassadors extraordinary to the Court of England, to negotiate a marriage between the Prince Royal of Scotland and the Princess Cicily, daughter of King Edward IV. By a royal charter dated 17th September 1477, he was constituted governor of the castle of Dumbarton for life. He was killed by a cannon-ball at the siege of Dumbarton Castle, probably in 1478. By his wife, daughter of Thomas, Lord Boyd, he had two sons and one daughter. His second son, Robert, was bred to the church, and was first rector of Kippen and Luss, and afterwards bishop of Argyle from 1473 to 1499. The daughter, Margaret, married Sir William Murray, seventh baron of Tullibardine (ancestor of the Dukes of Athole), and bore to him seventeen sons.

His eldest son, Sir Humphry Colquhoun, died in 1493, and was succeeded by his son, Sir John Colquhoun, who received the honour of knighthood from King James IV., and obtained a charter under the great seal of sundry lands and baronies in Dumbartonshire, dated 4th December 1506. On 11th July 1526 he and Patrick Colquhoun his son received a respite for assisting John, Earl of Lennox, in treasonably besieging, taking, and holding the castle of Dumbarton. He died before 16th August 1536. By his first wife, Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of John, Earl of Lennox, Sir John Colquhoun had four sons and four daughters; and by his second wife, Margaret, daughter of William Cunningham of Craighends, he had two sons and two daughters. His eldest son, Sir Humphry Colquhoun, married Lady Catherine Graham, daughter of William, first Earl of Montrose, and died in 1537. By her he had three sons and two daughters. His son James, designated of Garscube, ancestor of the Colquhouns of Garscube, Adam, and Patrick.⁹ His eldest son, Sir John Colquhoun, married, first, Christian Erskine, daughter of Robert, Lord Erskine; and secondly, Agnes, daughter of the fourth Lord Boyd, ancestor of the Earls of Kilmarnock. He died in 1575.

His eldest son, Humphry, acquired the heritable coronership of the county of Dumbarton, from Robert Graham of Knockdolian, which was ratified and confirmed by a charter under the great seal in 1583.

In July 1592, some of the Macgregors and Macfarlanes came down upon the low country of Dumbartonshire, and committed vast ravages, especially upon the territory of the Colquhouns. At the head of his vassals, and accompanied by several of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, Sir Humphry Colquhoun attacked the invaders, and after a bloody conflict, which was only put an end to at nightfall, he was overpowered by his assailants, and forced to retreat. To quote from Mr Fraser's *Chiefs of the Colquhouns*—"He betook himself to the castle of Bannachra, a stronghold which had been erected by the Colquhouns at the foot of the north side of the hill of Bennibuie, in the parish of Luss. A party of the Macfarlanes and Macgregors pursued him, and laid siege to his castle. One of the servants who attended the knight was of the same surname as himself. He had been tampered with by the assailants of his master, and treacherously made him their victim. The servant, while conducting his master to his room up a winding stair of the castle, made him by preconcert a mark for the arrows of the clan who pursued him by throwing the glare of a paper torch upon his person when opposite a loophole. A winged arrow, darted from its string with a steady aim, pierced the unhappy knight to the heart, and he fell dead on the spot. The fatal loophole is still pointed out, but the stair, like its unfortunate lord, has crumbled into dust." Sir Humphry married, first, Lady Jean Cunningham, daughter of Alexander, fifth Earl of Glencairn, widow of the Earl of Argyll, by whom he had no children, and secondly, Jean, daughter of John, Lord Hamilton, by whom he had a daughter. Having no male issue, he was succeeded by his younger brother, Alexander.

In Sir Alexander's time occurred the raid of Glenfinlas, and the bloody clan conflict of Glenfruin, between the Colquhouns and Macgregors, in December 1602 and February 1603, regarding which the popular accounts are much at variance with the historical facts. The Col-

⁹ Fraser's *Chiefs of Colquhoun*.

quhouns had taken part in the execution of the letters of fire and sword issued by the crown against the Macgregors some years before, and the feud between them had been greatly aggravated by various acts of violence and aggression on both sides.

In 1602, the Macgregors made a regular raid on the laird of Luss's lands in Glenfinlas, and carried off a number of sheep and cattle, as well as slew several of the tenants. Alexander Colquhoun, who had before complained to the privy council against the Earl of Argyll for not repressing the clan Gregor, but who had failed in obtaining any redress, now adopted a tragic method in order to excite the sympathy of the king. He appeared before his majesty at Stirling, accompanied by a number of females, the relatives of those who had been killed or wounded at Glenfinlas, each carrying the bloody shirt of her killed or wounded relative, to implore his majesty to avenge the wrongs done them. The ruse had the desired effect upon the king, who, from a sensitiveness of constitutional temperament, which made him shudder even at the sight of blood, was extremely susceptible to impressions from scenes of this description, and he immediately granted a commission of lieutenancy to the laird of Luss, investing him with power to repress similar crimes, and to apprehend the perpetrators.

"This commission granted to their enemy appears to have roused the lawless rage of the Macgregors, who rose in strong force to defy the laird of Luss; and Glenfruin, with its disasters and sanguinary defeat of the Colquhouns, and its ultimate terrible consequences to the victorious clan themselves, was the result."

In the beginning of the year 1603, Allaster Macgregor of Glenstrae, followed by four hundred men chiefly of his own clan, but including also some of the clans Cameron and Anverich, armed with "halberschois, pow-aixes, twa-handit swordis, bowis and arrowis, and with hagbutis and pistoletis," advanced into the territory of Luss. Colquhoun, acting under his royal commission, had raised a force which has been stated by some writers as having amounted to 300 horse and 500 foot. This is probably an exaggeration, but even if

it is not, the disasters which befell them may be explained from the trap into which they fell, and from the nature of the ground on which they encountered the enemy. This divested them of all the advantages which they might have derived from superiority of numbers and from their horse.

On the 7th February 1603, the Macgregors were in Glenfruin "in two divisions," writes Mr Fraser—"One of them at the head of the glen, and the other in ambuscade near the farm of Strone, at a hollow or ravine called the Crate. The Colquhouns came into Glenfruin from the Luss side, which is opposite Strone—probably by Glen Luss and Glen Mackurn. Alexander Colquhoun pushed on his forces in order to get through the glen before encountering the Macgregors; but, aware of his approach, Allaster Macgregor also pushed forward one division of his forces and entered at the head of the glen in time to prevent his enemy from emerging from the upper end of the glen, whilst his brother, John Macgregor, with the division of his clan, which lay in ambuscade, by a detour, took the rear of the Colquhouns, which prevented their retreat down the glen without fighting their way through that section of the Macgregors who had got in their rear. The success of the stratagem by which the Colquhouns were thus placed between two fires seems to be the only way of accounting for the terrible slaughter of the Colquhouns and the much less loss of the Macgregors.

"The Colquhouns soon became unable to maintain their ground, and, falling into a moss at the farm of Auchingaich, they were thrown into disorder, and made a hasty and disorderly retreat, which proved even more disastrous than the conflict, for they had to force their way through the men led by John Macgregor, whilst they were pressed behind by Allaster, who, reuniting the two divisions of his army, continued the pursuit."

All who fell into the hands of the victors were at once put to death, and the chief of the Colquhouns barely escaped with his life after his horse had been killed under him. One hundred and forty of the Colquhouns were slaughtered, and many more were wounded, among whom were several women and children. When the pursuit ended, the work of spolia-

tion and devastation commenced. Large numbers of horses, cattle, sheep, and goats were carried off, and many of the houses and steadings of the tenantry were burned to the ground. Their triumph the Macgregors were not allowed long to enjoy. The government took instant and severe measures against them. A price was put upon the heads of seventy or eighty of them by name, and upon a number of their confederates of other clans:—"Before any judicial inquiry was made," says Mr Fraser, "on 3d April 1603, only two days before James VI. left Scotland for England to take possession of the English throne, an Act of Privy Council was passed, by which the name of Gregor or Macgregor was for ever abolished. All of this surname were commanded, under the penalty of death, to change it for another; and the same penalty was denounced against those who should give food or shelter to any of the clan. All who had been at the conflict of Glenfruin, and at the spoliation and burning of the lands of the Laird of Luss, were prohibited, under the penalty of death, from carrying any weapon except a pointless knife to eat their meat." Thirty-five of the clan Gregor were executed after trial between the 20th May 1603 and the 2d March 1604. Amongst these was Allaster Macgregor, who surrendered himself to the Earl of Argyll.

By his wife Helen, daughter of Sir George Buchanan of that ilk, Alexander had one son and five daughters. He died in 1617.

The eldest son, Sir John, in his father's lifetime, got a charter under the great seal of the ten pound land of Dunnerbuck, dated 20th February 1602, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia by patent dated the last day of August 1625. He married Lady Lillias Graham, daughter of the fourth Earl of Montrose, brother of the great Marquis, by whom he had three sons and three daughters. His two eldest sons succeeded to the baronetcy. From Alexander, the third son, the Colquhouns of Tillyquhoun were descended. He died in 1647.

Sir John, the second baronet of Luss, married Margaret, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Gideon Baillie of Lochend, in the county of Haddington, and had two sons, and

seven daughters. He adhered firmly to the royal cause during all the time of the civil wars, on which account he suffered many hardships, and, in 1654, was by Cromwell fined two thousand pounds sterling. He was succeeded in 1676 by his younger son, Sir James—the elder having predeceased him—third baronet of Luss, who held the estates only four years, and being a minor, unmarried, left no issue. He was succeeded in 1680 by his uncle, Sir James, who married Penuel, daughter of William Cunningham of Bal-leichan, in Ireland. He had, with one daughter, two sons, Sir Humphry, fifth baronet, and James. The former was a member of the last Scottish Parliament, and strenuously opposed and voted against every article of the treaty of union. By his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Patrick Houston of that ilk, baronet, he had an only daughter, Anne Colquhoun, his sole heiress, who, in 1702, married James Grant of Pluscardine, second son of Ludovick Grant of Grant, immediate younger brother of Brigadier Alexander Grant, heir apparent of the said Ludovick.

Having no male issue, Sir Humphry, with the design that his daughter and her husband should succeed him in his whole estate and honours, in 1704 resigned his baronetcy into the hands of her majesty Queen Anne, for a new patent to himself in liferent, and his son-in-law and his heirs therein named in fee, but with this express limitation that he and his heirs so succeeding to that estate and title should be obliged to bear the name and arms of Colquhoun of Luss, &c. It was also specially provided that the estates of Grant and Luss should not be conjoined.

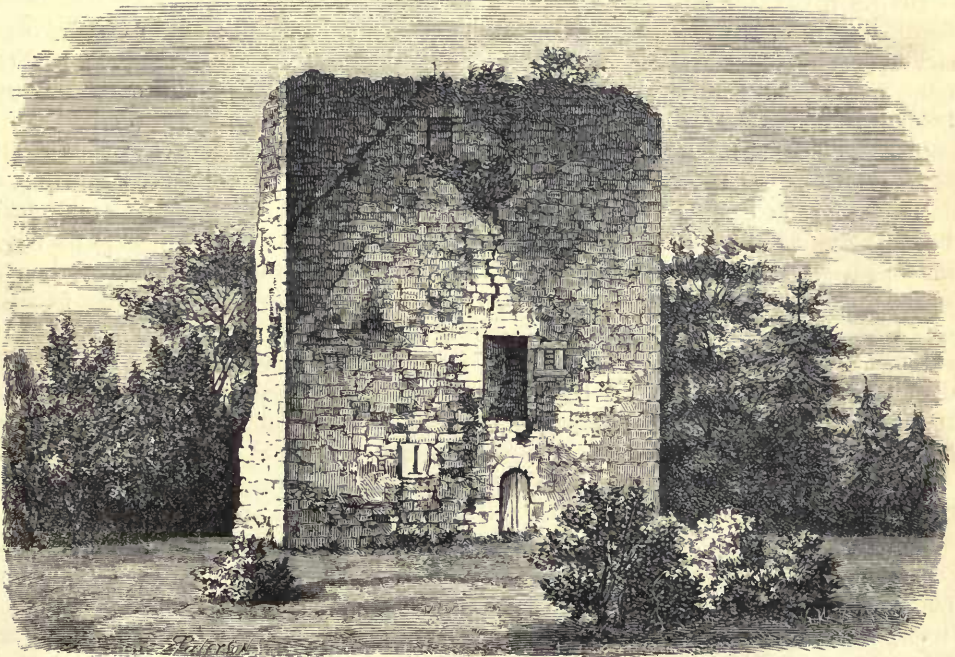
Sir Humphry died in 1718, and was succeeded in his estate and honours by James Grant, his son-in-law, under the name and designation of Sir James Colquhoun of Luss. He enjoyed that estate and title till the death of his elder brother, Brigadier Alexander Grant, in 1719, when, succeeding to the estate of Grant, he relinquished the name and title of Colquhoun of Luss, and resumed his own, retaining the baronetcy, it being by the last patent vested in his person. He died in 1747.

By the said Anne, his wife, he had a

numerous family. His eldest son, Humphry Colquhoun, subsequently Humphry Grant of Grant, died unmarried in 1732. The second son, Ludovick, became Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant, baronet, while the fourth son James succeeded as Sir James Colquhoun of Luss, the third son having died in infancy. He is the amiable and very polite gentleman described by Smollett in his novel of *Humphry Clinker*, under the name of "Sir George Colquhoun, a colonel in the Dutch service." He married Lady Helen Sutherland, daughter of William Lord Strathnaver, son of the Earl of Sutherland, and by her he had three sons and five daughters. In 1777 he founded the town of Helensburgh on the frith of Clyde, and named it after his wife. To put an end to some disputes which had arisen with regard to the destination of the

old patent of the Nova Scotia baronetcy, (John Colquhoun of Tillyquhoun, as the eldest cadet, having, on the death of his cousin-german, Sir Humphry Colquhoun, in 1718, assumed the title as heir male of his grandfather, the patentee), Sir James was, in 1786, created a baronet of Great Britain. His second youngest daughter, Margaret, married William Baillie, a lord of session, under the title of Lord Polkemmet, and was the mother of Sir William Baillie, baronet. Sir James died in November 1786.

His eldest son, Sir James Colquhoun, second baronet under the new patent, sheriff-depute of Dumbartonshire, was one of the principal clerks of session. By his wife, Mary, daughter and co-heir of James Falconer, Esq. of Monk-town, he had seven sons and four daughters. He died in 1805. His eldest son, Sir James,



Old Rossdhu Castle, from the *Chiefs of the Colquhouns*.

third baronet, was for some time M.P. for Dumbartonshire. He married, on 13th June 1799, his cousin Janet, daughter of Sir John Sinclair, baronet, and had three sons and two daughters. Of this lady, who died October 21, 1846, and who was distinguished for her piety and benevolence, a memoir exists by the late Rev. James Hamilton, D.D., London.

"Some time after Sir James' succession," says Mr Fraser, to whose book on the Colquhouns we have been much indebted in this account, "significant testimony was given that the ancient feud between his family and that of the Macgregors, which had frequently led to such disastrous results to both, had given place to feelings of hearty goodwill and friendship.

On an invitation from Sir James and Lady Colquhoun, Sir John Murray Macgregor and Lady Macgregor came on a visit to Rosdhu. The two baronets visited Glenfruin. They were accompanied by Lady Colquhoun and Misses Helen and Catherine Colquhoun. After the battlefield had been carefully inspected by the descendants of the combatants, Sir J. M. Macgregor insisted on shaking hands with Sir James Colquhoun and the whole party on the spot where it was supposed that the battle had been hottest. On the occasion of the same visit to Rosdhu, the party ascended Ben Lomond, which dominates so grandly over Loch Lomond. On the summit of this lofty mountain, Sir John M. Macgregor danced a Highland reel with Miss Catherine Colquhoun, afterwards Mrs Millar of Earnoch. Sir John was then fully eighty years of age."

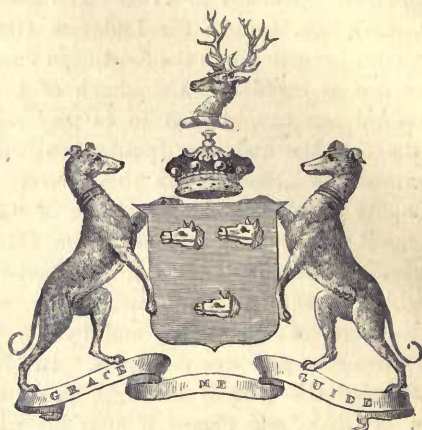
His eldest son, Sir James Colquhoun, the fourth baronet of the new creation, and the eighth of the old patent, succeeded on his father's death, 3d Feb. 1836; chief of the Colquhouns of Luss; Lord-lieutenant of Dumbartonshire, and M.P. for that county from 1837 to 1841. He married in June 1843, Jane, daughter of Sir Robert Abercromby of Birkenbog. She died 3d May 1844, leaving one son, James, born in 1844.

The family mansion, Ross-dhu, is situated on a beautiful peninsula. To the possessions of the family of Colquhoun was added in 1852 the estate of Ardincaple, purchased from the Duchess Dowager of Argyll. According to Mr Fraser, the three baronets of Luss, before Sir James, purchased up no less than fourteen lairdships.

Robert, a younger son of Sir Robert Colquhoun of that ilk, who married the heiress of Luss, was the first of the Colquhouns of Camstrodden, which estate, with the lands of Achirgahan, he obtained by charter, dated 4th July 1395, from his brother Sir Humphry. Sir James Colquhoun, third baronet, purchased in 1826 that estate from the hereditary proprietor, and re-annexed it to the estate of Luss.

The Killermont line, originally of Garscadden, is a scion of the Camstrodden branch.

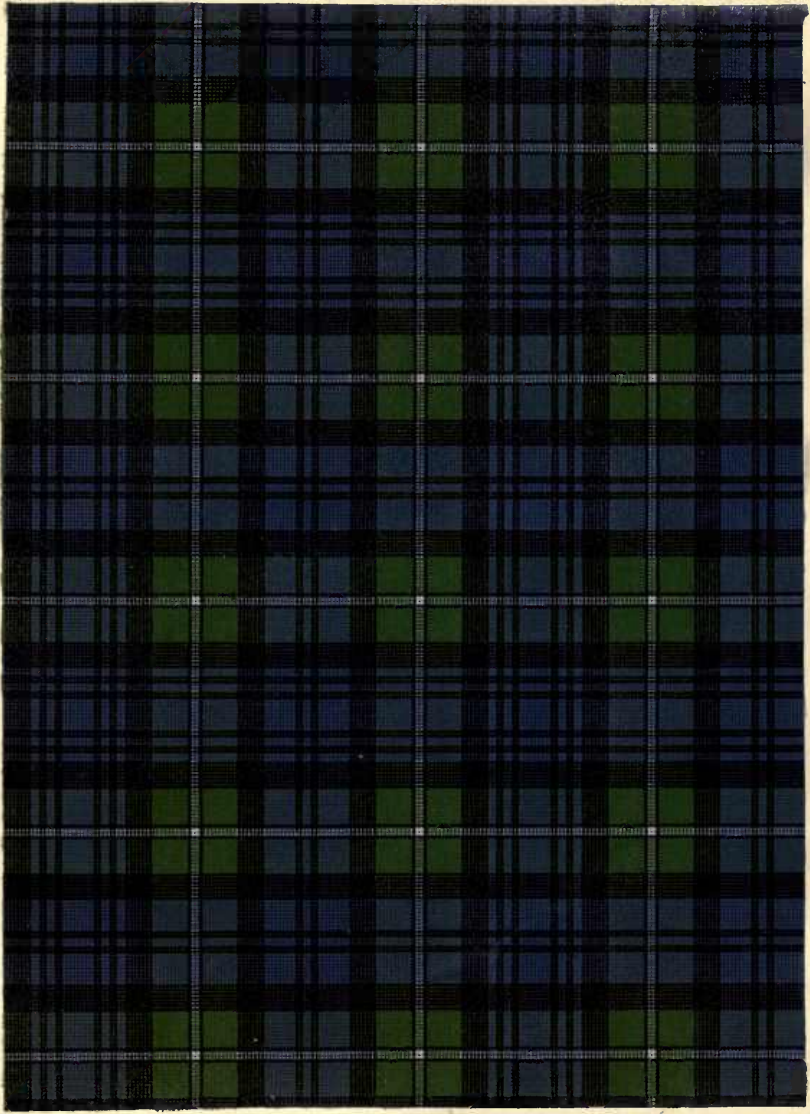
FORBES.



BADGE—Broom.

Although there is great doubt as to the Celtic or at least Gaelic origin of the FORBES clan, still, as it was one of the most powerful and influential of the northern clans, it may claim a notice here. "The Forbes Family and following," says Smibert, "ranked early among the strongest on the north-eastern coast of Scotland; and no one can reasonably doubt but that the ancient Pictish Gael of the region in question constituted a large proportion (if not of the Forbeses, at least) of the followers of the house."

The traditions regarding the origin of the surname of Forbes are various; and some of them very fanciful. The principal of these, referred to by Sir Samuel Forbes in his "View of the diocese of Aberdeen" (MS. quoted by the Statistical Account of Scotland, art. Tullynessle and Forbes), states that this name was first assumed by one Ochonchar, from Ireland, who having slain a ferocious bear in that district, took the name of Forbear, now spelled and pronounced Forbes, in two syllables; although the English, in pronunciation, make it only one. In consequence of this feat the Forbeses carry in their arms three bears' heads. A variation of this story says that the actor in this daring exploit was desirous of exhibiting his courage to the young and beautiful heiress of the adjacent castle, whose name being Bess, he, on receiving her hand as his reward, assumed it



FORBES.

to commemorate his having killed the bear for "Bess." Another tradition states that the name of the founder of the family was originally Bois, a follower of an early Scottish king, and that on granting him certain lands for some extraordinary service, his majesty observed that they were "for Boice." The surname, however, is territorial, and said to be Celtic, from the Gaelic word Ferbash or Ferbasach, a bold man.

"On the whole," says Smibert, "the traditions of the family, as well as other authorities, countenance with unusual strength, the belief, that the heads of the Forbeses belonged really to the Irish branch, and were among those strangers of that race whom the Lowland kings planted in the north and north-east of Scotland to overawe the remaining primary population of Gaelic Picts."

According to Skene, in his treatise *De Verborum Significatione*, Duncan Forbois got from King Alexander (but which of the three kings of that name is not mentioned) a charter of the lands and heritage of Forbois in Aberdeenshire, whence the surname. In the reign of King William the Lion, John de Forbes possessed the lands of that name. His son, Fergus de Forbes, had a charter of the same from Alexander, Earl of Buchan, about 1236. Next of this race are Duncan de Forbes, his son, 1262, and Alexander de Forbes, grandson, governor of Urquhart Castle in Moray, which he bravely defended for a long time, in 1304, against Edward I. of England; but on its surrender all within the castle were put to the sword, except the wife of the governor, who escaped to Ireland, and was there delivered of a posthumous son. This son, Sir Alexander de Forbes, the only one of his family remaining, came to Scotland in the reign of Robert the Bruce, and his patrimonial inheritance of Forbes having been bestowed upon others, he obtained a grant of other lands instead. He was killed at the battle of Duplin, in 1332, fighting valiantly on the side of King David, the son of Bruce. From his son, Sir John de Forbes, 1373, all the numerous families in Scotland who bear the name and their offshoots, trace their descent.¹

Sir John's son, Sir Alexander de Forbes (curiously said to be posthumous like the above Alexander), acquired from Thomas, Earl of Mar, several lands in Aberdeenshire, the grant of which King Robert II. ratified by charter in the third year of his reign. By King Robert III. he was appointed justiciary of Aberdeen, and coroner of that county. He died in 1405. By his wife, a daughter of Kennedy of Dunure, he had four sons, namely—Sir Alexander, his successor, the first Lord Forbes; Sir William, ancestor of the Lords Pitsligo; Sir John, who obtained the thanedom of Formartine (which now gives the title of viscount to the Earl of Aberdeen) and the lands of Tolquhoun, by his marriage with Marjory, daughter and heiress of Sir Henry Preston of Formartine, knight (of the Dingwall family), and was ancestor of the Forbeses of Tolquhoun, Foveran, Watertoun, Culloden, and others of the name; and Alexander, founder of the family of Brux, and others.

Alexander, the elder son, was created a peer of parliament sometime after 1436. The precise date of creation is not known, but in a precept, directed by James II. to the lords of the exchequer, dated 12th July 1442, he is styled Lord Forbes. He died in 1448. By his wife, Lady Elizabeth (sometimes called Lady Mary) Douglas, only daughter of George, Earl of Angus, and grand-daughter of King Robert II., he had two sons and three daughters.

James, the elder son, second Lord Forbes, was knighted by King James III. He died soon after 1460. By his wife, Lady Egidia Keith, second daughter of the first Earl Marischal, he had three sons and a daughter, namely—William, third Lord Forbes; Duncan, of Corsindae, ancestor (by his second son) of the Forbeses of Monymusk; and Patrick, the first of the family of Corse, progenitor of the Forbeses, baronets, of Craigievar, and of the Irish Earls of Granard. The daughter, Egidia, became the wife of Malcolm Forbes of Tolquhoun.

William, third Lord Forbes, married Lady Christian Gordon, third daughter of Alexander, first Earl of Huntly, and had, with a daughter, three sons, Alexander, fourth lord; Arthur, fifth lord; and John, sixth lord.

¹ Low's *Scot. Heroes*, App.

Alexander, fourth lord, died, while yet young, before 16th May 1491.

Arthur, fifth Lord Forbes, succeeded his brother, and being under age at the time, he was placed as one of the king's wards, under the guardianship of John, Lord Glamis, whose daughter he had married, but he died soon after his accession to the title, without children.

His next brother, John, became sixth Lord Forbes, before 30th October 1496, at which date he is witness to a charter. The sixth lord died in 1547. He was thrice married, first, to Lady Catherine Stewart, second daughter of John, Earl of Athole, uterine brother of King James II., and by her he had a son John, who died young, and a daughter, Elizabeth, married to John Grant of Grant; secondly, to Christian, daughter of Sir John Lundin of that ilk, by whom he had two sons and four daughters; and, thirdly, to Elizabeth Barlow or Barclay, relict of the first Lord Elphinstone, killed at Flodden in 1513, by whom he had a son, Arthur Forbes of Putachie, and a daughter, Janet, who was also thrice married.

The elder son of the second marriage, John, the Master of Forbes above mentioned, is stated to have been a young man of great courage and good education, but of a bold and turbulent spirit. He was beheaded for treason, on the 17th of July 1537.

After the execution of the Master, the king (James V.) seems to have been anxious to compensate the family for his severity towards them, by admitting his next brother, William, into his favour. He restored to him his brother's honours and estates, and in 1539, appointed him one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber. This William succeeded his father in 1547, as seventh Lord Forbes, and died in 1593. He had married Elizabeth Keith, daughter and coheir, with her sister, Margaret, Countess Marischal, of Sir William Keith of Inverugie, and had by her six sons and eight daughters. The sons were, John, eighth Lord Forbes; William, of Foderhouse; James, of Lethendy; Robert, prior of Monymusk; Arthur of Logie, called from his complexion, "Black Arthur;" and Abraham, of Blacktoun.

John, eighth Lord Forbes, was one of the five noblemen appointed by commission from the king, dated 25th July 1594, lieutenants of the northern counties, for the suppression of the rebellion of the popish Earls of Huntly and Errol. His lordship was served heir to his mother 13th November 1604, and died soon afterwards. He had married, while still Master of Forbes, Lady Margaret Gordon, eldest daughter of George, fourth Earl of Huntly, and had, with a daughter named Jean, a son, John, who, being educated in the faith of his mother, entered a religious order on the continent, and died without succession. This lady Lord Forbes repudiated, and in consequence a sanguinary contest took place in 1572, in the parish of Clatt, Aberdeenshire, between the two rival clans of Forbes and Gordon. The latter, under the command of two of the earl's brothers, attacked the Forbeses, within a rude intrenchment which they had formed on the white hill of Tillyangus, in the south-western extremity of the parish, and after a severe contest the Gordons prevailed, having carried the intrenchment, and slain the Master's brother, "Black Arthur." The pursuit of the Forbeses was continued to the very gates of Druminner, the seat of their chief. A number of cairns are still pointed out where those slain on this occasion are said to have been buried. The eighth Lord Forbes took for his second wife, Janet, daughter of James Seton of Touch, and had, besides Arthur, ninth lord, another son, and a daughter.

Arthur, ninth lord, married on 1st February 1600, Jean, second daughter of Alexander, fourth Lord Elphinstone. He was succeeded by his only surviving son, Alexander, tenth Lord Forbes, who fought against the imperialists under the banner of the lion of the north, the renowned Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, in whose service he attained the rank of lieutenant-general, and won for himself a high military reputation. On his return home, he had a considerable command in the army sent from Scotland to suppress the Irish rebellion in 1643. He afterwards retired to Germany, where he spent the remainder of his days. He was twice married—first, to Anne, eldest daughter of Sir John Forbes of Pitsligo, by whom he had,

besides several children, who died young, a son, William, eleventh Lord Forbes; and secondly, to Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Forbes of Rires, in Fife, and by her had a large family.

William, eleventh Lord Forbes, died in 1691. He was thrice married, but had issue only by his first wife, Jean, a daughter of Sir John Campbell of Calder.

His eldest son, William, twelfth Lord Forbes, was a zealous supporter of the revolution. In 1689 he was sworn a privy councillor to King William. He died in July 1716. By his wife, Anne, daughter of James Brodie of Brodie, he had three sons and one daughter.

William, the eldest son, thirteenth Lord Forbes, married, in September 1720, Dorothy, daughter of William Dale, Esq. of Covent Garden, Westminster. He died at Edinburgh 26th June 1730. He had a son, Francis, fourteenth lord, who died in August 1734, in the thirteenth year of his age, and four daughters, one of whom, Jean, was married to James Dundas of Dundas, and another, the youngest, Elizabeth, married John Gregory, M.D., professor of the practice of medicine in the university of Edinburgh, and was the mother of the celebrated Dr James Gregory.

James, second son of the twelfth lord, succeeded his nephew, as fifteenth Lord Forbes, and died at Putachie, 20th February 1761, in the 73d year of his age. He married, first, Mary, daughter of the third Lord Pitsligo, widow of John Forbes of Monymusk, and grandmother of the celebrated Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, baronet, and had a son, James, sixteenth Lord Forbes, and three daughters; secondly, in July 1741, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Gordon of Park, baronet.

James, sixteenth lord, died at Edinburgh 29th July 1804, in the 80th year of his age. By his wife Catherine, only daughter of Sir Robert Innes, baronet, of Orton and Balvenie, he had four sons and two daughters.

James Ochoncar Forbes, seventeenth lord, the eldest son, born 7th March 1765, entered the army in 1781, as ensign in the Coldstream regiment of foot guards, in which he was an officer for twenty-six years, holding important positions, and doing good service for his country. He died 4th May 1843. By his

wife, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Walter Hunter of Polmood, Peeblesshire, and Crailing, Roxburghshire, he had six sons and four daughters. The estate of Polmood had been the subject of litigation for nearly fifty years in the Court of Session and House of Lords, but it was ultimately decided that an old man named Adam Hunter, who laid claim to it, had not established his pedigree. It consequently came into the possession of Lady Forbes. His lordship's eldest son, James, a lieutenant-colonel in the Coldstream guards, predeceased his father in 1835.

Walter, the second son, born 29th May 1798, became eighteenth Lord Forbes, on his father's death in 1843. He was twice married, and had in all eight sons and one daughter. He died in May 1868, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Horace Courtenay, born in 1829.

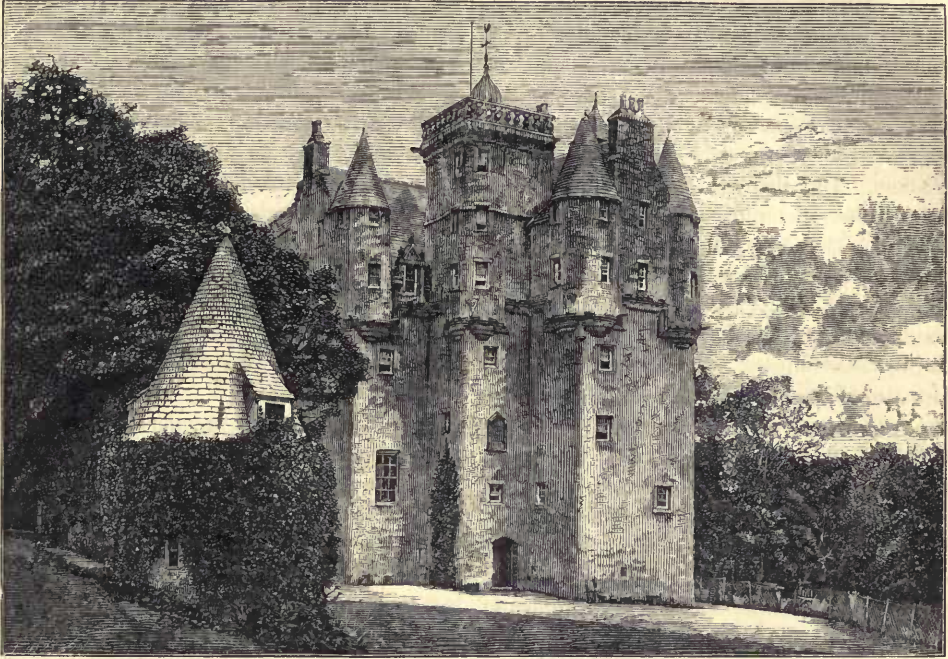
Lord Forbes is the premier baron of Scotland, being the first on the union roll. He is also a baronet of Nova Scotia, the date of creation being 1628.

The Forbeses of *TOLQUHOUN*, ancient cadets of this family, one of whom fell at the battle of Pinkie, 10th September 1547, are descended from Sir John Forbes, third son of Sir John Forbes, justiciary of Aberdeen in the reign of Robert III., are now represented by James Forbes Leith, Esq. of Whitehaugh, in the same county.

The Forbeses of *CRAIGIEVAR* (also in Aberdeenshire), who possess a baronetcy, descend from the Hon. Patrick Forbes of Corse, armour-bearer to King James III., and third son, as already stated, of James, second Lord Forbes. The lands of Corse, which formed part of the barony of Coul and O'Nele or O'Neil, were in 1476 bestowed on this Patrick, for his services, by that monarch, and on 10th October 1482 he had a charter of confirmation under the great seal, of the barony of O'Neil, namely, the lands of Coule, Kincaigay, and le Corss. In 1510 his son and successor, David, called "Trail the Axe," had a charter of the lands of O'Nele, Cors, Kincaigay, le Mureton, with the mill and alehouse thereof (the lands of Coul being now disjoined therefrom), and uniting and incorporating them into a haill and free barony, "cum furca, fossa, pitt et gallous," &c., to be

called the barony of O'Neil in all time coming. He married Elizabeth, sister of Panter of Newmanswells, near Montrose, secretary of state to James IV., and had a son, Patrick of O'Neil

Corse, infest in 1554. Patrick's eldest son, William, infest in January 1567, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Alexander Strachan of Thornton, had six sons and five daughters.



Craigievar Castle.

His eldest son, Patrick Forbes of Corse and O'Neil, was bishop of Aberdeen for seventeen years, and died in 1635. The bishop's male line failing with his grandchildren, the family estates devolved on the descendants of his next brother, William Forbes of Craigievar, the first of that branch.

His eldest son, William, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, 20th April 1630, with a grant of sixteen thousand acres in New Brunswick, erected into a free barony and regality, to be called New Craigievar.

Sir William's son, Sir John, second baronet, married Margaret, a daughter of Young or Auldbar, and had six sons and three daughters.

His grandson, Sir Arthur, fourth baronet, represented the county of Aberdeen in parliament from 1727 to 1747. Sir Arthur was the bosom friend of Sir Andrew Mitchell, British ambassador to Frederick the Great of Prussia, who left to Sir Arthur the bulk of his pro-

perty, including his valuable library, and his estate of Thainston.

His son, Sir William, fifth baronet, born in 1753, by his wife, the Hon. Sarah Sempill, daughter of the twelfth Lord Sempill, had four sons and seven daughters.

His son, Sir Arthur, sixth baronet, was for some time an officer in the 7th hussars. He died unmarried in 1823, and was succeeded by his brother, Sir John, seventh baronet, born in 1785. He was a judge in the Hon. East India company's service, and married in September 1825, the Hon. Charlotte Elizabeth, daughter of the 17th Lord Forbes, and had two sons and six daughters. He died 16th February 1846.

The elder son, Sir William, born May 20, 1836, succeeded as eighth baronet. In 1858 he married the only daughter of Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., of Newe and Edinglassie. He married, secondly, in November 1862, Frances

Emily, youngest daughter of the late Sir George Abercromby, Bart. of Birkenbog, and has issue several sons.

The family of Forbes of PITSLIGO and FETTERCAIRN, which possesses a baronetcy, is descended from Hon. Duncan Forbes of Corsindae, second son of the second Lord Forbes.

The family of Forbes of NEWE and EDINGLASSIE, which also possesses a baronetcy, is descended from William Forbes of Dauch and Newe, younger son of Sir John Forbes, knight, who obtained a charter of the barony of Pitsligo and Kinnaldie, 10th October 1476, and whose elder son, Sir John Forbes, was the progenitor of Alexander Forbes, created Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, 24th June 1633, a title attained in the person of Alexander, fourth lord, for his participation in the rebellion of 1745. John Forbes of Bellabeg, the direct descendant of the said William of Dauch, was born at Bellabeg in September 1743. In early life he went to Bombay, and engaging in mercantile pursuits, became one of the most extensive and distinguished merchants in India. Having realised a large fortune he repurchased Newe, the estate of his ancestors, besides other lands in Strathdon, and the whole of his rental was laid out in improvements. He died 20th June 1821, and was succeeded by his nephew, Sir Charles Forbes, eldest son of the Rev. George Forbes of Lochell, by his wife, Katharine, only daughter of Gordon Stewart of Inveraurie. He was created a baronet, 4th November 1823. He sat in parliament for upwards of twenty years. In 1833 he was served nearest male heir in general to Alexander, third Lord Pitsligo, by a jury at Aberdeen, and the same year he obtained the authority of the Lord Lyon to use the Pitsligo arms and supporters. He died 20th November 1849, and was succeeded by his grandson, Sir Charles, second baronet, born 15th July 1832, on whose death, unmarried, 23d May 1852, the title devolved on his uncle, Sir Charles Forbes, third baronet, born at Bombay 21st September 1803, and educated at Harrow school.

The first of the Forbeses of CULLODEN,² Inverness-shire, was Duncan Forbes, great-

grandfather of the celebrated Lord President Forbes, descended from the noble family of Forbes through that of Tolquhoun, and by the mother's side from that of Keith, Earl Marischal. He was M.P. and provost of Inverness, and purchased the estate of Culloden from the laird of Mackintosh in 1626. He died in 1654, aged 82.

Duncan Forbes, the first of Culloden, married Janet, eldest daughter of James Forbes of Corsindae, also descended from the noble family at the head of the clan, and had, with two daughters, three sons, namely, John, his heir, Captain James Forbes of Caithness, and Captain Duncan Forbes of Assynt.

John Forbes of Culloden, the eldest son, was also provost of Inverness. He was the friend and supporter of the Marquis of Argyll, and from his strong support of Presbyterian principles he suffered much in the reign of Charles II. and his brother James. About the year 1670, his landed estate was doubled by the purchase of the barony of Ferintosh and the estate of Bunchrew. As a compensation for the loss which the family had sustained during the revolution, his eldest son and successor, Duncan Forbes, third of Culloden, received from the Scots parliament the privilege of distilling into spirits the grain of the barony of Ferintosh, at a nominal composition of the duty, which remained the same, after the spirits distilled in other parts of the country were subjected to a comparatively heavy excise; hence Ferintosh became renowned for its whisky. The privilege was taken away in 1785. By his wife, Mary, daughter of Sir Robert Innes, of Innes, in Morayshire, baronet, he had two sons, John, and Duncan, Lord President, and several daughters.

John, the fourth laird of Culloden, took an active part on the side of government on the breaking out of the rebellion of 1715, and, with the afterwards celebrated Lord Lovat, narrowly escaped being apprehended at Aberdeen by Lord Saltoun, in command of the Jacobite forces there. Both he and his brother Duncan were engaged in putting down the insurrection in Inverness-shire. In those convivial times he so much excelled most of his friends in the quantity of claret that he could

² See view of Culloden House, vol. i. p. 657.

drink, that he was distinguished by the name of Bumper John. Dying without issue in 1734, he was succeeded by his only brother, Duncan,¹ the celebrated Lord President, whose only child, John Forbes, the sixth of Culloden, showed, when young, says Mr Burton, "the convivial spirit of his race, without their energy and perseverance." He lived retired at Stradishall, in Suffolk, and by economy and judicious management succeeded in some measure in retrieving the losses which his father had sustained in the public service, and which, with the utmost ingratitude, the government, which his exertions and outlay had mainly helped to establish, refused to acknowledge or compensate. John Forbes died 26th September 1772. He was twice married—first to Jane, daughter of Sir Arthur Forbes of Craigievar, baronet, by whom he had two sons, Duncan, who died before him, and Arthur, his successor; and, secondly, Jane, daughter of Captain Forbes of Newe, without issue.

Arthur, seventh laird, died 26th May 1803, and was succeeded by his only son, Duncan George, who died 3d November 1827, when his eldest son, Arthur, born 25th January 1819, became the ninth laird of Culloden.

There are many other families of this name, but want of space forbids us entering into further details.

URQUHART.



BADGE—Wall-flower.

URQUHART, or URCHARD, is the name of a

¹ See portrait, vol. i. p. 679. Details concerning this true patriot and upright judge will be found in the account of the rebellion of 1745.

minor clan (*Urachdun*), originally settled in Cromarty (badge, the wallflower), a branch of the clan Forbes. Nisbet says,—“A brother of Ochonchar, who slew the bear, and was predecessor of the Lords Forbes, having in keeping the castle of Urquhart, took his surname from the place.” This castle stood on the south side of Loch Ness, and was in ancient times a place of great strength and importance, as is apparent from its extensive and magnificent ruins. In that fabulous work, “The true pedigree and lineal descent of the most ancient and honourable family of Urquhart, since the creation of the world, by Sir Thomas Urquhart, Knight of Cromartie,” the origin of the family and name is ascribed to *Ourohartos*, that is, “fortunate and well-beloved,” the familiar name of Esornon, of whom the eccentric author describes himself as the 128th descendant. He traces his pedigree, in a direct line, even up to Adam and Eve, and somewhat inconsistently makes the word *Urquhart* have the same meaning as *Adam*, namely, *red earth*.

The family of Urquhart is one of great antiquity. In Hailes' *Annals*, it is mentioned that Edward I. of England, during the time of the competition for the Scottish crown, ordered a list of the sheriffs in Scotland to be made out. Among them appears the name of William Urquhart of Cromartie, heritable sheriff of the county. He married a daughter of Hugh, Earl of Ross, and his son Adam obtained charters of various lands. A descendant of his, Thomas Urquhart of Cromartie, who lived in the 16th century, is said to have been father of 11 daughters and 25 sons. Seven of the latter fell at the battle of Pinkie in 1547, and from another descended the Urquharts of Newhall, Monteagle, Kinbeachie, and Braelangwell.

The eldest son, Alexander Urquhart of Cromartie, had a charter from James V. of the lands of Inch Rory and others, in the shires of Ross and Inverness, dated March 7, 1532. He had two sons. The younger son, John Urquhart, born in 1547, became tutor to his grand-nephew, Sir Thomas Urquhart, and was well known afterwards by the designation of the “Tutor of Cromartie.” He died November 8, 1631, aged 84.

Sir Thomas, the family genealogist, is



CASTLE URQUHART, LOCH NESS.
GRANTED BY DEANETTES LEG TO THE FAMILY OF GRANT NOW BARRON OF SEAFIELD.

W. P. 1841.

Engraving.

chiefly known as the translator of *Rabelais*. He appears to have at one period travelled much on the continent. He afterwards became a cavalier officer, and was knighted by Charles I. at Whitehall. After that monarch's decapitation, he accompanied Charles II. in his march into England, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester in 1651, when his estates were forfeited by Cromwell. He wrote several elaborate works, but the most creditable is his translation of *Rabelais*. Such, notwithstanding, was the universality of his attainments, that he deemed himself capable of enlightening the world on many things never "dreamed of in the philosophy" of ordinary mortals. "Had I not," he says, "been pluck'd away by the importunity of my creditors, I would have emitted to public view above five hundred several treatises on inventions, never hitherto thought upon by any." The time and place of his death are unknown. There is a tradition that he died of an inordinate fit of laughter, on hearing of the restoration of Charles II. The male line ended in Colonel James Urquhart, an officer of much distinction, who died in 1741. The representation of the family devolved on the Urquharts of Braelangwell, which was sold (with the exception of a small portion, which is strictly entailed) by Charles Gordon Urquhart, Esq., an officer in the Scots Greys. The Urquharts of Meldrum, Aberdeenshire, obtained that estate through the marriage, in 1610, of their ancestor, John Urquhart of Craigfintry, tutor of Cromarty, with Elizabeth Seton, heiress of Meldrum. The Urquharts of Craigston, and a few more families of the name, still possess estates in the north of Scotland; and persons of this surname are still numerous in the counties of Ross and Cromarty. In Ross-shire, Inverness-shire, and Morayshire, there are parishes of the name of Urquhart.

CHAPTER IX.

Stewart—Stewart of Lorn—Appin—Balquhider—"Donald of the hammer"—Stewarts of Athole—Grandtully—Balcaskie—Drumin—Ardvoirlich—Steuart of Dalguise—Ballechin—Fraser—Fraser of Philorth—Lovat—Ballyfurth and Ford—Beaufort—Castle Fraser—American Frasers—Menziez—Castle Menziez—Pitfoddels—Chisholm—Cromlix or Cromleck—Murray—Athole—Tullibardine—Ochertyre—Drummond—Bellyclone—Graeme or Grahani—Kincardine—Earl of Montrose—Gordon—Earl of Huntly—Duke of Gordon—"The Cock of the North"—Cumming—Ogilvy—Ferguson.

It now only remains for us to notice shortly several of those families, which, though generally admitted not to be of Celtic origin, yet have a claim, for various important reasons, to be classed among the Highland clans. Most of them have been so long established in the Highlands, they have risen to such power and played such an important part in Highland history, their followers are so numerous and so essentially Gaelic in their blood and manners, that any notice of the Highland clans would be incomplete without an account of these. We refer to the names of Stewart, Fraser, Menziez, Chisholm, and several others. To the uninitiated the three last have as genuine a Gaelic ring about them as any patronymic rejoicing in the unmistakable prefix "Mac."

STEWART.

It is not our intention here by any means to enter into the general history of the Stewarts—which would be quite beyond our province, even if we had space—but simply to give a short account of those branches of the family which were located in the Highlands, and to a certain extent were regarded as Highland clans. With regard to the origin of the Stewarts generally, we shall content ourselves with making use of Mr Fraser's excellent summary in the introduction to his "*Red Book of Grandtully*."

Walter, the son of Alan or Fitz-Alan, the founder of the royal family of the Stewarts, being the first of that family who established himself in Scotland, came from Shropshire, in England. Walter's elder brother, William, was progenitor of the family of Fitz-Alan, Earls of Arundel. Their father, a Norman, married, soon after the Norman Conquest, the daughter

of Warine, sheriff of Shropshire. He acquired the manor of Ostvestrie or Oswestry in Shropshire, on the Welsh border. On the death of Henry I. of England, in 1135, Walter and William strenuously supported the claims of the Empress Maud, thus raising themselves high in the favour of her uncle, David I., king of the Scots. When that king, in 1141, was obliged to retire to Scotland, Walter probably then accompanied him; encouraged, on the part of the Scottish monarch, by the most liberal promises, which were faithfully fulfilled; whilst his brother William remained in England, and was rewarded by Maud's son, Henry II. of England. From the munificence of King David I. Walter obtained large grants of land in Renfrewshire and in other places, together with the hereditary office *Senescallus Scotiae*, lord high-steward of Scotland, an office from which his grandson, Walter, took the name of Stewart, which the family ever afterwards retained. King Malcolm IV., continuing, after the example of his grandfather, King David, to extend the royal favour towards this English emigrant, confirmed and ratified to Walter and his heirs the hereditary office of high steward of Scotland, and the numerous lands which King David I. had granted. In the annals of the period, Walter is celebrated as the founder, probably about 1163, of the monastery of Paisley, in the barony of Renfrew. At or after the time of his establishing himself in Scotland, Walter was followed to that kingdom by many English families from Shropshire, who, settling in Renfrewshire, obtained lands there as vassals of the Stewarts. Walter married Eschina de Londonia, Lady of Moll, in Roxburghshire, by whom he had a son, Alan; and dying in 1177, he was succeeded in his estates and office as hereditary steward of Scotland by that son.

Having thus pointed out the true origin of the family of the Stewarts, our subject does not require us to trace the subsequent history of the main line.

Walter's son and successor, Alan, died in 1204, leaving a son, Walter, who was appointed by Alexander II. justiciary of Scotland, in addition to his hereditary office of high-steward. He died in 1246, leaving four sons and three daughters. Walter, the third

son, was Earl of Menteith. The eldest son, Alexander, married Jean, daughter and heiress of James, lord of Bute, and, in her right, he seized both the Isle of Bute and that of Arran.

Alexander had two sons—James, his successor, and John, known as Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, who fell at the battle of Falkirk in 1298. Sir John Stewart had seven sons. 1. Sir Alexander, ancestor of the Stewarts, Earls of Angus; 2. Sir Alan of Dreghorn, of the Earls and Dukes of Lennox, of the name of Stewart; 3. Sir Walter, of the Earls of Galloway; 4. Sir James, of the Earls of Athole, Buchan, and Traquair, and the Lords of Lorn and Innermeath; 5. Sir John, killed at Halidonhill in 1333; 6. Sir Hugh, who fought in Ireland under Edward Bruce; 7. Sir Robert of Daldowie.

James, the elder son of Alexander, succeeded as fifth high-steward in 1283. On the death of Alexander III. in 1286, he was one of the six magnates of Scotland chosen to act as regents of the kingdom. He died in the service of Bruce, in 1309.

His son, Walter, the sixth high-steward, when only twenty-one years of age, commanded with Douglas the left wing of the Scots army at the battle of Bannockburn. King Robert bestowed his daughter, the Princess Marjory, in marriage upon him, and from them the royal house of Stuart and the present dynasty of Great Britain are descended.

His son, Robert, seventh lord-high-steward, had been declared heir presumptive to the throne in 1318, but the birth of a son to Bruce in 1326 interrupted his prospects for a time. From his grandfather he received large possessions of land in Kintyre. During the long and disastrous reign of David II. the steward acted a patriotic part in the defence of the kingdom. On the death of David, without issue, February 22d, 1371, the steward, who was at that time fifty-five years of age, succeeded to the crown as Robert II., being the first of the family of Stewart who ascended the throne of Scotland.

The direct male line of the elder branch of the Stewarts terminated with James V., and at the accession of James VI., whose descent on his father's side was through the Earl of Lennox, the head of the second branch, there

did not exist a male offset of the family which had sprung from an individual later than Robert II. Widely as some branches of the Stewarts have spread, and numerous as are the families of this name, there is not a lineal male representative of any of the crowned heads of the race, Henry, Cardinal Duke of York,² who died in 1807, having been the last. The crown which came into the Stewart family through a female seems destined ever to be transmitted through a female.

The male representation or chiefship of the family is claimed by the Earl of Galloway; also, by the Stewarts of Castlemilk as descended from a junior branch of Darnley and Lennox.

The first and principal seat of the Stewarts was in Renfrewshire, but branches of them penetrated into the Western Highlands and Perthshire, and acquiring territories there, became founders of distinct families of the name. Of these the principal were the Stewarts of

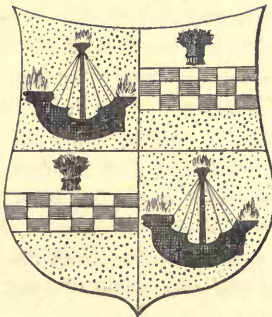
Stewarts was the oak, and of the royal Stuarts, the thistle.

In the end of the fifteenth century, the Stewarts of Appin were vassals of the Earl of Argyll in his lordship of Lorn. In 1493 the name of the chief was Dougal Stewart. He was the natural son of John Stewart, the last Lord of Lorn, and Isabella, eldest daughter of the first Earl of Argyll. The assassination of Campbell of Calder, guardian of the young Earl of Argyll, in February 1592, caused a feud between the Stewarts of Appin and the Campbells, the effects of which were long felt. During the civil wars, the Stewarts of Appin ranged themselves under the banners of Montrose, and at the battle of Inverlochy, 2d February 1645, rendered that chivalrous nobleman good service. They and the cause which they upheld were opposed by the Campbells, who possessed the north side of the same parish, a small rivulet, called *Con Ruagh*, or red bog, from the rough swamp through which it ran, being the dividing line of their lands.

The Stewarts of Appin under their chief, Robert Stewart, engaged in the rebellion of 1715, when they brought 400 men into the field. They were also "out" in 1745, under Stewart of Ardshiel, 300 strong. Some lands in Appin were forfeited on the latter occasion, but were afterwards restored. The principal family is extinct, and their estate has passed to others, chiefly to a family of the name of Dowrie. There are still, however, many branches of this tribe remaining in Appin. The chief cadets are the families of Ardshiel, Invernahyle, Auchnacrone, Fasnacloich, and Balachulish.

Between the Stewarts of Invernahyle and the Campbells of Dunstaffnage there existed a bitter feud, and about the beginning of the sixteenth century the former family were all cut off but one child, the infant son of Stewart of Invernahyle, by the chief of Dunstaffnage, called *Cuillein Uaine*, "Green Colin." The boy's nurse fled with him to Ardnamurchan, where her husband, the blacksmith of the district, resided. The latter brought him up to his own trade, and at sixteen years of age he could wield two forehammers at once, one in each hand, on the anvil, which acquired for him the name of *Domhnall nan ord*, "Donald

LORN



BADGE—Oak or Thistle.

LORN, the Stewarts of ATHOLE, and the Stewarts of BALQUHIDDER, from one or other of which all the rest have been derived. How the Stewarts of Lorn acquired that district is told in our account of clan Macdougall. The Stewarts of Lorn were descended from a natural son of John Stewart, the last Lord of Lorn, who, with the assistance of the MacLarens, retained forcible possession of part of his father's estates. From this family sprang the Stewarts of Appin, in Argyleshire, who, with the Athole branches, were considered in the Highlands as forming the clan Stewart. The badge of the original

² For portrait of Henry, Cardinal Duke of York, v. vol. i. p. 745.

of the hammers." Having made a two-edged sword for him, his foster-father, on presenting it, told him of his birth and lineage, and of the event which was the cause of his being brought to Ardnamurchan. Burning with a desire for vengeance, Donald set off with twelve of his companions, for each of whom, at a smithy at Corpach in Lochaber, he forged a two-edged sword. He then proceeded direct to Dunstaffnage, where he slew Green Colin and fifteen of his retainers. Having recovered his inheritance, he ever after proved himself "the unconquered foe of the Campbell." The chief of the Stewarts of Appin being, at the time, a minor, Donald of the hammers was appointed tutor of the clan. He commanded the Stewarts of Appin at the battle of Pinkie in 1547, and on their return homewards from that disastrous field, in a famishing condition, they found in a house at the church of Port of Menteith, some fowls roasting for a marriage party. These they took from the spit, and greedily devoured. They then proceeded on their way. The Earl of Menteith, one of the marriage guests, on being apprised of the circumstance, pursued them, and came up with them at a place called Tobernareal. To a taunt from one of the earl's attendants, one of the Stewarts replied by an arrow through the heart. In the conflict that ensued, the earl fell by the ponderous arm of Donald of the hammers, and nearly all his followers were killed.³

The Stewarts of ATHOLE consist almost entirely of the descendants, by his five illegitimate sons, of Sir Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, called, from his ferocity, "The wolf of Badenoch," the fourth son of Robert II., by his first wife, Elizabeth More. One of his natural sons, Duncan Stewart, whose disposition was as ferocious as his father's, at the head of a vast number of wild Catherans, armed only with the sword and target, descended from the range of hills which divides the counties of Aberdeen and Forfar, and began to devastate the country and murder the inhabitants. Sir Walter Ogilvy, sheriff of Angus, Sir Patrick Gray, and Sir David Lindsay of Glenesk, immediately collected a force to repel them, and a desperate conflict

took place at Gasklune, near the water of Isla, in which the former were overpowered, and most of them slain.

James Stewart, another of the Wolf of Badenoch's natural sons, was the ancestor of the family of Stewart of Garth, from which proceed almost all the other Athole Stewarts. The Garth family became extinct in the direct line, by the death of General David Stewart, author of "Sketches of the Highlanders." The possessions of the Athole Stewarts lay mainly on the north side of Loch Tay.

The Balquhiddier Stewarts derive their origin from illegitimate branches of the Albany family.

The Stewarts or Steuarts⁴ of GRANDTULLY, Perthshire, are descended from James Stewart of Pierston and Warwickhill, Ayrshire, who fell at Halidon Hill in 1333, fourth son of Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, son of Alexander, fourth lord-high-steward of Scotland, who died in 1283.

James Stewart's son was Sir Robert Stewart of Shambothy and Innermeath, whose son, Sir John Stewart, was the first of the Stewarts of Lorn. The fourth son of the latter, Alexander Stewart, was ancestor of the Stewarts of Grandtully. "On the resignation of his father, Sir John (apparently the first Stewart of Grandtully), he received a charter from Archibald, Earl of Douglas, of the lands of Grandtully, Kytlich, and Aberfeldy, 30th March 1414. He married Margaret, sister of John Hay (?) of Tulliebodie."⁵

Of this family was Thomas Stewart of BALCASKIE, Fifeshire, a lord of session, created a baronet of Nova Scotia, June 2, 1683. He was cousin, through his father, of John Stewart, thirteenth of Grandtully, who died without issue in 1720, and was succeeded by Sir Thomas's son, Sir George Stewart, who also died without issue. He was succeeded by his brother, Sir John Stewart, third baronet, an officer of rank in the army, who married, 1st, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir James Mackenzie of Royston, and had by her an only surviving son, Sir John, fourth baronet; 2dly,

³ The History of Donald of the Hammers, written by Sir Walter Scott, will be found in the fifth edition of Captain Burt's Letters.

⁴ The late Sir William Steuart spelled his name with the *u*, though we are not aware that any of his ancestors did.

⁵ Fraser's *Red Book of Grandtully*.

Lady Jane Douglas, only daughter of James, Marquis of Douglas, and his son, by her, Archibald Stewart, after a protracted litigation, succeeded to the immense estates of his uncle, the last Duke of Douglas, and assuming that name, was created a peer of the United Kingdom, by the title of Baron Douglas. Sir John Stewart married, 3dly, Helen, a daughter of the fourth Lord Elibank, without issue. He died in 1764.

His son, Sir John, fourth baronet, died in 1797.

Sir John's eldest son, Sir George, fifth baronet, married Catherine, eldest daughter of John Drummond, Esq. of Logie Almond, and died in 1827, leaving five sons and two daughters.

The eldest son, Sir John, sixth baronet, died without issue, May 20, 1838.

His brother, Sir William Drummond Steuart, born December 26, 1795, succeeded as seventh baronet. He married in 1830, and had a son William George, captain 93d Highlanders, born in February 1831, and died October 1868. Sir William died April 28, 1871, and was succeeded by his youngest brother Archibald Douglas, born August 29, 1807.

The Stewarts of DRUMIN, Banffshire, now Belladrum, Inverness-shire, trace their descent from Sir Walter Stewart of Strathaven, knighted for his services at the battle of Harlaw in 1411, one of the illegitimate sons of the Wolf of Badenoch, and consequently of royal blood.

The Stewarts of ARDVOIRLICH, Perthshire, are descended from James Stewart, called James the Gross, fourth and only surviving son of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, beheaded in 1425. On the ruin of his family he fled to Ireland, where, by a lady of the name of Macdonald, he had seven sons and one daughter. James II. created Andrew, the eldest son, Lord Avandale.

James, the third son, ancestor of the Stewarts of Ardvoirlich, married Annabel, daughter of Buchanan of that ilk.

His son, William Stewart, who succeeded him, married Mariota, daughter of Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, and had several children. From one of his younger sons, John, the family of Stewart of Glenbuckie, and from another,

that of Stewart of Gartnaferaran, both in Perthshire, were descended.

His eldest son, Walter Stewart, succeeded his father, and married Euphemia, daughter of James Reddoch of Cultobraggan, comptroller of the household of James IV.

His son, Alexander Stewart of Ardvoirlich, married Margaret, daughter of Drummond of Drummond Erinoch, and had two sons, James, his successor, and John, ancestor of the Perthshire families of Stewart of Annat, Stewart of Ballachallan, and Stewart of Craigtoun.

The family of Steuart of DALGUISE, Perthshire, are descended from Sir John Stewart of Arntullie and Cardneys, also designed of Dowallie, the youngest natural son of King Robert II. of Scotland, by Marion or Mariota de Cardney, daughter of John de Cardney of that ilk, sister of Robert Cardney, bishop of Dunkeld from 1396 to 1436.

The Steuarts of BALLECHIN, in the same county, are descended from Sir John Stewart, an illegitimate son of King James II. of Scotland. Having purchased the lands of Sticks in Glenquaiach from Patrick Cardney of that ilk, he got a charter of those lands from King James III., dated in December 1486. The family afterwards acquired the lands of Bal-lechin.

There are many other Stewart families throughout Scotland, but as we are concerned only with these which can be considered Highland, it would be beyond our province to notice any more. The spelling of this name seems very capricious: the royal spelling is Stuart, while most families spell it Stewart, and a few Steuart and Steuard. We have endeavoured always to give the spelling adhered to by the various families whom we have noticed.

FRASER.

The first of the surname of FRASER in Scotland was undoubtedly of Norman origin, and, it is not improbable, came over with William the Conqueror. The Chronicles of the Fraser family ascribe its origin to one Pierre Fraser, seigneur de Troile, who in the reign of Charlemagne, came to Scotland with the ambassadors from France to form a league with King Achais; but this is, of course, fabulous. Their account of the

creation of their arms is equally incredible. According to their statement, in the reign of Charles the Simple of France, Julius de Berry, a nobleman of Bourbon, entertaining that monarch with a dish of fine strawberries was, for the same, knighted, the strawberry flowers, *fraises*, given him for his arms, and his name changed from de Berry to Fraiseur or Frizelle. They claim affinity with the family of the Duke de la Frezeliere, in France. The first of the name in Scotland is understood to have settled there in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, when surnames first began to be used, and although the Frasers afterwards became a powerful and numerous clan in Inverness-shire, their earliest settlements were in East Lothian and Tweeddale.

FRASER.



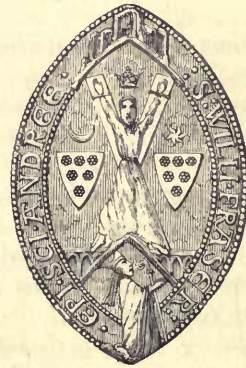
BADGE—Yew.

In the reign of David I., Sir Simon Fraser possessed half of the territory of Keith in East Lothian (from him called Keith Simon), and to the monks of Kelso he granted the church of Keith.

A member of the same family, Gilbert de Fraser, obtained the lands of North Hailes, also in East Lothian, as a vassal of the Earl of March and Dunbar, and is said to have been witness to a charter of Cospatricks to the monks of Coldstream, during the reign of Alexander I. He also possessed large estates in Tweeddale.

In the reign of Alexander II., the chief of the family was Bernard de Fraser, supposed to have been the grandson of the above-named Gilbert, by a third son, whose name is con-

jectured to have been Simon. Bernard was a frequent witness to the charters of Alexander II., and in 1234 was made sheriff of Stirling, an honour long hereditary in his family. By his talents he raised himself from being the vassal of a subject to be a tenant in chief to the king. He acquired the ancient territory of Oliver Castle, which he transmitted to his posterity. He was succeeded by his son Sir Gilbert Fraser, who was sheriff or vicecomes of Traquair during the reigns of Alexander II. and his successor. He had three sons: Simon, his heir; Andrew, sheriff of Stirling in 1291 and 1293; and William, chancellor of Scotland from 1274 to 1280, and bishop of St. Andrews from 1279 to his death in 1297.

Bishop Fraser's Seal. From Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiae*.

Sir Simon Fraser, the eldest son, was a man of great influence and power. He possessed the lands of Oliver Castle, Niedpath Castle, and other lands in Tweeddale; and accompanied King Alexander II. in a pilgrimage to Iona, a short time previous to the death of that monarch. He was knighted by Alexander III., who, in the beginning of his reign, conferred on him the office of high sheriff of Tweeddale, which he held from 1263 to 1266. He died in 1291. He had an only son, Sir Simon Fraser, the renowned patriot, with whom may be said (in 1306) to have expired the direct male line of the south country Frasers, after having been the most considerable family in Peeblesshire during the Scots-Saxon period of our history, from 1097 to 1306.

The male representation of the principal family of Fraser devolved, on the death of the

great Sir Simon, on the next collateral heir, his uncle, Sir Andrew, second son of Sir Gilbert Fraser, above mentioned. He is supposed to have died about 1308, surviving his renowned nephew, Sir Simon, only two years. He was, says the historian of the family,⁸ "the first of the name of Fraser who established an interest for himself and his descendants in the northern parts of Scotland, and more especially in Inverness-shire, where they have ever since figured with such renown and distinction." He married a wealthy heiress in the county of Caithness, then and for many centuries thereafter comprehended within the sheriffdom of Inverness, and in right of his wife he



Sir Alexander Fraser of Philorth, from Pinkerton's *Scottish Gallery*.

acquired a very large estate in the north of Scotland. He had four sons, namely—Simon, the immediate male ancestor of the Lords Lovat, and whose descendants and dependants (the clan Fraser), after the manner of the Celts, took the name of MacShimi, or sons of Simon; Sir Alexander, who obtained the estate of Touch, as the appanage of a younger son; and Andrew and James, slain with their brother, Simon, at the disastrous battle of Halidonhill, 22d July 1333.

⁸ Anderson's *History of the Fraser Family*.

The ancient family of the Frasers of PHILORTH in Aberdeenshire, who have enjoyed since 1669 the title of Lord Saltoun, is immediately descended from William, son of an Alexander Fraser, who flourished during the early part of the fourteenth century, and inherited from his father the estates of Cowie and Durris in Kincardineshire.

The proper Highland clan Fraser was that headed by the Lovat branch in Inverness-shire, as mentioned above.

Unlike the Aberdeenshire or Salton Frasers, the LOVAT branch, the only branch of the Frasers that became Celtic, founded a tribe or clan, and all the natives of the purely Gaelic districts of the Aird and Stratherrick came to be called by their name. The Simpsons, "sons of Simon," are also considered to be descended from them, and the Tweedies of Tweeddale are supposed, on very plausible grounds, to have been originally Frasers. Logan's conjecture that the name of Fraser is a corruption of the Gaelic *Friosal*, from *frith*, a forest, and *siol*, a race, the *th* being silent (that is, the race of the forest), however pleasing to the clan as proving them an indigenous Gaelic tribe, may only be mentioned here as a mere fancy of his own.

Simon Fraser, the first of the Frasers of Lovat, fell at the battle of Halidon Hill, 19th July 1333. His son, Hugh Fraser of Lovat, had four sons; Alexander, who died unmarried; Hugh, created a lord of Parliament, under the title of Lord Fraser of Lovat; John, ancestor of the Frasers of Knock in Ayrshire; and another son, ancestor of the Frasers of Foyers.

Hugh, first Lord Lovat, was one of the hostages for James I., on his return to Scotland in 1424, and in 1431 he was appointed high sheriff of the county of Inverness. His son, also named Hugh, second Lord Lovat, was father of Thomas, third lord; Alexander, ancestor of the Frasers of Faunaline, the Frasers of Leadclune, baronets, and other families of the name; and James, ancestor of the Frasers of BALLYFURTH and FORD, of whom Major-General Simon Fraser, late of Ford, is the lineal male descendant and representative.

Thomas, third lord, held the office of justiciary of the north in the reign of James IV., and died 21st October 1524. He had four

sons: Thomas, master of Lovat, killed at Flodden, 9th September 1513, unmarried; Hugh, fourth Lord Lovat; Alexander, fifth lord; and William Fraser of Struy, ancestor of several families of the name in Inverness-shire.

Hugh, fourth lord, the queen's justiciary in the north, resigned his whole estates into the hands of King James V., and obtained from his majesty a new charter, dated 26th March 1539, uniting and incorporating them into the barony of Lovat, to him and the heirs male of his body, failing whom to his nearest lawful heirs male, bearing the name and arms of Fraser, and failing them to his heirs whatsoever. With his eldest son Hugh, Master of Lovat, he was killed in an engagement with the Macdonalds of Clanranald at Lochlochy, Inverness-shire, 2d June 1544.⁹ His brother, Alexander, fifth Lord Lovat, died in 1558. With one daughter, the latter had three sons: Hugh, sixth lord; Thomas, ancestor of the Frasers of Strichen, from whom Lord Lovat of Lovat is descended; and James of Ardochie.

Hugh, sixth Lord Lovat, had a son, Simon, seventh lord, who was twice married, and died 3d April 1633. By his first wife, Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, he had two sons,—Simon, Master of Lovat, who predeceased him, without issue, and Hugh, eighth Lord Lovat, who died 16th February 1646. By a second wife, Jean Stewart, daughter of Lord Doune, he had Sir Simon Fraser, ancestor of the Frasers of Innerlochy; Sir James Fraser of Brae, and one daughter. Hugh, eighth lord, had, with three daughters, three sons, namely,—Simon, Master of Lovat, and Hugh, who both predeceased their father, the one in 1640 and the other in 1643, and Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, eleventh Lord Lovat. The second son, Hugh, styled after his elder brother's death, Master of Lovat, left a son Hugh, ninth lord, who succeeded his grandfather in February 1646, and married in July 1659, when a boy of sixteen years of age at college, Anne, second daughter of Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbet, baronet, sister of the first Earl of Cromarty, and by her had a son, Hugh, tenth lord, and three daughters.

Hugh, tenth lord, succeeded his father in 1672, and died in 1696, when Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, third son of the eighth lord, became eleventh Lord Lovat, but did not take the title. The tenth lord married Lady Amelia Murray, only daughter of the first Marquis of Athole, and had four daughters. His eldest daughter, Amelia, assumed the title of Baroness Lovat, and married in 1702, Alexander Mackenzie, younger of Prestonhall, who assumed the name of Fraser of Fraserdale. His son, Hugh Fraser, on the death of his mother, adopted the title of Lord Lovat, which, however, by decree of the Court of Session, 3d July 1730, was declared to belong to Simon, Lord Fraser of Lovat, as eldest lawful son of Thomas, Lord Fraser of Lovat, granduncle of the tenth lord. This judgment proceeded on the charter of 1539, and though pronounced by an incompetent court, was held to be right. To prevent an appeal, a compromise was made, by which Hugh Mackenzie ceded to Simon, Lord Lovat, for a valuable consideration, his pretensions to the honours, and his right to the estates, after his father's death.

Thomas Fraser of BEAUFORT, by right eleventh Lord Lovat, died at Dunvegan in Skye in May 1699. By his first wife, Sibylla, fourth daughter of John Macleod of Macleod, he had fourteen children, ten of whom died young. Simon, the eldest surviving son, was the celebrated Lord Lovat, beheaded in April 1747.

The clan Fraser formed part of the army of the Earl of Seaforth, when, in the beginning of 1645, that nobleman advanced to oppose the great Montrose, who designed to seize Inverness, previous to the battle of Inverlochy, in which the latter defeated the Campbells under the Marquis of Argyll in February of that year. After the arrival of King Charles II. in Scotland in 1650, the Frasers, to the amount of eight hundred men, joined the troops raised to oppose Cromwell, their chief's son, the Master of Lovat, being appointed one of the colonels of foot for Inverness and Ross. In the rebellion of 1715, under their last famous chief, Simon, Lord Lovat, they did good service to the government by taking possession of Inverness, which was then in the hands of the Jacobites. In 1719 also, at the

⁹ For an account of this fight, called *Blair-nan-leine*, or "Field of Shirts," so disastrous to the Frasers, see the former part of this work.

affair of Glenshiel, in which the Spaniards were defeated on the west coast of Inverness-shire, the Frasers fought resolutely on the side of government, and took possession of the castle of Brahan, the seat of the Earl of Seaforth. On the breaking out of the rebellion of 1745, they did not at first take any part in the struggle, but after the battle of Prestonpans, on the 21st September, Lord Lovat "mustered his clan," and their first demonstration in favour of the Pretender was to make a midnight attack on the Castle of Culloden, but found it garrisoned and prepared for their reception. On the morning of the battle of Culloden, six hundred of the Frasers, under the command of the Master of Lovat, a fine young man of nineteen, effected a junction with the rebel army, and behaved during the action with characteristic valour.

Lord Lovat's eldest son, Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat, afterwards entered the service of government, and rose to the rank of lieutenant-general in the army.

General Fraser was succeeded by his half-brother, Colonel Archibald Campbell Fraser of Lovat, appointed consul-general at Algiers in 1766, and chosen M.P. for Inverness-shire on the general's death in 1782. By his wife, Jane, sister of William Fraser, Esq. of Leadclune, F.R.S., created a baronet, 27th November 1806, he had five sons, all of whom he survived. On his death, in December 1815, the male descendants of Hugh, ninth Lord Lovat, became extinct, and the male representation of the family, as well as the right to its extensive entailed estates, devolved on the junior descendant of Alexander, fifth lord, Thomas Alexander Fraser, of Lovat and Strichen, who claimed the title of Lord Lovat in the peerage of Scotland, and in 1837 was created a peer of the United Kingdom, by that of Baron Lovat of Lovat.

The family of Fraser, of CASTLE FRASER, in Ross-shire, are descended, on the female side, from the Hon. Sir Simon Fraser, of Inverlochy, second son of Simon, eighth Lord Lovat, but on the male side their name is Mackenzie.

AMERICAN FRASERS.

We cannot close our account of the Frasers without briefly referring to the numerous mem-

bers of the clan who inhabit British North America. Concerning these we have been obligingly furnished with many details by the Honourable John Fraser de Berry, of St Mark de Cournoyer, Chambly River, Vercheres Cy., District of Montreal, Member of the Legislative Council for Rougemont. The information furnished by this gentleman is very interesting, and we are sorry that the nature of this work, and the space at our disposal, permits us to give only the briefest summary.

It would seem that in the Dominion of Canada the ancient spirit of clanship is far from dead; indeed, it appears to be more intensely full of life there than it is on its native Highland mountains. From statistics furnished to us by our obliging informant, it would appear that in British North America there are bearing the old name of Fraser 12,000 persons, men, women, and children, some speaking English and some French, many Protestants and many Roman Catholics, but all, we believe, unflinchingly loyal to the British throne. Not one of these, according to the Honourable J. Fraser de Berry's report, is a day labourer, "earning daily wages," but all more or less well-to-do in the world, and filling respectable, and many of them responsible positions. Many are descendants of the officers and soldiers of the "Fraser Highlanders," who settled in British North America after the American war. "They are all strong well built men, hardy, industrious, and sober, having fine comfortable houses, where quietness reigns and plenty abounds."

Some years ago a movement was formed among these enthusiastic and loyal Frasers to organise themselves into a branch clan, to be called the "New Clan Fraser," partly for the purpose of reviving and keeping alive the old clan feeling, and partly for purposes of benevolence. At a meeting held in February 1868, at Quebec, this movement took definite shape, and "resolutions were unanimously passed defining the constitution of the clan, pointing out its object, appointing its dignitaries, determining their duties, and the time and manner of their election."

As "Chief of the Frasers of the whole of British North America," was elected the Honourable James Fraser de Ferraline, Mem-

ber of the Legislative Council for the Province of Nova Scotia, "a wealthy and influential merchant, born in 1802, on the Drummond estate in the braes of Stratherrick, Inverness-shire, Scotland; descended by his father from the Ferraline family of the Frasers, and by his mother from the Gorthlic Frasers. The true Fraser blood," we are assured, "runs very pure through the veins of the worthy chief."

The great and undoubted success of this laudable movement is, we believe, mainly owing to the exertions of the Honourable J. Fraser de Berry, whose enthusiasm and loyalty to his descent and ancient kinship are worthy of the palmiest days of clanship in the olden time on its native Highland soil. Besides the "chief" above mentioned, 111 subordinate chieftains¹ of provinces and districts have been appointed, and we are sorry that, for the reasons already mentioned, it is impossible to give a full list of them. We can only say that the gentleman just mentioned was elected Chieftain of the Province of Quebec, and also acts as "Secretary to the New Clan Fraser." As a specimen of the unflinching thoroughness with which Mr Fraser de Berry performs his duties, and of the intense enthusiasm with which he is animated, we may state that he, founding on documents in his possession, has been able to trace his genealogy, and, therefore, the genealogy of the whole clan, as far back as the year 216 A.D.!

Altogether, we cannot but commend the main object of this organisation of the American Frasers, and think that members of other clans residing in our colonies would do well to follow their example. We believe that no member of the Fraser clan in British North America, who is really anxious to do well, need be in want of the means of success, for if he only make his position known to the authorities of the "New Clan," all needful assistance will be afforded him. Moreover, we understand, that any one of the name of Fraser, or allied to the clan, emigrating to the dominion from the old country, by applying to any member of the Colonial clan, will be put in the way

of obtaining all assistance and information necessary to his comfortable settlement and success in his new home.

Indeed, this movement of the Frasers has so much to commend it, that their example has been followed by persons of other names, in the United States as well as in Canada, and similar clan confederations are in the way of being formed under names that are certainly not Highland.

MENZIES.



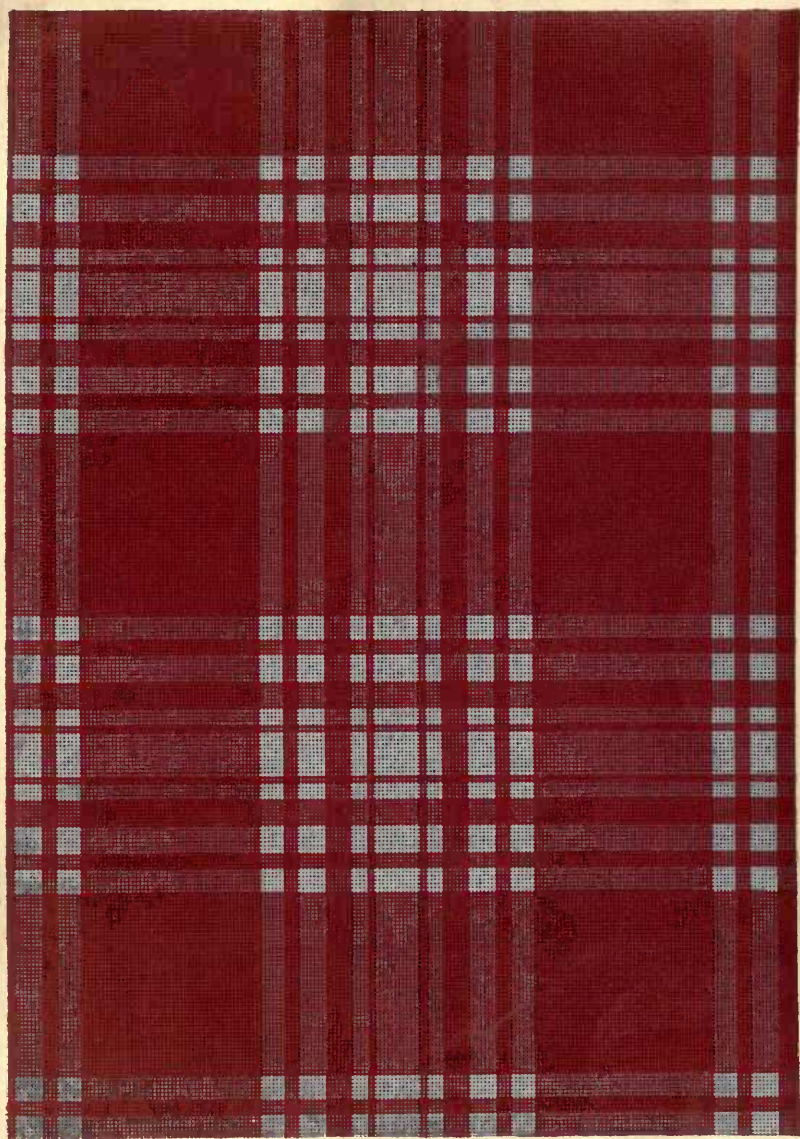
BADGE.—Heath (a species named the Menzies heath).

From the armorial bearings of the Menzieses it has been conjectured that the first who settled in Scotland of this surname was a branch of the Anglo-Norman family of Meyners, by corruption Manners. But this supposition does not seem to be well-founded.

The family of Menzies obtained a footing in Athole at a very early period, as appears from a charter granted by Robert de Meyners in the reign of Alexander II. This Robert de Meyners, knight, on the accession of Alexander III. (1249) was appointed lord high chamberlain of Scotland. His son, Alexander de Meyners, possessed the lands of Weem and Aberfeldy in Athole, and Glendochart in Breadalbane, besides his original seat of Durrisdier in Nithsdale, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Robert, in the estates of Weem, Aberfeldy, and Durrisdier, whilst his second son, Thomas, obtained the lands of Fortingal.

From the former of these is descended the family of Menzies of CASTLE MENZIES, but that of Menzies of Fortingal terminated in

¹ By mistake, these are in our report called "chiefs;" subordinate chiefs are correctly called "chieftains."



MENZIES.

an heiress, by whose marriage with James Stewart, a natural son of the Wolf of Badenoch, the property was transferred to the Stewarts.

In 1487, Sir Robert de Mengues, knight, obtained from the crown, in consequence of the destruction of his mansion-house by fire, a grant of the whole lands and estates erected into a free barony, under the title of the barony of Menzies. From this Sir Robert lineally descended Sir Alexander Menzies of Castle Menzies, who was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, 2d September 1665.

Sir Robert Menzies, the seventh baronet, who succeeded his father, 20th August 1844, is the 27th of the family in regular descent. The ancient designation of the family was Menzies of Weem, their common style in old writings. In 1423 "David Menzies of Weem (de Wimo)" was appointed governor of Orkney and Shetland, "under the most clement lord and lady, Eric and Philippa, king and queen of Denmark, Swedland, and Norway."

The Gaelic appellation of the clan is *Mein-narich*, a term, by way of distinction, also applied to the chief. Of the eighteen clans who fought under Robert Bruce at Bannockburn, the Menzies was one.

The "Menyesses" of Athole and Appin Dull are named in the parliamentary rolls of 1587, as among "the clans that have captains, chiefs, and chieftains." Castle Menzies, the principal modern seat of the chief, stands to the east of Loch Tay, in the parish and near to the church of Weem, in Perthshire. Weem Castle, the old mansion, is picturesquely situated under a rock, called Craig Uamh, hence its name. In 1502, it was burnt by Niel Stewart of Fortingal, in consequence of a dispute respecting the lands of Rannoch.

In 1644, when the Marquis of Montrose appeared in arms for Charles I., and had commenced his march from Athole towards Strathern, he sent forward a trumpeter, with a friendly notice to the Menzieses, that it was his intention to pass through their country. His messenger, unhappily, was maltreated, and, as some writers say, slain by them. They also harassed the rear of his army, which so exasperated Montrose, that he ordered his men

to plunder and lay waste their lands and burn their houses.

During the rebellion of 1715, several gentlemen of the clan Menzies were taken prisoners at the battle of Dunblane. One of them, Menzies of Culdares, having been pardoned for his share in the rebellion, felt himself bound not to join in that of 1745. He sent, however, a valuable horse as a present to Prince Charles, but his servant who had it in charge, was seized and executed, nobly refusing to divulge his master's name, though offered his life if he would do so. In the latter rebellion, Menzies of Shian took out the clan, and held the rank of colonel, though the chief remained at home. The effective force of the clan in 1745 was 300.

The family of Menzies of PITFODDELS in Aberdeenshire, is now extinct. Gilbert Menzies of this family, carrying the royal standard at the last battle of Montrose, in 1650, repeatedly refused quarter, and fell rather than give up his charge. The last laird, John Menzies of Pitfoddels, never married, and devoted the greater part of his large estate to the endowment of a Roman Catholic College. He died in 1843.

CHISHOLM.

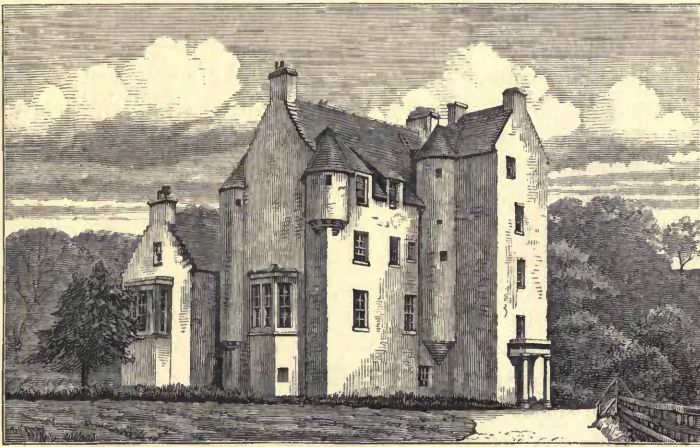


BADGE—Fern.

The modern clan CHISHOLM or Siosal, in Inverness-shire, though claiming to be of Celtic origin, are, it is probable, descended from one of the northern collaterals of the original family of Chisholme of Chisholme in Roxburghshire, which possessed lands there as early as the reign of Alexander III.

Few families have asserted their right to be

considered as a Gaelic clan with greater vehemence than the Chisholms, notwithstanding that there are perhaps few whose Lowland origin is less doubtful. Their early charters suffice to establish the real origin of the family with great clearness. The Highland possessions of the family consist of Comer, Strathglass, &c., in which is situated their castle of Erchless, and the manner in which they acquired these lands is proved by the fact, that there exists a confirmation of an indenture betwixt William de Fenton of Baky on the one part, and "*Margaret de la Ard domina de Erchless and Thomas de Chishelme her son and heir*" on the other part, dividing between them the lands of which they were heirs portioners, and among these lands is the barony of the Ard in Inverness-shire. This deed is dated at Kinrossy, 25th of April, 1403.



Erchless Castle.

In all probability, therefore, the husband of Margaret must have been Alexander de Chishelme, who is mentioned in 1368 as comportioner of the barony of Ard along with Lord Fenton.

The Chisholms came into prominence in the reign of David II., when Sir Robert de Chisholm married the daughter of Sir Robert Lauder of Quarrelwood, and ultimately succeeded him in the government of Urquhart Castle. In 1376 he occupied the important position of justiciar north of the Forth.

Wiland de Chesholm obtained a charter of the lands of Comer dated 9th April 1513.

In 1587, the chiefs on whose lands resided "broken men," were called upon to give security for their peaceable behaviour, among whom appears "Cheisholme of Cummer." After the battle of Killiecrankie in 1689, Erchless castle, the seat of the chief, was garrisoned for King James, and General Livingstone, the commander of the government forces, had considerable difficulty in dislodging the Highlanders. In 1715, Ruari, or Roderick MacIan, the chief, signed the address of a hundred and two chiefs and heads of houses to George the First, expressive of their attachment and loyalty, but no notice being taken of it, he engaged very actively in the rising under the Earl of Mar; and at the battle of Dunblane, the clan was headed by Chisholm of Croffin, an aged veteran, for which the estates of the chief were forfeited and sold. In 1727, he procured,

with several other chiefs, a pardon under the privy seal, and the lands were subsequently conveyed, by the then proprietor, to Roderick's eldest son, who entailed them on his heirs male. In 1745, this chief joined the standard of the Pretender with his clan, and Colin, his youngest son, was appointed colonel of the clan battalion.

Lord President Forbes thus states the strength of the Chisholms at that period. "Chisholms—Their chief is Chisholm of Strathglass, in Gaelic called Chisallich. His lands are held crown, and he can bring out two hundred of the men."

Alexander Chisholm, chief of the clan, who succeeded in 1785, left an only child, Mary, married to James Gooden, Esq., London, and dying in 1793, the chiefship and estates, agreeably to the deed of entail, devolved on his youngest brother, William, who married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Duncan MacDonnell, Esq. of Glengarry, and left two sons and one

daughter. On his death in 1817 he was succeeded by the elder son, Alexander William, once member of parliament for Inverness-shire, who died, prematurely, in September 1838. He was succeeded by his brother, Duncan MacDonnell Chisholm, who died in London 14th September 1858, aged 47, when the estate devolved on James Sutherland Chisholm, the present Chisholm, son of Roderich, son of Archibald, eldest son of the above Alexander, who resides at Erchless Castle, Inverness-shire.

The common designation of the chief of the house is THE CHISHOLM, and, whatever be its antiquity, it is a title which is very generally accorded to him, and, like the designation of "The O'Connor Don," has ever been sanctioned by use in the senate. An old chief of the clan Chisholm once not very modestly said that there were but three persons in the world entitled to it—"the Pope, the King, and the Chisholm."

One of the chiefs of this clan having carried off a daughter of Lord Lovat, placed her on an islet in Loch Bruirach, where she was soon discovered by the Frazers, who had mustered for the rescue. A severe conflict ensued, during which the young lady was accidentally slain by her own brother. A plaintive Gaelic song records the sad calamity, and numerous tumuli mark the graves of those who fell.

The once great family of Chisholme of CROMLIX, sometimes written CROMLECK, in Perthshire, which for above a century held the hereditary bailie and justiciary-ship of the ecclesiastical lordship of Dunblane, and furnished three bishops to that see, but which is now extinct, was also descended from the border Chisholms; the first of that family, Edmund Chisholme of Cromlix, early in the fifteenth century, being the son of Chisholme of Chisholme in Roxburghshire.

Into the history of other families—for they can scarcely be called clans—living on the Highland borders, and who have at one time played an important part in Highland history, and some of whom at the present day are regarded as genuine Highland families, it would be out of place for us to enter here. We refer to such families as the Murrays, Drummonds, Grahams, Gordons, Cumings, &c. We shall

conclude this account of the Highland clans by referring briefly to the origin of these houses.

MURRAY (ATHOLE).



BADGE—Broom (butcher's).

The acknowledged chieftainship of the great family of Murray, or Moray (originally Murreff) is vested in Moray-Stirling of Abercairney and Ardoch, both in Perthshire. The Murrays are generally supposed to have descended from Freskine, a Fleming, who settled in Scotland in the reign of David I. (1122–1153), and acquired from that monarch the lands of Strathbroch in Linlithgowshire, and of Duffus in Moray.

The Athole Murrays are descended from Sir William de Moravia, who acquired the lands of TULLIBARDINE, an estate in the lower part of Perthshire, with his wife Adda, daughter of Malise, seneschal of Strathern, as appears by charters dated in 1282 and 1284.

His descendant, Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, succeeded to the estates of his family in 1446. He was sheriff of Perthshire, and in 1458, one of the lords named for the administration of justice, who were of the king's daily council. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, great chamberlain of Scotland, by whom he had a numerous issue. According to tradition they had seventeen sons, from whom a great many families of the name of

Murray are descended. In a curious document entitled "The Declaration of George Halley, in Ochterarder, concerning the Laird of Tullibardine's seventeen sons—1710," it is stated that they "lived all to be men, and that they waited all one day upon their father at Stirling, to attend the king, with each of them one servant, and their father two. This happening shortly after an act was made by King James Fifth, discharging any person to travel with great numbers of attendants besides their own family, and having challenged the laird of Tullibardine for breaking the said act, he answered he brought only his own sons, with their necessary attendants: with which the king was so well pleased that he gave them small lands in heritage."

The eldest of Tullibardine's seventeen sons, Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, had, with other issue, William, his successor, and Sir Andrew Murray, ancestor of the Viscounts Stormont. His great-grandson, Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, was a zealous promoter of the Reformation in Scotland. George Halley, in the curious document already quoted, says that "Sir William Murray of Tullibardine having broke Argyll's face with the hilt of his sword, in King James the Sixth's presence, was obliged to leave the kingdom. Afterwards, the king's mails and slaughter cows were not paid, neither could any subject to the realm be able to compel those who were bound to pay them; upon which the king cried out—'O, if I had Will. Murray again, he would soon get my mails and slaughter cows;' to which one standing by replied—'That if his majesty would not take Sir William Murray's life, he might return shortly.' The king answered, 'He would be loath to take his life, for he had not another subject like him!' Upon which promise Sir William Murray returned and got a commission from the king to go to the north, and lift up the mails and the cows, which he speedily did, to the great satisfaction of the king, so that immediately after he was made lord comptroller." This office he obtained in 1565.

His eldest son, Sir John Murray, the twelfth feudal baron of Tullibardine, was brought up with King James, who, in 1592, constituted him his master of the household. On 10th

July 1606 he was created Earl of Tullibardine. His lordship married Catherine, fourth daughter of David, second Lord Drummond, and died in 1609.

His eldest son, William, second Earl of Tullibardine, married Lady Dorothea Stewart, daughter of the fifth Earl of Athole of the Stewart family, who died in 1595, and on the death in 1625 of James, second Earl of Athole, son of John, sixth Lord Innermeath, created Earl of Athole by James VI., he petitioned King Charles the First for the earldom of Athole, as his countess was the eldest daughter and heir of line of Earl John, of the family of Innermeath, which had become extinct in the male line. The king received the petition graciously, and gave his royal word that it should be done. The earl accordingly surrendered the title of Earl of Tullibardine into the king's hands, 1st April 1626, to be conferred on his brother Sir Patrick Murray, as a separate dignity, but before the patents could be issued, his lordship died the same year. His son John, however, obtained in February 1629 the title of Earl of Athole, and thus became the first earl of the Murray branch, and the earldom of Tullibardine was at the same time granted to Sir Patrick. This Earl of Athole was a zealous royalist, and joined the association formed by the Earl of Montrose for the king at Cumbernauld, in January 1641. He died in June 1642. His eldest son John, second Earl of Athole of the Murray family, also faithfully adhered to Charles the First, and was excepted by Cromwell out of his act of grace and indemnity, 12th April 1654, when he was only about nineteen years of age. At the restoration, he was sworn a privy councillor, obtained a charter of the hereditary office of sheriff of Fife, and in 1663 was appointed justice-general of Scotland. In 1670 he was constituted captain of the king's guards, in 1672 keeper of the privy seal, and 14th January 1673, an extraordinary lord of session. In 1670 he succeeded to the earldom of Tullibardine on the death of James, fourth earl of the new creation, and was created Marquis of Athole in 1676. He increased the power of his family by his marriage with Lady Amelia Sophia Stanley, third daughter of the seventh Earl of Derby, beheaded for his loyalty 15th October 1651. Through her mother, Charlotte

de la Tremouille, daughter of Claude de la Tremouille, Duke of Thouars and Prince of Palmont, she was related in blood to the Emperor of Germany, the kings of France and Spain, the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Savoy, and most of the principal families of Europe; and by her the family of Athole acquired the seignory of the Isle of Man, and also large property in that island.

John, the second Marquis, and first Duke, of Athole, designated Lord John Murray, was one of the commissioners for inquiring into the massacre of Glencoe in 1693. He was created a peer in his father's lifetime, by the title of Earl of Tullibardine, Viscount of Glenalmond, and Lord Murray, for life, by patent dated 27th July 1696, and in April 1703 he was appointed lord privy seal. On the 30th July of that year, immediately after his father's death, he was created Duke of Athole, by Queen Anne, and invested with the order of the Thistle. His grace died 14th November 1724. He was twice married; first to Catherine, daughter of the Duke of Hamilton, by whom he had six sons and a daughter, and secondly to Mary, daughter of William Lord Ross, by whom he had three sons and a daughter. His eldest son John, Marquis of Tullibardine, died in 1709. His second son William, who succeeded his brother, was the Marquis of Tullibardine who acted the prominent part in both the Scottish rebellions of last century, which is recorded in the former part of this work. In 1745 he accompanied Prince Charles Edward to Scotland, and landed with him at Borodale 25th July. He was styled Duke of Athole by the Jacobites. After the battle of Culloden he fled to the westward, intending to embark for the isle of Mull, but being unable, from the bad state of his health, to bear the fatigue of travelling under concealment, he surrendered, on the 27th April 1746, to Mr Buchanan of Drummakill, a Stirlingshire gentleman. Being conveyed to London he was committed to the Tower, where he died on the 9th July following.

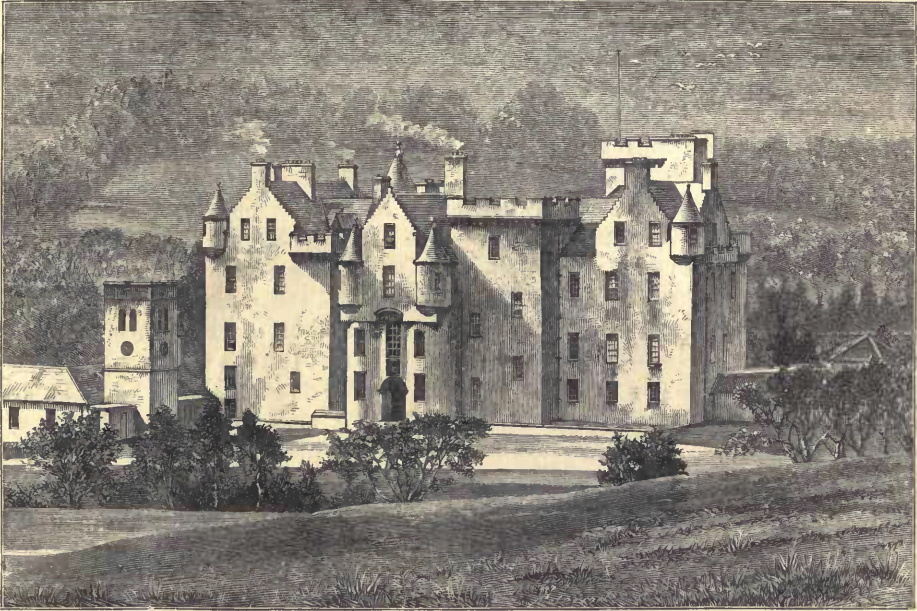
James, the second Duke of Athole, was the third son of the first duke. He succeeded to the dukedom on the death of his father in November 1724, in the lifetime of his elder brother William, attainted by parliament. Being

maternal great-grandson of James, seventh Earl of Derby, upon the death of the tenth earl of that line, he claimed and was allowed the English barony of Strange, which had been conferred on Lord Derby by writ of summons, in 1628. His grace was married, first to Jean, sister of Sir John Frederick, Bart., by whom he had a son and two daughters; secondly to Jane, daughter of John Drummond of Megginch, who had no issue. The latter was the heroine of Dr Austen's song of 'For lack of gold she's left me, O!' She was betrothed to that gentleman, a physician in Edinburgh, when the Duke of Athole saw her, and falling in love with her, made proposals of marriage, which were accepted; and, as Burns says, she jilted the doctor. Having survived her first husband, she married a second time, Lord Adam Gordon.

The son and the eldest daughter of the second Duke of Athole died young. Charlotte, his youngest daughter, succeeded on his death, which took place in 1764, to the barony of Strange and the sovereignty of the Isle of Man. She married her cousin John Murray, Esq., eldest son of Lord George Murray, fifth son of the first duke, and the celebrated generalissimo of the forces of the Pretender in 1745. Though Lord George was attainted by parliament for his share in the rebellion, his son was allowed to succeed his uncle and father-in-law as third duke, and in 1765 he and his duchess disposed of their sovereignty of the Isle of Man to the British government, for seventy thousand pounds, reserving, however, their landed interest in the island, with the patronage of the bishopric and other ecclesiastical benefices, on payment of the annual sum of one hundred and one pounds fifteen shillings and eleven pence, and rendering two falcons to the kings and queens of England upon the days of their coronation. His grace, who had five sons and two daughters, died 5th November 1774, and was succeeded by his eldest son John, fourth duke, who in 1786 was created Earl Strange and Baron Murray of Stanley, in the peerage of the United Kingdom. He died in 1830. The fourth duke was succeeded by his eldest son John, who was for many years a recluse, and died single 14th September 1846. His next brother James, a major-general in the army, was created a peer of the United King-

dom, as baron Glenlyon of Glenlyon, in the county of Perth, 9th July 1821. He married in May 1810, Emily Frances, second daughter of the Duke of Northumberland, and by her he had two sons and two daughters. He died in 1837. His eldest son, George Augustus Frederick John, Lord Glenlyon, became, on

the death of his uncle in 1846, sixth Duke of Athole. He died in 1864, and was succeeded by his only son, John James Hugh Henry, seventh Duke of Athole. The family residence of the Duke of Athole is Blair Castle, Perthshire, a view of which, as restored in 1872, is here given.



Blair Castle.

The first baronet of the OCHTERTYRE family was William Moray of Ochertyre, who was created a baron of Nova Scotia, with remainder to his heirs male, 7th June 1673. He was descended from Patrick Moray, the first styled of Ochertyre, who died in 1476, a son of Sir David Moray of Tullibardine. The family continued to spell their name Moray till 1739, when the present orthography, Murray, was adopted by Sir William, third baronet.

DRUMMOND.

The name of DRUMMOND may be derived originally from the parish of Drymen, in what is now the western district of Stirlingshire. The Gaelic name is *Druiman*, signifying a ridge, or high ground.

An ancestor of the noble family of Perth thus fancifully interprets the origin of the name: *Drum* in Gaelic signifies a height, and *onde* a wave, the name being given to Maurice

the Hungarian, to express how gallantly he had conducted through the swelling waves the ship in which prince Edgar and his two sisters had embarked for Hungary, when they were driven out of their course, on the Scottish coast. There are other conjectural derivations of the name, but the territorial definition above-mentioned appears to be the most probable one.

The chief of the family at the epoch of their first appearing in written records was Malcolm Beg (or the little), chamberlain on the estate of Levenax, and the fifth from the Hungarian Maurice, who married Ada, daughter of Malduin, third Earl of Lennox, by Beatrix, daughter of Walter, lord high steward of Scotland, and died before 1260.

Two of his grandsons are recorded as having sworn fealty to Edward the First.

The name of one of them, Gilbert de Drumund, "del County de Dunbretan," appears in Prynne's copy of the Ragman Roll. He was

Drummond of Balquapple in Perthshire, and had a son, Malcolm de Drummond, who also swore fealty to Edward in 1296, and was father of Bryce Drummond, killed in 1330 by the Monteiths.

DRUMMOND.



BADGE—Thyme (or mother of thyme).

The other, the elder brother of Gilbert, named Sir John de Dromund, married his relation, a daughter of Walter Stewart, Earl of Menteith, and countess in her own right.

His eldest son, Sir Malcolm de Drummond, attached himself firmly to the cause of Bruce. King Robert, after the battle of Bannockburn, bestowed upon him certain lands in Perthshire. He married a daughter of Sir Patrick Graham of Kincardine, elder brother of Sir John Graham, and ancestor of the family of Montrose. He had a son, Sir Malcolm Drummond, who died about 1346. The latter had three sons, John, Maurice, and Walter. The two former married heiresses.

Maurice's lady was sole heiress of Coneraig and of the stewardship of Strathearn, to both of which he succeeded.

The wife of John, the eldest son, was Mary, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Sir William de Montefex, with whom he got the lands of Auchterarder, Kincardine in Monteith, Cargill, and Stobhall in Perthshire. He had four sons, Sir Malcolm, Sir John, William, and Dougal; and three daughters—Annabella, married, in 1357, John, Earl of Carrick, high steward of Scotland, afterwards King Robert the Third, and thus became Queen of Scotland, and the mother of David, Duke of Rothesay, starved

to death in the palace of Falkland, in 1402, and of James the First, as well as of three daughters; Margaret, married to Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, Jean, to Stewart of Donally, and Mary, to Macdonald of the Isles.

About 1360, in consequence of a feud which had long subsisted between the Drummonds and the Menteiths of Rusky, the residence of the family seems to have been transferred from Drymen, in Stirlingshire, where they had chiefly lived for about two hundred years, to Stobhall, in Perthshire, which had some years before come into their possession by marriage.

Sir Malcolm Drummond, the eldest son, succeeded to the earldom of Mar in right of his wife, Lady Isabel Douglas, only daughter of William, first Earl of Douglas. His death was a violent one, having been seized by a band of ruffians and imprisoned till he died "of his hard captivity." This happened before 27th May 1403. Not long after his death, Alexander Stewart, a natural son of "the Wolf of Badenoch," a bandit and robber by profession, having cast his eyes on the lands of the earldom, stormed the countess' castle of Kildrummie; and, either by violence or persuasion, obtained her in marriage. As Sir Malcolm Drummond had died without issue, his brother, John, succeeded him.

John's eldest son, Sir Walter Drummond, was knighted by King James the Second, and died in 1455. He had three sons: Sir Malcolm his successor; John, dean of Dunblane; and Walter of Lederieff, ancestor of the Drummonds of BLAIR-DRUMMOND (now the HOME DRUMMONDS, Henry Home, the celebrated Lord Kames, having married Agatha, daughter of James Drummond of Blair-Drummond, and successor in the estate to her nephew in 1766); of Cairdrum; of Newton, and other families of the name.

The eldest son of the main stem, that is, the CARGILL and STOBHALL family, Sir Malcolm by name, had great possessions in the counties of Dumbarton, Perth, and Stirling, and died in 1470. By his wife Marion, daughter of Murray of Tullibardine, he had six sons. His eldest son, Sir John, was first Lord Drummond.

Sir John, the eldest son, was a personage of

considerable importance in the reigns of James the Third and Fourth, having been concerned in most of the public transactions of that period. He died in 1519.

By his wife, Lady Elizabeth Lindsay, daughter of David, Duke of Montrose, the first Lord Drummond, had three sons, and six daughters, the eldest of whom, Margaret, was mistress to James the Fourth. Malcolm, the eldest son, predeceased his father. William, the second son, styled master of Drummond, suffered on the scaffold.

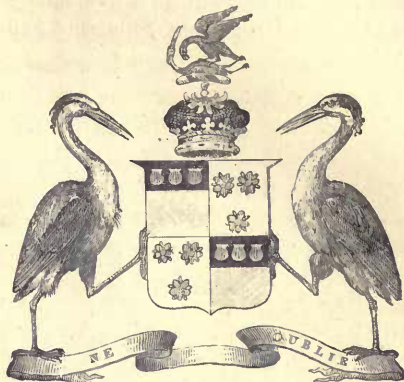
William had two sons, Walter and Andrew, ancestor of the Drummonds of BELLYCLONE. Walter died in 1518, before his grandfather. By Lady Elizabeth Graham, daughter of the first Earl of Montrose, he had a son, David, second Lord Drummond, who was served heir to his great-grandfather, John, first lord, 17th February 1520. Of his two sons, Patrick, the elder, was third Lord Drummond; James, the younger, created, 31st January 1609, Lord Maderty, was ancestor of the viscounts of Strathallan.

Patrick, third Lord Drummond, embraced the reformed religion, and spent some time in France. He died before 1600. He was twice married, and by his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of David Lindsay of Edzell, eventually Earl of Crawford, he had two sons and five daughters.

The elder son, James, fourth Lord Drummond, passed a considerable portion of his youth in France, and after James the Sixth's accession to the English throne he attended the Earl of Nottingham on an embassy to the Spanish court. On his return he was created Earl of Perth, 4th March 1605. John, the younger son, succeeded his brother in 1611, as second Earl of Perth.

The Hon. John Drummond, second son of James, third Earl of Perth, was created in 1685 Viscount, and in 1686 Earl of Melfort; and his representative Captain George Drummond, duc de Melfort, and Count de Lussan in France, whose claim to the earldom of Perth in the Scottish peerage was established by the House of Lords, June 1853, is the chief of the clan Drummond, which, more than any other, signalised itself by its fidelity to the lost cause of the Stuarts.

GRAHAM.



BADGE—Laurel spurge.

The surname GRÈME, or GRAHAM, is said to be derived from the Gaelic word *grumach*, applied to a person of a stern countenance and manner. It may possibly, however, be connected with the British word *grym*, signifying strength, seen in *grime's dyke*, erroneously called Graham's dyke, the name popularly given to the wall of Antoninus, from an absurd fable of Fordun and Boece, that one *Greme*, traditionally said to have governed Scotland during the minority of the fabulous Eugene the Second, broke through the mighty rampart erected by the Romans between the rivers Forth and Clyde. It is unfortunate for this fiction that the first authenticated person who bore the name in North Britain was Sir William de Grème (the undoubted ancestor of the Dukes of Montrose and all "the gallant Grahams" in this country), who came to Scotland in the reign of David the First, from whom he received the lands of Abercorn and Dalkeith, and witnessed the charter of that monarch to the monks of the abbey of Holyrood in 1128. In Gaelic *grim* means war, battle. Anciently, the word Grimes-dike was applied to trenches, roads, and boundaries, and was not confined to Scotland.

This Anglo-Norman knight, Sir William de Graham, had two sons, Peter and John, in whom the direct line was carried on. The elder, Peter de Graham, styled of Dalkeith and Abercorn, had also two sons, Henry and William. Henry the elder, witnessed some of the charters of King William the Lion. He was

succeeded by his son Henry, whose son, also named Henry, by marrying the daughter of Roger Avenel (who died in 1243), acquired the extensive estates of Avenel, in Eskdale. His grandson, Sir John de Graham of Dalkeith, had a son, John de Graham, who dying without issue, was the last of the elder line of the original stock of the Grahams.

The male line of the family was carried on by the younger son of Sir William de Graham first above mentioned, John de Graham, whose son, David de Graham, obtained from his cousin, Henry, the son of Peter de Graham, the lands of Clifton and Clifton Hall in Mid-Lothian, and from King William the Lion those of Charlton and Barrowfield, as well as the lordship of Kinnaber, all in Forfarshire. This was the first connection of the family with the district near Montrose, whence they subsequently derived their ducal title. His eldest son, also named Sir David de Graham, had, from Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, in the reign of King Alexander the Second, with other lands, those of Dundaff, in Stirlingshire. The son of Sir David de Graham last mentioned, also named Sir David de Graham, who appears to have held the office of sheriff of the county of Berwick, acquired from Malise, Earl of Strathearn, the lands of Kincardine, in Perthshire, which became one of the chief designations of the family. He died about 1270. By his wife, Annabella, daughter of Robert, Earl of Strathearn, he had three sons, namely, Sir Patrick, who succeeded him; the celebrated Sir John the Graham, the companion of Wallace; and Sir David, one of the nominees, his eldest brother being another, of Baliol, in his competition for the crown of Scotland, 1292. His eldest son, Sir Patrick Graham of Kincardine, fell in battle against the English at Dunbar, 28th April 1296. Another son, Sir David de Graham, a favourite name among the early Grahams, was also designed of Kincardine. From Robert the First, in consideration of his good and faithful services, he had several grants, and exchanged with that monarch his property of Cardross in Dumbartonshire for the lands of "Old Montrose" in Forfarshire. He died in 1327.

Sir William Graham of KINCARDINE, his great-grandson, was frequently employed in nego-

ciations with the English relative to the liberation of King James the First. He was twice married. By his first wife he had two sons, Alexander,—who predeceased him, leaving two sons,—and John. His second wife was the princess Mary Stewart, second daughter of King Robert the Second, widow of the Earl of Angus and of Sir James Kennedy of Dunure; after Sir William Graham's death she took for her fourth husband Sir William Edmonstone of Duntreath. By this lady he had five sons, namely, 1. Sir Robert Graham of Strathearn, ancestor of the Grahams of Fintry, of Claverhouse, and of Duntrune. 2. Patrick Graham, consecrated bishop of Brechin, in 1463, and three years after translated to the see of St. Andrews. 3. William, ancestor of the Grahams of Garvoch in Perthshire, from a younger son of whom came the Grahams of Balgowan, the most celebrated of which family was the gallant Sir Thomas Graham, Lord Lynedoch, the hero of Barossa. 4. Henry, of whom nothing is known. 5. Walter, of Wallacetown, Dumbartonshire, ancestor of the Grahams of Knockdolian in Carrick, and their cadets.

Patrick Graham, of Kincardine, the son of Alexander, the eldest son, succeeded his grandfather, and was created a peer of parliament in 1451, under the title of Lord Graham. He died in 1465. His only son, William, second Lord Graham, married lady Anne Douglas, eldest daughter of the fourth Earl of Angus, and had two sons, William, third Lord Graham, and George, ancestor of the Grahams of Calendar.

William, third Lord Graham, sat in the first parliament of King James the Fourth, 1488; and on 3d March, 1504–5, he was created Earl of Montrose, a charter being granted to him of that date, of his hereditary lands of "Auld Montrose," which were then erected into a free barony and earldom to be called the barony and earldom of Montrose. It is from these lands, therefore, and not from the town of Montrose, that the family take their titles of earl and duke. He fell at the battle of Flodden, 9th September 1513. He was thrice married. By his first wife, Annabella, daughter of Lord Drummond, he had a son, second Earl of Montrose; by his

second wife, Janet, a daughter of Sir Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreath, he had three daughters; and by his third wife, Christian Wavance of Segy, daughter of Thomas Wavance of Stevenston, and widow of the ninth Lord Halyburton of Dirleton, two sons, Patrick, ancestor of the Grames of Inchbrakie, Perthshire; and Andrew, consecrated bishop of Dunblane in 1575, and the first protestant bishop of that see.

From the third son of the second Earl of Montrose came the Grahams of ORCHIL, and from the fourth son the Grahams of KILLEARN. From the second son of the third earl descended the Grahams of BRACO, who once possessed a baronetcy of Nova Scotia, conferred on the first of the family, 28th September 1625. From the third son of the same earl, the Grahams of SCOTTISTOUN derived their descent.

The Grahams of the borders are descended from Sir John Graham of KILBRYDE, called, from his bravery, Sir John "with the bright sword," second son of Malise, Earl first of Strathearn, and afterwards of Menteith, by his wife, the Lady Ann Vere, daughter of Henry, Earl of Oxford.

Sir John "with the bright sword" was also ancestor of the Grahams of Gartmore in Perthshire. Sir William Graham of Gartmore, created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1665, married Elizabeth, second daughter of John Graham, Lord Kilpont (son of the Earl of Airth), who was slain by one of his own vassals, James Stewart of Ardvoirlich, in the camp of the Marquis of Montrose, in 1644; and had a son, Sir John Graham, second baronet of Gartmore, declared insane in 1696. On his death, 12th July 1708, without issue, the baronetcy became extinct, and the representation of the family devolved upon his sister Mary, wife of James Hodge, Esq. of Gladsmuir, advocate. Their only daughter, Mary Hodge, married, in 1701, William, son of John Graham of Callinod, and had a son, William Graham, who assumed the title of Earl of Menteith.

The castle of Kilbryde, near Dunblane, built by Sir John "with the bright sword," in 1460, was possessed by his representatives, the Earls of Menteith, till 1640, when it was sold. The Menteith Grahams were called the Grahams "of the hens," from the following circum-

stances. An armed party of the Stewarts of Appin, headed by Donald Nan Ord,² called Donald of the Hammer, in their retreat from the disastrous field of Pinkie in 1547, in passing the lake of Menteith, stopped at a house of the Earl of Menteith, where a large feast, consisting principally of poultry, was prepared for a marriage party, and ate up all the provisions; but, being immediately pursued, they were overtaken in the gorge of a pass, near a rock called Craig-Vad, or the Wolf's cliff, where a bloody encounter took place. The earl and nearly the whole of his followers were killed, and Donald of the Hammer escaped, amidst the darkness of the night, with only a single attendant. From the cause of the fight the Highlanders gave the name of *Gramoch na Gerie*, or "Grahams of the hens," to the Menteith branch ever after.

The clan Graham were principally confined to Menteith and Strathearn.

GORDON.



BADGE—Rock ivy.

THE GORDONS are an ancient and distinguished family, originally from Normandy, where their ancestors are said to have had large possessions. From the great antiquity of the race, many fabulous accounts have been given of the descent of the Gordons. Some derive them from a city of Macedonia, called Gordonia, whence they went to Gaul; others find their origin in Spain, Flanders, &c. Some writers suppose Bertrand de Gourdon who, in 1199, wounded Richard the Lion-heart mortally with

² See our Account of the Stewarts.

an arrow before the castle of Chalus in the Limoges, to have been the great ancestor of the Gordons, but there does not seem to be any other foundation for such a conjecture than that there was a manor in Normandy called Gourdon. It is probable that the first persons of the name in this island came over with William the Conqueror in 1066. According to Chalmers,³ the founder of this great family came from England in the reign of David the First (1124-53), and obtained from that prince the lands of Gordon (anciently *Gordun*, or *Gordyn*, from, as Chalmers supposes, the Gaelic *Gord-in*, "on the hill"). He left two sons, Richard, and Adam, who, though the younger son, had a portion of the territory of Gordon, with the lands of Fany's on the southern side of it.

The elder son, Richard de Gordon, granted, between 1150 and 1160, certain lands to the monks of Kelso, and died in 1200. His son, Sir Thomas de Gordon, confirmed by charter these donations, and *his* son and successor, also named Thomas, made additional grants to the same monks, as well as to the religious of Coldstream. He died in 1285, without male issue, and his only daughter, Alicia, marrying her cousin Adam de Gordon, the son of Adam, younger brother of Richard above mentioned, the two branches of the family thus became united.

His grandson, Sir Adam de Gordon, Lord of Gordon, one of the most eminent men of his time, was the progenitor of most of the great families of the name in Scotland. In reward of his faithful services, Bruce granted to him and his heirs the noble lordship of Strathbolgie (now Strathbogie), in Aberdeenshire, then in the Crown, by the forfeiture of David de Strathbogie, Earl of Athole, which grant was afterwards confirmed to his family by several charters under the great seal. Sir Adam fixed his residence there, and gave these lands and lordship the name of Huntly, from a village of that name in the western extremity of Gordon parish, in the Merse, the site of which is now said to be marked only by a solitary tree. From their northern domain, the family afterwards acquired the titles of Lord, Earl, and Marquis of Huntly, and the latter is now their chief

title. Sir Adam was slain, fighting bravely in the vanguard of the Scotch army at the battle of Halidonhill, July 12, 1333. By Annabella, his wife, supposed to have been a daughter of David de Strathbolgie above mentioned, he had four sons and a daughter. The eldest son, Sir Alexander, succeeded him. The second son, William, was ancestor of the Viscounts of Kenmure.

Sir John Gordon, his great-grandson, got a new charter from King Robert the Second of the lands of Strathbogie, dated 13th June 1376. He was slain at the battle of Otterbourne in 1388. His son, Sir Adam, lord of Gordon, fell at the battle of Homildon, 14th September 1402. By his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Keith, great mareschal of Scotland, he had an only child, Elizabeth Gordon, who succeeded to the whole family estates, and having married Alexander Seton, second son of Sir William Seton of Setoff, ancestor of the Earls of Winton, that gentleman was styled lord of Gordon and Huntly. He left two sons, the younger of whom became ancestor of the Setons of Meldrum.

Alexander, the elder, was, in 1449, created Earl of Huntly, with limitation to his heirs male, by Elizabeth Crichton, his third wife, they being obliged to bear the name and arms of Gordon. George, the sixth earl, was created Marquis of Huntly, by King James, in 1599. George, the fourth marquis, was made Duke of Gordon in 1684. George, fifth duke, died without issue on 28th May 1836. At his death the title of Duke of Gordon became extinct, as well as that of Earl of Norwich in the British peerage, and the Marquisate of Huntly devolved on George Earl of Aboyne, descended from Charles, fourth son of George, second Marquis of Huntly, while the Duke of Richmond and Lennox, son of his eldest sister, succeeded to Gordon castle, Banffshire, and other estates in Aberdeenshire and Inverness-shire.

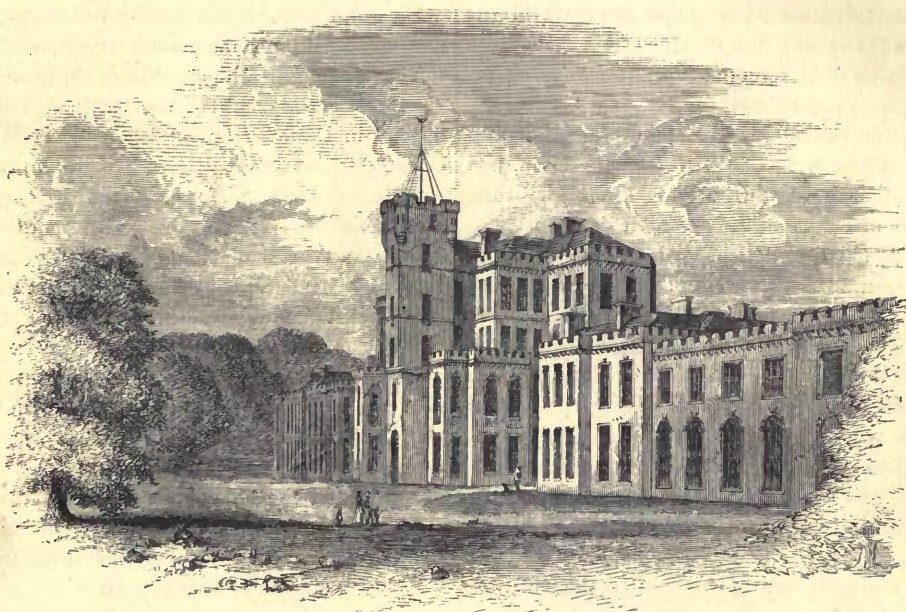
The clan GORDON was at one period one of the most powerful and numerous in the north. Although the chiefs were not originally of Celtic origin, as already shown, they yet gave their name to the clan, the distinctive badge of which was the rock ivy. The clan feuds and battles were frequent, especially with the

³ *Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 387.

Mackintoshes, the Camerons, the Murrays, and the Forbesees. Their principal exploits have been noticed in the first volume.

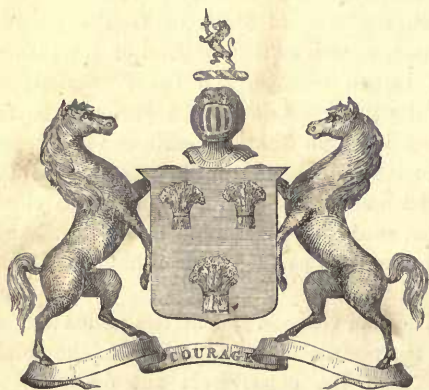
The Duke of Gordon, who was the chief of the clan, was usually styled "The Cock of the North." His most ancient title was the "Gude-man of the Bog," from the Bog-of-Gight, a morass in the parish of Bellie, Banffshire, in

the centre of which the former stronghold of this family was placed, and which forms the site of Gordon castle, considered the most magnificent edifice in the north of Scotland. The Marquis of Huntly is now the chief of the clan Gordon. Of the name of Gordon, there are many ancient families belonging to Aberdeenshire, Banffshire, and the north of Scotland.



Gordon Castle. From Nattes' *Scotia Depicta*.

CUMMING.



BADGE—Cumin plant.

The family of CUMYN, COMYN, CUMIN, CUMIN, or CUMMING, merit notice among the septs

of the north of Scotland, from the prominent figure which they made there in early times. But almost all authors agree in representing them as having come from England, and having been of either Norman or Saxon descent originally. The time when they migrated northwards is also well marked in history. The event occurred in the reign of David I. That prince still claimed a large part of the north of England, and, besides, had engaged deeply in the contests betwixt King Stephen and the Empress Matilda, which agitated South Britain in the twelfth century. He was thus brought into frequent contact with the barons of Northumberland and the adjoining districts, some of whom were properly his vassals, and many of whose younger sons followed him permanently into Scotland. In this way were founded various northern families in the time of King

David, and among others, seemingly, the Cumyns. William Cumyn is the first of the name authentically mentioned in the Scottish annals. He had been trained clerically by Gaufréd, bishop of Durham, some time chancellor to Henry I.; and his abilities and experience appear to have recommended Cumyn to David of Scotland for the same high office in the north. He was nominated chancellor of Scotland in 1133; though we find him seizing on the bishopric of Durham in 1142, under countenance of a grant from the Empress Maude. But he soon after resigned it to the proper incumbent, reserving only certain of the episcopal estates for behoof of his nephew and heir, Richard.

Richard Cumyn, properly the founder of the line of the Scottish Cumyn, rose high in the service of William the Lion, and long acted as chief minister and justiciary of Scotland. During his life he held the lands of Northallerton and others, secured to him by his uncle in England; and he also obtained estates in Roxburghshire, the first property of the family in Scotland. That the Cumyns must have been of high importance in England is proved by, and in part explains, their sudden elevation in the north. Richard Cumyn even intermarried with the royal family of Scotland, wedding Hexilda, great-granddaughter of the "gracious" King Duncan of "Macbeth."*

In the reign of Alexander III., as stated by Fordun, there were of the name in Scotland three Earls—Buchan, Menteith, and Athole, and one great feudal baron, Cumyn lord of Strathbogie, with thirty knights all possessing lands. The chief of the clan was lord of Badenoch and Lochaber, and other extensive districts in the Highlands. Upwards of sixty belted knights were bound to follow his banner with all their vassals, and he made treaties with princes as a prince himself. One such compact with Llewellyn of Wales is preserved in Rymer's *Fœdera*.

The Cummings, as the name is now spelled, are numerous in the counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray; but a considerable number, in consequence of being prevented, for some reason, from burying their relatives in the family burial-place, changed their names to

Farquharson, as being descended from Farquhard, second son of Alexander the fourth designed of Altyre, who lived in the middle of the fifteenth century. It is from them that the Farquharsons of Balthog, Haughton, and others in the county of Aberdeen derive their descent.

From Sir Robert Comyn, younger son of John lord of Badenoch, who died about 1274, are descended the Cummings of Altyre, Logie, Auchry (one of whom in 1760 founded the village of Cuminestown in Aberdeenshire), Relugas, &c.

OGILVY.



BADGE—Alkanet.

OGILVY is a surname derived from a barony in the parish of Glammis, Forfarshire, which, about 1163, was bestowed by William the Lion on Gilbert, ancestor of the noble family of Airlie, and, in consequence, he assumed the name of Ogilvy. He is said to have been the third son of Gillibrede, or Gilchrist, maormor of Angus. In the charters of the second and third Alexanders there are witnesses of the name of Ogilvy. Sir Patrick de Ogilvy adhered steadily to Robert the Bruce, who bestowed upon him the lands of Kettins in Forfarshire. The barony of Cortachy was acquired by the family in 1369–70. The "gracious gude Lord Ogilvy," as he is styled in the old ballad of the battle of Harlaw, in which battle the principal barons of Forfarshire fought on the side of the Earl of Mar, who commanded the royal army, was the son of Sir Walter Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, slain in a clan battle with the Robertsons in 1394.

* See Smibert's *Clans*.

"Of the best among them was
 The gracious gude Lord Ogilvy,
 The sheriff-principal of Angus,
 Renownit for truth and equity—
 For faith and magnanimity
 He had few fellows in the field,
 Yet fell by fatal destiny,
 For he nae ways wad grant to yield."

His eldest son, George Ogilvy, was also slain.

Lord OGILVY, the first title of Airlie family, was conferred by James IV., in 1491, on Sir John Ogilvy of Lintrathen.

James, seventh lord Oglivy, was created Earl of Airlie, in 1639.

The title of Lord Ogilvy of Deskford was conferred, 4th October 1616, on Sir Walter Ogilvy of Deskford and Findlater, whose son, James, second Lord Deskford, was created Earl of Findlater, 20th February 1638. He was descended from Sir Walter Ogilvy of Auchleven, second son of Sir Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen, high treasurer of Scotland.

The clan Ogilvy are called "the *Sìol Gilchrist*," the race or posterity of Gilchrist. In 1526, the Mackintoshes invaded the country of the Ogilvies, and massacred no fewer than 24 gentlemen of the name. A feud between the Campbells and the Ogilvies subsisted for several centuries. In Pitcairn's Criminal Trials we find James Ogilvy complaining, on 21st October, 1591, that a body of Argyll's men had attacked him when residing peaceably in

Glenisla, in Forfarshire, which anciently belonged to the Ogilvies, killed several of his people, ravaged the country, and compelled him and his lady to flee for their lives.

The Ogilvies had their revenge in 1645, for the burning of "the bonnie house of Airlie," and the other strongholds of the Ogilvies, when Castle Campbell, near Dollar, or the Castle of Gloom, its original name, was destroyed by them and the Macleans, and the territory of the Marquis of Argyll was overrun by the fierce and ruthless clan that followed Montrose, and carried fire and sword throughout the whole estates of the clan Campbell.

FERGUSON.

BADGE—Little Sunflower.

Ferguson, or Fergusson, is the surname (son of Fergus) of a Highland sept (whose arms we have been unable to obtain), which had its seat on the borders of the counties of Perth and Forfar, immediately to the north of Dunkeld, and the distinctive badge of which was the little sunflower. In the Roll of 1587, they are named as among the septs of Mar and Athole, where their proper seat as a clan originally lay, having chiefs and captains of their own. In Galloway, the Craighdarroch Fergussons have flourished from an early date, and in Fife the Fergusons of Raith have long held a high position as landholders.

PART THIRD.

HISTORY OF THE HIGHLAND REGIMENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

Military character of the Highlands.

HITHERTO the account of the military exploits of the Highlanders has been limited to their own clan feuds and to the exertions which, for a century, they made in behalf of the unfortunate Stuarts. We are now to notice their operations on a more extended field of action, by giving a condensed sketch of their services in the cause of the country; services which have acquired for them a reputation as deserved as it has been unsurpassed. From moral as well as from physical causes, the Highlanders were well fitted to attain this pre-eminence.

"In forming his military character, the Highlander was not more favoured by nature than by the social system under which he lived. Nursed in poverty, he acquired a hardihood which enabled him to sustain severe privations. As the simplicity of his life gave vigour to his body, so it fortified his mind. Possessing a frame and constitution thus hardened, he was taught to consider courage as the most honourable virtue, cowardice the most disgraceful failing; to venerate and obey his chief, and to devote himself for his native country and clan; and thus prepared to be a soldier, he was ready to follow wherever honour and duty called him. With such principles, and regarding any disgrace he might bring on his clan and district as the most cruel misfortune, the Highland private soldier had a peculiar motive to exertion. The common soldier of many other countries has scarcely any other stimulus to the performance of his duty than

the fear of chastisement, or the habit of mechanical obedience to command, produced by the discipline in which he has been trained. With a Highland soldier it is otherwise. When in a national or district corps, he is surrounded by the companions of his youth and the rivals of his early achievements; he feels the impulse of emulation strengthened by the consciousness that every proof which he displays, either of bravery or cowardice, will find its way to his native home. He thus learns to appreciate the value of a good name; and it is thus, that in a Highland regiment, consisting of men from the same country, whose kindred and connexions are mutually known, every individual feels that his conduct is the subject of observation, and that, independently of his duty as a member of a systematic whole, he has to sustain a separate and individual reputation, which will be reflected on his family, and district or glen. Hence he requires no artificial excitements. He acts from motives within himself; his point is fixed, and his aim must terminate either in victory or death. The German soldier considers himself as a part of the military machine, and duly marked out in the orders of the day. He moves onward to his destination with a well-trained pace, and with as phlegmatic indifference to the result as a labourer who works for his daily hire. The courage of the French soldier is supported in the hour of trial by his high notions of the point of honour; but this display of spirit is not always steady. A Highland soldier faces his enemy, whether in front, rear, or flank; and if he has confidence in his commander, it may be predicted

with certainty that he will be victorious or die on the ground which he maintains. He goes into the field resolved not to disgrace his name. A striking characteristic of the Highlander is, that all his actions seem to flow from sentiment. His endurance of privation and fatigue,—his resistance of hostile opposition,—his solicitude for the good opinion of his superiors,—all originate in this source, whence also proceeds his obedience, which is always most *conspicuous when exhibited under kind treatment*. Hence arises the difference observable between the conduct of one regiment of Highlanders and that of another, and frequently even of the same regiment at different times, and under different management. A Highland regiment, to be orderly and well disciplined, ought to be commanded by men who are capable of appreciating their character, directing their passions and prejudices, and acquiring their entire confidence and affection. The officer to whom the command of Highlanders is intrusted must endeavour to acquire their confidence and good opinion. With this view, he must watch over the propriety of his own conduct. He must observe the strictest justice and fidelity in his promises to his men, conciliate them by an attention to their dispositions and prejudices, and, at the same time, by preserving a firm and steady authority, without which he will not be respected.

"Officers who are accustomed to command Highland soldiers find it easy to guide and control them when their full confidence has been obtained; but when distrust prevails severity ensues, with a consequent neglect of duty, and by a continuance of this unhappy misunderstanding, the men become stubborn, disobedient, and in the end mutinous. The spirit of a Highland soldier revolts at any unnecessary severity; though he may be led to the mouth of a cannon if properly directed, will rather die than be unfaithful to his trust. But if, instead of leading, his officers attempt to drive him, he may fail in the discharge of the most common duties."¹

A learned and ingenious author,² who, though himself a Lowlander, had ample op-

portunity, while serving in many campaigns with Highland regiments, of becoming intimately acquainted with their character, thus writes of them:—

"The limbs of the Highlander are strong and sinewy, the frame hardy, and of great physical power, in proportion to size. He endures cold, hunger, and fatigue with patience; in other words, he has an elasticity or pride of mind which does not feel, or which refuses to complain of hardship. The air of the gentleman is ordinarily majestic; the air and gait of the gilly is not graceful. He walks with a bended knee, and does not walk with grace, but his movement has energy; and between walking and trotting, and by an interchange of pace, he performs long journeys with facility, particularly on broken and irregular ground, such as he has been accustomed to traverse in his native country.

"The Highlanders of Scotland, born and reared under the circumstances stated, marshalled for action by clans, according to ancient usage, led into action by chiefs who possess confidence from an opinion of knowledge, and love from the influence of blood, may be calculated upon as returning victorious, or dying in the grasp of the enemy.

"Scotch Highlanders have a courage devoted to honour; but they have an impetuosity which, if not well understood, and skilfully directed, is liable to error. The Scotch fight individually as if the cause were their own, not as if it were the cause of a commander only,—and they fight impassioned. Whether training and discipline may bring them in time to the apathy of German soldiers, further experience will determine; but the Highlanders are even now impetuous; and, if they fail to accomplish their object, they cannot be withdrawn from it like those who fight a battle by the job. The object stands in their own view; the eye is fixed upon it; they rush towards it, seize it, and proclaim victory with exultation.

"The Highlander, upon the whole, is a soldier of the first quality; but, as already said, he requires to see his object fully, and to come into contact with it in all its extent. He then feels the impression of his duty through a channel which he understands, and he acts consistently in consequence of the impression, that

¹ Stewart's *Sketches*.

² Jackson's *View of the Formation, &c., of Armies*. 1824.

is, in consequence of the impulse of his own internal sentiment, rather than the external impulse of the command of another; for it is often verified in experience that, where the enemy is before the Highlander and nearly in contact with him, the authority of the officer is in a measure null; the duty is notwithstanding done, and well done, by the impulses of natural instinct.

"Their conduct in the year 1745 proves very distinctly that they are neither a ferocious nor a cruel people. No troops ever, perhaps, traversed a country which might be deemed hostile leaving so few traces of outrage behind them as were left by the Highlanders in the year 1745. They are better known at the present time than they were then, and they are known to be eminent for honesty and fidelity, where confidence is given them. They possess exalted notions of honour, warm friendships, and much national pride."

Of the disinclination from peaceful employment, and propensity for war here spoken of, Dr Jackson elsewhere affords us a striking illustration. While passing through the Isle of Skye³ in the autumn of 1783, he met a man of great age whose shoulder had, through a recent fall, been dislocated. This condition was speedily rectified by our traveller. "As there seemed to be something rather uncommon about the old man, I asked if he had lived all his life in the Highlands? No:—he said he made one of the FORTY-SECOND when they were first raised; then had gone with them to Germany; but when he had heard that his Prince was landed in the North, he purchased, or had made such interest that he procured his discharge; came home, and enlisted under his banner. He fought at Cul-

loden, and was wounded. After everything was settled, he returned to his old regiment, and served with it till he received another wound that rendered him unfit for service. He now, he said, lived the best way he could, on his pension."

Dr Jackson also strongly advocates the desirability of forming national and district regiments, and of keeping them free from any foreign intermixture. Such a policy seems to be getting more and more into favour among modern military authorities; and we believe that at the present time it is seldom, and only with reluctance, that any but Scotchmen are admitted into Scotch, and especially into Highland regiments, at least this is the case with regard to privates. Indeed, it is well known that in our own country there is even now an attempt among those who manage such matters, to connect particular regiments with certain districts. Not only does such a plan tend to keep up the *morale* respectability and *esprit de corps* of each regiment, but is well calculated to keep up the numbers, by establishing a connection between the various regiments and the militia of the districts with which they are connected. Originally each Highland regiment was connected and raised from a well defined district, and military men who are conversant in such matters think that it would be advisable to restore these regiments to their old footing in this respect. On this subject, we again quote the shrewd remarks of Dr Jackson:—

"If military materials be thrown together promiscuously—that is, arranged by no other rule except that of size or quantity of matter, as it is admitted that the individual parts possess different propensities and different powers of action, it is plain that the instrument composed of these different and independent parts has a tendency to act differently; the parts are constrained to act on one object by stimulation or coercion only.

"Military excellence consists, as often hinted, in every part of the instrument acting with full force—acting from one principle and for one purpose; and hence it is evident that in a mixed fabric, composed of parts of unequal power and different temper, disunion is a consequence, if all act to the full extent of their

³ "The Isle of Skye has, within the last forty years, furnished for the public service, twenty-one lieutenant-generals and major-generals; forty-five lieutenant-colonels; six hundred majors, captains, lieutenants, and subalterns; ten thousand foot soldiers; one hundred and twenty pipers; four governors of British colonies; one governor-general; one adjutant-general; one chief-baron of England; and one judge of the Supreme Court of Scotland. The generals may be classed thus:—eight Macdonalds, six Macleods, two Macallisters, two Macaskills, one Mackinnon, one Elder, and one Macqueen. The Isle of Skye is forty-five miles long, and about fifteen in mean breadth. Truly the inhabitants are a wonderful people. It may be mentioned that this island is the birth-place of Cuthullin, the celebrated hero mentioned in Ossian's Poems."—*Inverness Journal*.

power; or if disunion be not a consequence, the combined act must necessarily be shackled, and, as such, inferior, the strong being restrained from exertion for the sake of preserving union with the weak.

"The imperfection now stated necessarily attaches to regiments composed of different nations mixed promiscuously. It even attaches, in some degree, to regiments which are formed indiscriminately from the population of all the districts or counties of an extensive kingdom. This assumption, anticipated by reasoning, is confirmed by experience in the military history of semi-barbarous tribes, which are often observed, without the aid of tactic, as taught in modern schools, to stick together in danger and to achieve acts of heroism beyond the comprehension of those who have no knowledge of man but as part of a mechanical instrument of war. The fact has numerous proofs in the history of nations; but it has not a more decisive one than that which occurred in the late SEVENTY-FIRST REGIMENT in the revolutionary war of America. In the summer of the year 1779, a party of the Seventy-first Regiment, consisting of fifty-six men and five officers, was detached from a redoubt at Stoneferry, in South Carolina, for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy, which was supposed to be advancing in force to attack the post. The instructions given to the officer who commanded went no further than to reconnoitre and retire upon the redoubt. The troops were new troops,—ardent as Highlanders usually are. They fell in with a strong column of the enemy (upwards of two thousand) within a short distance of the post; and, instead of retiring according to instruction, they thought proper to attack, with an instinctive view, it was supposed, to retard progress, and thereby to give time to those who were in the redoubt to make better preparations for defence. This they did; but they were themselves nearly destroyed. All the officers and non-commissioned officers were killed or wounded, and seven of the privates only remained on their legs at the end of the combat. The commanding officer fell, and, in falling, desired the few who still resisted to make the best of their way to the redoubt. They did not obey. The national sympathies were warm. National

honour did not permit them to leave their officers in the field; and they actually persisted in covering their fallen comrades until a reinforcement arriving from head quarters, which was at some distance, induced the enemy to retire.

In the narratives which follow, we have confined ourselves strictly to those regiments which are at the present day officially recognised as Highland. Many existing regiments were originally raised in Highland districts, and formerly wore the Highland dress, which, as our readers will see, had ultimately to be changed into ordinary line regiments, from the difficulty of finding Highlanders willing to enlist; the history of such regiments we have followed only so long as they were recognised as Highland. In this way the existing strictly Highland regiments are reduced to eight—The Black Watch or 42d, the 71st, 72d, 74th, 78th, 79th, 92d, 93d.

42D ROYAL HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

AM FREICEADAN DUBH—

"THE BLACK WATCH."

I.

1726-1775.

Embodying the Black Watch—March for England—Mutiny—Fontenoy—Embarks for the French coast—Flanders—Battle of Lafeldt—Return of the regiment to Ireland—Number changed from the 43d to the 42d—Embarks for New York—Louisbourg—Ticonderoga—The West Indies—Ticonderoga and Crown Point—Surrender of Montreal—Martinique—Havannah—Bushy Run—Fort Pitt—Ireland—Return of the 42d to Scotland.



COLONELS OF THE 42ND ROYAL HIGHLANDERS.



JOHN, EARL OF CRAWFORD.
25th Oct. 1739.—1740.
First Colonel.



SIR GEORGE MURRAY, G.C.B. G.C.H.
6th Sept. 1823.—29th Dec. 1842.
Also Col. of 72nd Highl^{rs}: 24th Feb. 1817—6th Sept. 1823.



SIR JOHN MACDONALD, K.C.B.
15th Jan. 1844: died Col. of the Reg^t: 28th March 1850.



SIR DUNCAN A. CAMERON, K.C.B.
9th Sept. 1863.—

VICTORIES.

EGYPT.	ORTHESE.
(With the Sphinx.)	TOULOUSE.
CORUNNA.	PENINSULA.
FUENTES D'ONOR.	WATERLOO.
PYRENEES.	ALMA.
NIVELLE.	SEVASTOPOL.
NIVE.	LUCKNOW.

THE design of rendering such a valuable class of subjects available to the state by forming regular military corps out of it, seems not to have entered into the views of the government till about the year 1729, when six companies of Highlanders were raised, which, from forming distinct corps unconnected with each other, received the appellation of independent companies. Three of these companies consisted of 100 men each, and were therefore called large companies; Lord Lovat, Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, and Colonel Grant of Ballindalloch, were appointed captains over them. The three smaller companies, which consisted of 75 each, were commanded by Colonel Alexander Campbell of Finab, John Campbell of Carrick, and George Munro of Culcairn, under the commission of captain-lieutenants. To each of the six companies were attached two lieutenants and one ensign. To distinguish them from the regular troops, who, from having coats, waistcoats, and breeches of scarlet cloth, were called *Saighdearan Dearg*, or Red soldiers; the independent companies, who were attired in tartan consisting mostly of black, green, and blue, were designated *Am Freiceadan Dubh*, or Black Watch,—from the sombre appearance of their dress.

As the services of these companies were not required beyond their own territory, and as the intrants were not subjected to the humiliating provisions of the disarming act, no difficulty was found in forming them; and when completed, they presented the singular spectacle of a number of young men of respectable families serving as privates in the ranks. "Many of the men who composed these companies were of a higher station in society than that from which soldiers in general are raised; cadets of gentlemen's families, sons of gentlemen farmers, and tacksmen, either immediately or distantly descended from gentlemen's families,—men who felt themselves responsible

for their conduct to high-minded and honourable families, as well as to a country for which they cherished a devoted affection. In addition to the advantages derived from their superior rank in life, they possessed, in an eminent degree, that of a commanding external deportment, special care being taken in selecting men of full height, well proportioned, and of handsome appearance."⁴

The duties assigned to these companies were to enforce the disarming act, to overawe the disaffected, and watch their motions, and to check depredations. For this purpose they were stationed in small detachments in different parts of the country, and generally throughout the district in which they were raised. Thus Fort Augustus and the neighbouring parts of Inverness-shire were occupied by the Frasers under Lord Lovat; Ballindalloch and the Grants were stationed in Strathspey and Badenoch; the Munros under Culcairn, in Ross and Sutherland; Lochnell's and Carrick's companies were stationed in Athole and Breadalbane, and Finab's in Lochaber, and the northern parts of Argyshire among the disaffected Camerons, and Stewarts of Appin. All Highlanders of whatever clan were admitted indiscriminately into these companies as soldiers; but the officers were taken, almost exclusively, from the whig clans.

The independent companies continued to exist as such until the year 1739, when government resolved to raise four additional companies, and to form the whole into a regiment of the line. For this purpose, letters of service, dated 25th October 1739, were addressed to the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, who was appointed to the command of the regiment about to be formed, which was to consist of 1000 men. Although the commissions were dated as above, the regiment was not embodied till the month of May 1740, when it assembled

⁴ Stewart's *Sketches*. In confirmation of this, General Stewart mentions the case of Mr Stewart of Bohallie, his grand-uncle by marriage, who was one of the gentlemen soldiers in Carrick's company. "This gentleman, a man of family and education, was five feet eleven inches in height, remarkable for his personal strength and activity, and one of the best swordsmen of his time in an age when good swordsmanship was common, and considered an indispensable and graceful accomplishment of a gentleman; and yet, with all these qualifications, he was only a centre man of the centre rank of his company."

on a field between Taybridge and Aberfeldy,⁵ in the county of Perth, under the number of the 43d regiment, although they still retained the country name of the Black Watch. "The uniform was a scarlet jacket and waistcoat, with buff facings and white lace,—tartan⁶ plaid of twelve yards plaited round the middle of the body, the upper part being fixed on the left shoulder ready to be thrown loose, and wrapped over both shoulders and firelock in rainy weather. At night the plaid served the purpose of a blanket, and was a sufficient covering for the Highlander. These were called belted plaids from being kept tight to the body by a belt, and were worn on guards, reviews, and on all occasions when the men were in full dress. On this belt hung the pistols and dirk when worn. In the barracks, and when not on duty, the little kilt or philibeg was worn, a blue bonnet with a border of white, red and green, arranged in small squares to resemble, as is said, the *fess cheque* in the arms of the different branches of the Stewart family, and a tuft of feathers, or sometimes, from economy or necessity, a small piece of black bear-skin. The arms were a musket, a bayonet, and a large basket-hilted broadsword. These were furnished by government. Such of the men as chose to supply themselves with pistols and

⁵ Sir Robert Menzies, writing to the *Dundee Advertiser* in connection with the monument recently erected at Dunkeld to the Black Watch, says this is a mistake, although it is the account generally received, and that given by General David Stewart. Sir Robert says "the detailed companies of the Black Watch met at Weem, and that the whole regiment was first drawn up in the field at Boltachan, between Weem and Tay-bridge." It is strange, considering the inscription on the monument, that Sir Robert should have been asked to allow it to be erected in the field in question. After all, both statements may be essentially correct, and it is of no great consequence.

⁶ While the companies acted independently, each commander assumed the tartan of his own clan. When embodied, no clan having a superior claim to offer a uniform plaid to the whole, and Lord Crawford, the colonel, being a lowlander, a new pattern was assumed, which has ever since been known as the 42d, or Black Watch tartan, being distinct from all others. Here we must acknowledge our indebtedness to a manuscript history of this regiment, kindly lent us by Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley, whose "happy home," he says himself, the regiment was for 38 years. The volume contains much curious, valuable, and interesting information, on which we shall largely draw in our account of the 42d. Our obligations to Colonel Wheatley in connection with this history of the Highland regiments are very numerous; his willingness to lend us every assistance in his power deserves our warmest thanks.

dirks were allowed to carry them, and some had targets after the fashion of their country. The sword-belt was of black leather, and the cartouch-box was carried in front, supported by a narrow belt round the middle."⁷

The officers appointed to this regiment were:—

Colonel—John, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, died in 1748.

Lieutenant-Colonel—Sir Robert Munro of Foulis, Bart., killed at Falkirk, 1746.

Major—George Grant, brother of the Laird of Grant, removed from the service by sentence of a court-martial, for allowing the rebels to get possession of the castle of Inverness in 1746.

Captains.

George Munro of Culcairn, brother of Sir Robert Munro, killed in 1746.⁸

Dugal Campbell of Craignish, retired in 1745.

John Campbell of Carrick, killed at Fontenoy.

Colin Campbell, junior, of Monzie, retired in 1743.

Sir James Colquhoun of Luss, Bart., retired in 1748.

Colin Campbell of Ballimore, retired.

John Munro, promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel in 1743, retired in 1749.

Captain-Lieutenant Duncan Macfarlane, retired in 1744.

Lieutenants.

Paul Macpherson.

Lewis Grant of Auchterblair.

John Maclean of Kingarloch.
John Mackenzie.

{ Both removed from the
regiment in conse-
quence of having
fought a duel in 1744.

Alexander Macdonald.

Malcolm Fraser, son of Culduthel, killed at Bergen-op-Zoom in 1747.

George Ramsay.

Francis Grant, son of the Laird of Grant, died Lieutenant-General in 1782.

John Macneil.

Ensigns.

Dugal Campbell, killed at Fontenoy.

Dugal Stewart.

John Menzies of Coinrie.

Edward Carrick.

Gilbert Stewart of Kincaigie.

Gordon Graham of Draines.

Archd. Macnab, son of the Laird of Macnab, died Lieutenant-General, 1790.

Colin Campbell.

Dugal Stewart.

James Campbell of Glenfalloch, died of wounds at Fontenoy.

Chaplain—Hon. Gideon Murray.

Surgeon—James Munro, brother of Sir Robert Munro.⁹

Adjutant—Gilbert Stewart.

Quarter-Master—John Forbes.

In 1740 the Earl of Crawford was removed to the Life Guards, and Brigadier-General Lord Sempill was appointed Colonel of the Highlanders.

⁷ Stewart's *Sketches*.

⁸ See p. 234 of this volume.

⁹ See vol. i., p. 626.

After remaining nearly eighteen months in quarters near Taybridge,¹ the regiment was marched northward, in the winter of 1741-2 and the men remained in the stations assigned them till the spring of 1743, when they were ordered to repair to Perth. Having assembled there in March of that year, they were surprised on being informed that orders had been received to march the regiment for England, a step which they considered contrary to an alleged understanding when regimented, that the sphere of their services was not to extend beyond their native country. When the intention of employing them in foreign service came to be known, many of the warmest supporters of the government highly disapproved of the design, among whom was Lord President Forbes. In a letter to General Clayton, the successor of Marshal Wade, the chief commander in Scotland, his lordship thus expresses himself:—"When I first heard of the orders given to the Highland regiment to march southwards, it gave me no sort of concern, because I supposed the intention was only to see them; but as I have lately been assured that they are destined for foreign service, I cannot dissemble my uneasiness at a resolution, that may, in my apprehension, be attended with very bad consequences; nor can I prevail with myself not to communicate to you my thoughts on the subject, however late they may come; because if what I am to suggest has not been already under consideration, it's possible the resolution may be departed from." After noticing the consequences which might result from leaving the Highlands unprotected from the designs of the disaffected in the event of a war with France, he thus proceeds:—"Having thus stated to you the danger I dread, I must, in the next place, put you in mind, that the present system for securing the peace of the Highlands, which is the best I ever heard of, is by regular troops stationed from Inverness to Fort William, amongst the chain of lakes which in a manner divides the Highlands, to command the obedience of the inhabitants of both sides, and by a body of disciplined Highlanders wearing the dress and speaking the language of

the country, to execute such orders as require expedition, and for which neither the dress nor the manner of the other troops are proper. The Highlanders, now regimented, were at first independent companies; and though their dress, language, and manners, qualified them for securing the low country against depredations; yet that was not the sole use of them: the same qualities fitted them for every expedition that required secrecy and despatch; they served for all purposes of hussars or light horse, in a country where mountains and bogs render cavalry useless, and if properly disposed over the Highlands, nothing that was commonly reported and believed by the Highlanders could be a secret to their commanders, because of their intimacy with the people and the sameness of the language."² Notwithstanding this remonstrance, the government persisted in its determination to send the regiment abroad; and to deceive the men, from whom their real destination was concealed, they were told that the object of their march to England was merely to gratify the curiosity of the king,³ who was desirous of seeing a

² Culloden Papers, No. CCCXC.

³ The king, having never seen a Highland soldier, expressed a desire to see one. Three privates, remarkable for their figure and good looks, were fixed upon and sent to London a short time before the regiment marched. These were Gregor M'Gregor, commonly called Gregor the Beautiful, John Campbell, son of Duncan Campbell of the family of Duneaves, Perthshire, and John Grant from Strathspey, of the family of Ballindalloch. Grant fell sick, and died at Aberfeldy. The others "were presented by their Lieutenant-Colonel, Sir Robert Munro, to the king, and performed the broadsword exercise, and that of the Lochaber axe, or lance, before his majesty, the Duke of Cumberland, Marshal Wade, and a number of general officers assembled for the purpose, in the Great Gallery at St James's. They displayed so much dexterity and skill in the management of their weapons, as to give perfect satisfaction to his majesty. Each got a gratuity of one guinea, which they gave to the porter at the palace gate as they passed out."* They thought that the king had mistaken their character and condition in their own country. Such was, in general, the character of the men who originally composed the Black Watch. This feeling of self-estimation inspired a high spirit and sense of honour in the regiment, which continued to form its character and conduct long after the description of men who originally composed it was totally changed. These men afterwards rose to rank in the army. Mr Campbell got an ensigncy for his conduct at Fontenoy, and was captain-lieutenant of the regiment when he was killed at Ticonderoga, where he also distinguished himself. Mr M'Gregor was promoted in another regiment, and afterwards purchased the lands of Inverardine in

¹ Taybridge and the Point of Lyon, a mile below Taymouth Castle, were their places of rendezvous for exercise.

* *Westminster Journal*.

Highland regiment. Satisfied with this explanation, they proceeded on their march. The English people, who had been led to consider the Highlanders as savages, were struck with the warlike appearance of the regiment and the orderly deportment of the men, who received in the country and towns through which they passed the mostly friendly attentions.

Having reached the vicinity of London on the 29th and 30th of April, in two divisions, the regiment was reviewed on the 14th of May, on Finchley Common, by Marshal Wade. The arrival of the corps in the neighbourhood of the metropolis had attracted vast crowds of people to their quarters, anxious to behold men of whom they had heard the most extraordinary relations; but, mingled with these, were persons who frequented the quarters of the Highlanders from a very different motive. Their object was to sow the seeds of distrust and disaffection among the men, by circulating misrepresentations and falsehoods respecting the intentions of the government. These incendiaries gave out that a gross deception had been practised upon the regiment, in regard to the object of their journey, in proof of which they adduced the fact of his majesty's departure for Hanover, on the very day of the arrival of the last division, and that the real design of the government was to get rid of them altogether, as disaffected persons, and, with that view, that the regiment was to be transported for life to the American plantations. These insidious falsehoods had their intended effect upon the minds of the Highlanders, who took care, however, to conceal the indignation they felt at their supposed betrayers. All their thoughts were bent upon a return to their own country, and they concerted their measures for its accomplishment with a secrecy which escaped the observation of their officers, of whose integrity in the affair they do not, however, appear to have entertained any suspicion.

The mutiny which followed created a great sensation, and the circumstances which led to it formed, both in public and in private, the ordinary topic of discussion. The writer of a

pamphlet, which was published immediately after the mutiny, and which contains the best view of the subject, and an intimate knowledge of the facts, thus describes the affair:—

“On their march through the northern counties of England, they were every where received with such hospitality, that they appeared in the highest spirits; and it was imagined that their attachment to home was so much abated, that they would feel no reluctance to the change. As they approached the metropolis, however, and were exposed to the taunts of the *true-bred English clowns*, they became more gloomy and sullen. Animated, even to the lowest private, with the feelings of gentlemen, they could ill brook the rudeness of boors—nor could they patiently submit to affronts in a country to which they had been called by invitation of their sovereign. A still deeper cause of discontent preyed upon their minds. A rumour had reached them on their march that they were to be embarked for the plantations. The fate of the marines, the invalids, and other regiments which had been sent to these colonies, seemed to mark out this service as at once the most perilous and the most degrading to which British soldiers could be exposed. With no enemy to encounter worthy of their courage, there was another consideration, which made it peculiarly odious to the Highlanders. By the act of parliament of the eleventh of George I., transportation to the colonies was denounced against the Highland rebels, &c. as the greatest punishment that could be inflicted on them except death, and, when they heard that they were to be sent there, the galling suspicion naturally arose in their minds, that *‘after being used as rods to scourge their own countrymen, they were to be thrown into the fire!’* These apprehensions they kept secret even from their own officers; and the care with which they dissembled them is the best evidence of the deep impression which they had made. Amidst all their jealousies and fears, however, they looked forward with considerable expectation to the review, when they were to come under the immediate observation of his majesty, or some of the royal family. On the 14th of May they were reviewed by Marshal Wade, and many persons of distinction, who were highly de-

Breadalbane. He was grandfather of Sir Gregor M'Gregor, a commander in South America.—Stewart's *Sketches*, vol. i. p. 250.

lighted with the promptitude and alacrity with which they went through their military exercises, and gave a very favourable report of them, where it was likely to operate most to their advantage. From that moment, however, all their thoughts were bent on the means of returning to their own country; and on this wild and romantic march they accordingly set out a few days after. Under pretence of preparing for the review, they had been enabled to provide themselves, unsuspectedly, with some necessary articles, and, confiding in their capability of enduring privations and fatigue, they imagined that they should have great advantages over any troops that might be sent in pursuit of them. It was on the night between Tuesday and Wednesday (17th and 18th May) after the review that they assembled on a common near Highgate, and commenced their march to the north. They kept as nearly as possible between the two great roads, passing from wood to wood in such a manner that it was not well known which way they moved. Orders were issued by the lords-justices to the commanding officers of the forces stationed in the counties between them and Scotland, and an advertisement was published by the secretary at war, exhorting the civil officers to be vigilant in their endeavours to discover their route. It was not, however, till about eight o'clock on the evening of Thursday, 19th May, that any certain intelligence of them was obtained, and they had then proceeded as far as Northampton, and were supposed to be shaping their course towards Nottinghamshire. General Blakeney, who commanded at Northampton, immediately despatched Captain Ball, of 'General Wade's regiment of horse, an officer well acquainted with that part of the country, to search after them. They had now entered Lady Wood between Brig Stock and Dean Thorp, about four miles from Oundle, when they were discovered. Captain Ball was joined in the evening by the general himself, and about nine all the troops were drawn up in order, near the wood where the Highlanders lay. Seeing themselves in this situation, and unwilling to aggravate their offence by the crime of shedding the blood of his majesty's troops, they sent one of their guides to inform the general that he might, without fear, send an officer to treat of

the terms on which they should be expected to surrender. Captain Ball was accordingly delegated, and, on coming to a conference, the captain demanded that they should instantly lay down their arms and surrender as prisoners at discretion. This they positively refused, declaring that they would rather be cut to pieces than submit, unless the general should send them a written promise, signed by his own hand, that their arms should not be taken from them, and that they should have a free pardon. Upon this the captain delivered the conditions proposed by General Blakeney, viz., that if they would peaceably lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners, the most favourable report should be made of them to the lords-justices; when they again protested that they would be cut in pieces rather than surrender, except on the conditions of retaining their arms, and receiving a free pardon. 'Hitherto,' exclaimed the captain, 'I have been your friend, and am still anxious to do all I can to save you; but, if you continue obstinate an hour longer, surrounded as you are by the king's forces, not a man of you shall be left alive; and, for my own part, I assure you that I shall give quarter to none.' He then demanded that two of their number should be ordered to conduct him out of the wood. Two brothers were accordingly ordered to accompany him. Finding that they were inclined to submit, he promised them both a free pardon, and, taking one of them along with him, he sent back the other to endeavour, by every means, to overcome the obstinacy of the rest. He soon returned with thirteen more. Having marched them to a short distance from the wood, the captain again sent one of them back to his comrades to inform them how many had submitted; and in a short time seventeen more followed the example. These were all marched away with their arms (the powder being blown out of their pans,) and when they came before the general they laid down their arms. On returning to the wood they found the whole body disposed to submit to the general's troops.

"While this was doing in the country," continues our author, "there was nothing but the flight of the Highlanders talked of in town. The wiser sort blamed it, but some of their

hot-headed countrymen were for comparing it to the retreat of the 10,000 Greeks through Persia; by which, for the honour of the ancient kingdom of Scotland, Corporal M'Pherson was erected into a Xenophon. But amongst these idle dreams, the most injurious were those that reflected on their officers, and by a strange kind of innuendo, would have fixed the crime of these people's desertion upon those who did their duty, and staid here.

"As to the rest of the regiment, they were ordered immediately to Kent, whither they marched very cheerfully, and were from thence transported to Flanders, and are by this time with the army, where I dare say it will quickly appear they were not afraid of fighting the French. In King William's war there was a Highland regiment that, to avoid going to Flanders, had formed a design of flying into the mountains. This was discovered before they could put it into execution; and General M'Kay, who then commanded in Scotland, caused them to be immediately surrounded and disarmed, and afterwards shipped them for Holland. When they came to the confederate army, they behaved very briskly upon all occasions; but as pick-thanks are never wanting in courts, some wise people were pleased to tell King William that the Highlanders drank King James's health,—a report which was probably very true. The king, whose good sense taught him to despise such dirty informations, asked General Talmash, who was near him, how they behaved in the field? 'As well as any troops in the army,' answered the general, like a soldier and a man of honour. 'Why then,' replied the king, 'if they fight for me, let them drink my father's health as often as they please.' On the road, and even after they entered to London, they kept up their spirits, and marched very cheerfully; nor did they show any marks of terror when they were brought into the Tower."

Though it was evident that the Highlanders were led to commit this rash act under a false impression, and that they were the unconscious dupes of designing men, yet the government thought it could not overlook such a gross breach of military discipline, and the deserters were accordingly tried before a general court-martial on the 8th of June. They were all found

guilty, and condemned to be shot. Three only, however, suffered capitally. These were Corporals Malcolm and Samuel M'Pherson,⁴ and Farquhar Shaw, a private. They were shot



Farquhar Shaw, of the Black Watch, in the uniform of the Regiment, 1743. From the picture in the possession of Lord John Murray, Colonel of the Regiment 1745, Major-General 1755.

upon the parade within the Tower, in presence of the other prisoners, who joined in their prayers with great earnestness. The unfortunate men met their death with composure, and acted with great propriety. Their bodies were put into three coffins by three of the prisoners, their clansmen and connexions, and were buried together in one grave at the place of execution.⁵ From an ill-judged severity, one hundred of the deserters were equally divided between the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca, and a similar number were distributed among the different corps in the Leeward islands, Jamaica and Georgia,—a circumstance

⁴ Brother to General Kenneth M'Pherson of the East India Company's Service, who died in 1815. General Stewart says that Lord John Murray, who was afterwards colonel of the regiment, had portraits of the sufferers hung up in his dining-room; but for what reason is not known. They were remarkable for their great size and handsome figure.

⁵ *St James's Chronicle*, 20th July 1743.

which, it is believed, impressed the Highlanders with an idea that the government had intended to deceive them.

Near the end of May the remainder of the regiment was sent to Flanders, where it joined the army under the command of Field-marshal the Earl of Stair. During the years 1743-44, they were quartered in different parts of that country, and by their quiet, orderly, and kind deportment, acquired the entire confidence of the people among whom they mixed. The regiment "was judged the most trust-worthy guard of property, insomuch that the people in Flanders choose to have them always for their protection. Seldom were any of them drunk, and they as rarely swore. And the elector-palatine wrote to his envoy in London, desiring him to thank the king of Great Britain for the excellent behaviour of the regiment while in his territories in 1743 and 1744, and for whose sake he adds, 'I will always pay a respect and regard to a Scotchman in future.'"⁶

Lord Sempill, who had succeeded the Earl of Crawford in the colonelcy of the regiment in 1740, being appointed in April 1745 to the 25th regiment, Lord John Murray, son of the Duke of Athole, succeeded him as colonel of the Highlanders. During the command of these officers, the regiment was designated by the titles of its successive commanders, as Lord Crawford's, Lord Sempill's, and Lord John Murray's Highlanders.

Baffled in his efforts to prevent the elevation of the Grand Duke of Tuscany to the imperial throne, the King of France resolved to humble the house of Austria by making a conquest of the Netherlands. With this view he assembled an immense army in Flanders under the command of the celebrated Marshal Saxe, and having with the dauphin joined the army in April 1745, he, on the 30th of that month, invested Tournay, then garrisoned by 8000 men, commanded by General Baron Dorth, who defended the place with vigour. The Duke of Cumberland, who arrived from England early in May, assumed the command of the allied army assembled at Soignies. It consisted of twenty battalions and twenty-six squadrons of British, five battalions and

sixteen squadrons of Hanoverians, all under the immediate command of his royal highness; twenty-six battalions and forty squadrons of Dutch, commanded by the Prince of Waldeck; and eight squadrons of Austrians, under the command of Count Konigseg.

Though the allied army was greatly inferior in number to the enemy, yet as the French army was detached, the duke resolved to march to the relief of Tournay. Marshal Saxe, who soon became aware of the design of the allies, drew up his army in line of battle, on the right bank of the Scheldt, extending from the wood of Barri to Fontenoy, and thence to the village of St Antoine in sight of the British army.

The allied army advanced to Leuse, and on the 9th of May took up a position between the villages of Bougries and Maulbre, in sight of the French army. In the evening the duke, attended by Field-marshal Konigseg and the Prince of Waldeck, reconnoitred the position of Marshal Saxe. They were covered by the Highlanders, who kept up a sharp fire with French sharp-shooters who were concealed in the woods. After a general survey, the Earl of Crawford, who was left in command of the advance of the army, proceeded with the Highlanders and a party of hussars to examine the enemy's outposts more narrowly. In the course of the day a Highlander in advance observing that one of the sharp-shooters repeatedly fired at his post, placed his bonnet upon the top of a stick near the verge of a hollow road. This stratagem decoyed the Frenchman, and whilst he was intent on his object, the Highlander approaching cautiously to a point which afforded a sure aim, succeeded in bringing him to the ground.⁷

Having ascertained that a plain which lay between the positions of two armies was covered with some flying squadrons of the enemy, and that their outposts commanded some narrow defiles through which the allied forces had necessarily to march to the attack, the Duke of Cumberland resolved to scour the plain, and to dislodge the outposts, preparatory to advancing upon the besieging army. Accordingly at an early hour next morning, six battalions and twelve squadrons were ordered to

⁶ Dr Doddridge's *Life of Colonel Gardiner*.

⁷ Rolt's *Life of the Earl of Crawford*.

disperse the forces on the plain and clear the defiles, a service which they soon performed. Some Austrian hussars being hotly pressed on this occasion by the French light troops, a party of Highlanders was sent to support them, and the Frenchmen were quickly repulsed with loss. This was the first time the Highlanders stood the fire of the enemy in a regular body, and so well did they acquit themselves, that they were particularly noticed for their spirited conduct.

Resolving to attack the enemy next morning, the commander-in-chief of the allied army made the necessary dispositions. Opposite the space between Fontenoy and the wood of Barri, he formed the British and Hanoverian infantry in two lines, and posted their cavalry in the rear. Near the left of the Hanoverians he drew up the Dutch, whose left was towards St Antoine. The French in their turn completed their batteries, and made the most formidable preparations to receive the allies. At two o'clock in the morning of the 11th of May, the Duke of Cumberland began his march, and drew up his army in front of the enemy. The engagement began about four by the guards and the Highlanders attacking a redoubt, advanced on the right of the wood near Vezon, occupied by 600 men, in the vicinity of which place the dauphin was posted. Though the enemy were entrenched breast-high they were forced out by the guards with bayonets, and by the Highlanders with sword, pistol, and dirk, the latter killing a considerable number of them.

The allies continuing steadfastly to advance, Marshal Saxe, who had, during three attacks, lost some of his bravest men, began to think of a retreat; but being extremely unwilling to abandon his position, he resolved to make a last effort to retrieve the fortune of the day by attacking his assailants with all his forces. Being far advanced in a dropsy, the marshal had been carried about the whole day in a litter. This he now quitted, and mounting his horse, he rode over the field giving the necessary orders, whilst two men supported him on each side. He brought forward the household troops of the King of France: he posted his best cavalry on the flanks, and the king's body guards, with the flower of the infantry in the

centre. Having brought up all his field-pieces, he, under cover of their fire and that of the batteries, made a combined charge of cavalry and infantry on the allied army, the greater part of which had, by this time, formed into line by advancing beyond the confined ground. The allies, unable to withstand the impetuosity of this attack, gave way, and were driven back across the ravine, carrying along with them the Highlanders, who had been ordered up from the attack of the village, and two other regiments ordered from the reserve to support the line. After rallying for a short time beyond the ravine, the whole army retreated by order of the duke, the Highlanders and Howard's regiment (the 19th) under the command of Lord Crawford, covering the rear. The retreat, which was commenced about three o'clock in the afternoon, was effected in excellent order. When it was over his lordship pulled off his hat, and returning thanks to the covering party, said "that they had acquired as much honour in covering so great a retreat, as if they had gained a battle."⁸ The carnage on both sides was great. The allies lost, in killed and wounded, about 7000 men, including a number of officers. The loss of the French is supposed to have equalled that of the allies. The Highlanders lost Captain John Campbell of Carrick,⁹ whose head was carried off by a cannon-ball early in the action;¹ Ensign Lachlan Campbell, son of Craignish, and 30 men; Captain Robert Campbell of Finab; Ensigns Ronald Campbell, nephew of Craignish, and James Campbell, son of Glenfalloch; 2 sergeants, and 86 rank and file wounded.

Before the engagement, the part which the Highlanders would act formed a subject of general speculation. Those who knew them had no misgivings; but there were other persons,

⁸ Rolt's *Life of the Earl of Crawford*.

⁹ "Captain John Campbell of Carrick was one of the most accomplished gentleman of his day. Possessing very agreeable manners and bravery, tempered by gaiety, he was regarded by the people as one of those who retained the chivalrous spirit of their ancestors. A poet, a soldier, and a gentleman, no less gallant among the ladies than he was brave among men; he was the object of general admiration; and the last generation of Highlanders among whom he was best known, took great pleasure in cherishing his memory, and repeating anecdotes concerning him. He married a sister of General Campbell of Mamore, afterwards Duke of Argyll."—*Stewart's Sketches*.

¹ Culloden Papers, p. 200.

high in rank, who looked upon the support of such men with an unfavourable eye. So strong was this impression "in some high quarters, that, on the rapid charge made by the Highlanders, when pushing forward sword in hand nearly at full speed, and advancing so far, it was suggested that they inclined to change sides and join the enemy, who had already three brigades of Scotch and Irish engaged, which performed very important services on that day."² All anxiety, however, was soon put an end to by the decided way in which they sustained the national honour.

Captain John Munro of the 43d regiment, in a letter to Lord-president Forbes, thus describes the battle:—"A little after four in the morning, the 30th of April, our cannon began to play, and the French batteries, with triple our weight of metal and numbers too, answered us; about five the infantry was in march; we (the Highlanders) were in the centre of the right brigade; but by six we were ordered to cross the field, (I mean our regiment, for the rest of our brigades did not march to attack,) a little village on the left of the whole, called Fontenoy. As we passed the field the French batteries played upon our front, and right and left flanks, but to no purpose, for their batteries being upon rising ground their balls flew over us and hurt the second line. We were to support the Dutch, who, in their usual way, were very dilatory. We got within musket-shot of their batteries, when we received three full fires of their batteries and small arms, which killed us forty men and one ensign. Here we were obliged to skulk behind houses and hedges for about an hour and a half, waiting for the Dutch, who, when they came up, behaved but so and so. Our regiment being in some disorder, I wanted to draw them up in rear of the Dutch, which their general would scarce allow of; but at last I did it, and marched them again to the front. In half an hour after the Dutch gave way, and Sir Robert Munro thought proper we should retire; for we had then the whole batteries from the enemy's ground playing upon us, and three thousand foot ready to fall upon us. We retired; but before we had marched

thirty yards, we had orders to return to the attack, which we did; and in about ten minutes after had orders to march directly with all expedition, to assist the Hanoverians, who had got by this time well advanced upon the batteries upon the left. They behaved most gallantly and bravely; and had the Dutch taken example from them, we had supped at Tournay. The British behaved well; we (the Highlanders) were told by his royal highness that we did our duty well. . . . By two of the clock we all retreated; and we were ordered to cover the retreat, as the only regiment that could be kept to their duty, and in this affair we lost sixty more; but the duke made so friendly and favourable a speech to us, that if we had been ordered to attack their lines afresh, I dare say our poor fellows would have done it."³

The Highlanders on this occasion were commanded by Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis, their lieutenant-colonel, in whom, besides great military experience, were united all the best qualities of the soldier. Aware of the importance of allowing his men to follow their accustomed tactics, he obtained leave of the Duke of Cumberland to allow them to fight in their own way. He accordingly "ordered the whole regiment to clap to the ground on receiving the

² Clalloden Papers, No. CCXLIII. "On this occasion the Duke of Cumberland was so much struck with the conduct of the Highlanders, and concurred so cordially in the esteem which they had secured to themselves both from friends and foes, that, wishing to show a mark of his approbation, he desired it to be intimated to them, that he would be happy to grant the men any favour which they chose to ask, and which he could concede, as a testimony of the good opinion he had formed of them. The reply was worthy of so handsome an offer. After expressing acknowledgments for the condescension of the commander-in-chief, the men assured him that no favour he could bestow would gratify them so much as a pardon for one of their comrades, a soldier of the regiment, who had been tried by a court-martial for allowing a prisoner to escape, and was under sentence of a heavy corporal punishment, which, if inflicted, would bring disgrace on them all, and on their families and country. This favour, of course, was instantly granted. The nature of this request, the feeling which suggested it, and, in short, the general qualities of the corps, struck the Duke with the more force, as, at the time, he had not been in Scotland, and had no means of knowing the character of its inhabitants, unless, indeed, he had formed his opinion from the common ribaldry of the times, when it was the fashion to consider the Highlander 'as a fierce and savage depredator, speaking a barbarous language, and inhabiting a barren and gloomy region, which fear and prudence forbade all strangers to enter.'"—Stewart's *Sketches*, i. p. 274-5.

² Stewart's *Sketches*.

French fire; and instantly after its discharge they sprang up, and coming close to the enemy, poured in their shot upon them to the certain destruction of multitudes, and drove them precipitately through their lines; then retreating, drew up again, and attacked them a second time after the same manner. These attacks they repeated several times the same day, to the surprise of the whole army. Sir Robert was everywhere with his regiment, notwithstanding his great corpulency, and when in the trenches he was hauled out by the legs and arms by his own men; and it is observed that when he commanded the whole regiment to clap to the ground, he himself alone, with the colours behind him, stood upright, receiving the whole fire of the enemy; and this because, (as he said,) though he could easily lie down, his great bulk would not suffer him to rise so quickly. His preservation that day was the surprise and astonishment not only of the whole army, but of all that heard the particulars of the action."⁴

The gallantry thus displayed by Sir Robert and his regiment was the theme of universal admiration in Britain, and the French themselves could not withhold their meed of praise. "The British behaved well," says a French writer, "and could be exceeded in ardour by none but our officers, who animated the troops by their example, *when the Highland furies rushed in upon us with more violence than ever did a sea driven by a tempest*. I cannot say much of the other auxiliaries, some of whom looked as if they had no great concern in the matter which way it went. In short, we gained the victory; but may I never see such another!"⁵ Some idea may be formed of the havoc made by the Highlanders from the fact of one of them having killed nine Frenchmen with his broadsword, and he was only prevented from increasing the number by his arm being shot off.⁶

⁴ *Life of Colonel Gardiner.*

⁵ Account published at Paris, 26th May 1745.

⁶ *The Conduct of the Officers at Fontenoy Considered.* Lond. 1745.—"Such was the battle of Fontenoy, and such were the facts from which a very favourable opinion was formed of the military qualifications of the Black Watch, as it was still called in Scotland. At this period there was not a soldier in the regiment born south of the Grampians."—Stewart's *Sketches*, i. 278.

In consequence of the rebellion in Scotland, eleven of the British regiments were ordered home in October 1745, among which was the 43d. The Highlanders arrived in the Thames on the 4th of November, and whilst the other regiments were sent to Scotland under General Hawley to assist in quelling the insurrection, the 43d was marched to the coast of Kent, and joined the division of the army assembled there to repel an expected invasion. When it is considered that more than three hundred of the soldiers in the 43d had fathers and brothers engaged in the rebellion, the prudence and humanity of keeping them aloof from a contest between duty and affection, are evident. Three new companies, which had been added to the regiment in the early part of the year 1745, were, however, employed in Scotland against the rebels before joining the regiment. These companies were raised chiefly in the districts of Athole, Breadalbane, and Braemar, and the command of them was given to the laird of Mackintosh, Sir Patrick Murray of Ochtertyre, and Campbell of Inveraw, who had recruited them. The subalterns were James Farquharson, the younger of Invercauld; John Campbell, the younger of Glenlyon, and Dugald Campbell; and Ensign Allan Grant, son of Glenmoriston; John Campbell, son of Glenfalloch; and Allan Campbell, son of Barcaldine. General Stewart observes that the privates of these companies, though of the best character, did not occupy that rank in society for which so many individuals of the independent companies had been distinguished. One of these companies, as has been elsewhere observed, was at the battle of Prestonpans. The services of the other two companies were confined to the Highlands during the rebellion, and after its suppression they were employed along with detachments of the English army in the barbarous task of burning the houses, and laying waste the lands of the rebels,—a service which must have been very revolting to their feelings.

Having projected the conquest of Quebec, the government fitted out an expedition at Portsmouth, the land forces of which consisted of about 8000 men, including Lord John Murray's Highlanders, as the 43d regiment was now called. The armament having been delayed from various causes until the season

was too far advanced for crossing the Atlantic, it was resolved to employ it in surprising the Port l'Orient, then the repository of all the stores and ships belonging to the French East India Company. While this new expedition was in preparation, the Highland regiment was increased to 1100 men, by draughts from the three companies in Scotland.

The expedition sailed from Portsmouth on the 15th of September, 1746, under the command of Rear-Admiral Lestock, and on the 20th the troops were landed, without much opposition, in Quimperly bay, ten miles from Port l'Orient. As General St Clair soon perceived that he could not carry the place, he abandoned the siege, and retiring to the sea-coast, re-embarked his troops.

Some of these forces returned to England; the rest landed in Ireland. The Highlanders arrived at Cork on the 4th of November, whence they marched to Limerick, where they remained till February 1747, when they returned to Cork, where they embarked to join a new expedition for Flanders. This force, which consisted chiefly of the troops that had been recalled in 1745, sailed from Leith roads in the beginning of April 1747. Lord Loudon's Highlanders and a detachment from the three additional companies of Lord John Murray's Highlanders also joined this force; and such was the eagerness of the latter for this service, that when informed that only a part of them was to join the army, they all claimed permission to embark, in consequence of which demand it was found necessary to settle the question of preference by drawing lots.⁷

To relieve Hulst, which was closely besieged by Count Lowendahl, a detachment, consisting of Lord John Murray's Highlanders, the first battalion of the Royals and Bragg's regiment, was ordered to Flushing, under the command of Major-general Fuller. They landed at Stapledyke on the 1st of May. The Dutch governor of Hulst, General St Roque, ordered the Royals to join the Dutch camp at St Bergue, and directed the Highlanders and Bragg's regiment to halt within four miles of Hulst. On the 5th of May the besiegers began an assault, and drove the outguards and picquets back into

the garrison, and would have carried the place, had not the Royals maintained their post with the greatest bravery till relieved by the Highland regiment, when the French were compelled to retire. The Highlanders had only five privates killed and a few wounded on this occasion. The French continuing the siege, St Roque surrendered the place, although he was aware that an additional reinforcement of nine battalions was on the march to his relief. The British troops then embarked for South Beveland. Three hundred of the Highland regiment, who were the last to embark, were attacked by a body of French troops. "They behaved with so much bravery that they beat off three or four times their number, killing many, and making some prisoners, with only the loss of four or five of their own number."⁸

A few days after the battle of Lafeldt, July 2d, in which the Highlanders are not particularly mentioned, Count Lowendahl laid siege to Bergen-op-Zoom with a force of 25,000 men. This place, from the strength of its fortifications, the favourite work of the celebrated Coehorn, having never been stormed, was deemed impregnable. The garrison consisted of 3000 men, including Lord Loudon's Highlanders. Though Lord John Murray's Highlanders remained in South Beveland, his lordship, with Captain Fraser of Culduthel, Captain Campbell of Craignish, and several other officers of his regiment, joined the besieged. After about two months' siege, this important fortress was taken by storm, on account of the too great confidence of Constrom the governor, who never anticipated an assault. On obtaining possession of the ramparts, the French attempted to enter the town, but were attacked with such impetuosity by two battalions of the Scottish troops in the pay of the States-General, that they were driven from street to street, until fresh reinforcements arriving, the Scotch were compelled to retreat in their turn; yet they disputed every inch of ground, and fought till two-thirds of them were killed on the spot. The remainder then abandoned the town, carrying the old governor along with them.

The different bodies of the allied army

⁷ *Caledonian Mercury*, March 1747.

⁸ *Hague Gazette*.

assembled in the neighbourhood of Raremond in March 1748, but, with the exception of the capture of Maestricht, no military event of any importance took place in the Netherlands; and preliminaries of peace having been signed, the Highlanders returned to England in December, and were afterwards sent to Ireland. The three additional companies had assembled at Prestonpans in March 1748, for the purpose of embarking for Flanders; but the orders to ship were countermanded, and in the course of that year these companies were reduced.

In 1749, in consequence of the reduction of the 42d regiment (Oglethorpe's), the number of the Black Watch was changed from the 43d to the 42d, the number it has ever since retained.

During eight years—from 1749 to 1756—that the Highlanders were stationed in Ireland, the utmost cordiality subsisted between them and the inhabitants of the different districts where they were quartered; a circumstance the more remarkable, when it is considered that the military were generally embroiled in quarrels with the natives. So lasting and favourable an impression did they make, that upon the return of the regiment from America, after an absence of eleven years, applications were made from the towns and districts where they had been formerly quartered, to get them again stationed among them. Although, as General Stewart observes, the similarity of language, and the general belief in a common origin, might have had some influence with both parties, yet nothing but the most exemplary good conduct on the part of the Highlanders could have overcome the natural repugnance of a people who, at that time, justly regarded the British soldiery as ready instruments of oppression.

In consequence of the mutual encroachments made by the French and English on their respective territories in North America, both parties prepared for war; and as the British ministry determined to make their chief efforts against the enemy in that quarter, they resolved to send two bodies of troops thither. The first division, of which the Highlanders formed a part, under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir James Abercromby, set sail in March 1756, and landed at New York in June

following. In the month last mentioned, 700 recruits, who had been raised by recruiting parties sent from the regiment previous to its departure from Ireland, embarked at Greenock for America. When the Highlanders landed, they attracted much notice, particularly on the part of the Indians, who, on the march of the regiment to Albany, flocked from all quarters to see strangers, whom, from the similarity of their dress, they considered to be of the same extraction as themselves, and whom they therefore regarded as brothers.

Before the departure of the 42d, several changes and promotions had taken place. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, afterwards Duke of Argyll, who had commanded the regiment during the six years they were quartered in Ireland, having been promoted to the command of the 54th, was succeeded by Major Grant, who was so popular with the men, that, on the vacancy occurring, they subscribed a sum of money among themselves to purchase the lieutenant-colonelcy for him; but the money was not required, the promotion at that time being without purchase. Captain Duncan Campbell of Inveraw was appointed major; Thomas Graham of Duchray, James Abercromby, son of General Abercromby of Glassa, the commander of the expedition, and John Campbell of Strachur, were made captains; Lieutenant John Campbell, captain-lieutenant; Ensigns Kenneth Tolme, James Grant, John Graham, brother of Duchray, Hugh M'Pherson, Alexander Turnbull of Stracathro, and Alexander Campbell, son of Barcaldine, were raised to the rank of lieutenants. From the half-pay list were taken Lieutenants Alexander Mackintosh, James Gray, William Baillie, Hugh Arnot, William Sutherland, John Small, and Archibald Campbell; the ensigns were James Campbell, Archibald Lamont, Duncan Campbell, George MacLagan, Patrick Balneaves, son of Edradour, Patrick Stewart, son of Bonskeid, Norman MacLeod, George Campbell, and Donald Campbell.⁹

The regiment had been now sixteen years embodied, and although its original members had by this time almost disappeared, "their habits and character were well sustained by their successors, to whom they were left, as it

⁹ Stewart's *Sketches*.

were, in charge. This expectation has been fulfilled through a long course of years and events. The first supply of recruits after the original formation was, in many instances, inferior to their predecessors in personal appearance, as well as in private station and family connexions; but they lost nothing of that firm step, erect air, and freedom from awkward restraint, the consequence of a spirit of independence and self-respect, which distinguished their predecessors."¹

The second division of the expedition, under the Earl of Loudon, who was appointed commander-in-chief of the army in North America, soon joined the forces under General Abercromby; but, owing to various causes, they did not take the field till the summer of the following year.² Pursuant to an attack on Louisburg, Lord Loudon embarked in the month of June 1757 for Halifax with the forces under his command, amounting to 5300 men. At Halifax his forces were increased to 10,500 men, by the addition of five regiments lately arrived from England, including Fraser's and Montgomery's Highlanders.

When on the eve of his departure from Halifax, Lord Loudon received information that the Brest fleet had arrived in the harbour of Louisburg. The resolution to abandon the enterprise, however, was not taken till it clearly

¹ There were few courts-martial; and, for many years, no instance occurred of corporal punishment. If a soldier was brought to the halberts, he became degraded, and little more good was to be expected of him. After being publicly disgraced, he could no longer associate with his comrades; and, in several instances, the privates of a company have, from their pay, subscribed to procure the discharge of an obnoxious individual.

Great regularity was observed in the duties of public worship. In the regimental orders, hours were fixed for morning prayers by the chaplain; and on Sundays, for Divine service, morning and evening. The greatest respect was observed towards the ministers of religion. When Dr Ferguson was chaplain of the corps, he held an equal, if not, in some respects, a greater, influence over the minds of the men than the commanding officer. The succeeding chaplain, Mr MacLaggan, preserved the same authority; and, while the soldiers looked up with reverence to these excellent men, the most beneficial effects were produced on their minds and conduct by the religious and moral duties which their chaplains inculcated.

² "During the whole of 1756 the regiment remained in Albany inactive. During the winter and spring of 1757, they were drilled and disciplined for bush-fighting and sharp-shooting, a species of warfare for which they were well fitted, being in general good marksmen, and expert in the management of their arms."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

appeared from letters which were taken in a packet bound from Louisburg to France, that the force was too great to be encountered. Leaving the remainder of the troops at Halifax, Lord Loudon returned to New York, taking along with him the Highlanders and four other regiments.

By the addition of three new companies and the junction of 700 recruits, the regiment was now augmented to upwards of 1300 men, all Highlanders, for at that period none else were admitted into the regiment. To the three additional companies the following officers were appointed; James Murray, son of Lord George Murray, James Stewart of Urrard, and Thomas Stirling, son of Sir Henry Stirling of Ardoch, to be captains; Simon Blair, David Barklay, Archibald Campbell, Alexander Mackay, Alexander Menzies, and David Mills, to be lieutenants; Duncan Stewart, George Rat-tray, and Alexander Farquharson, to be ensigns; and the Reverend James Stewart to be assistant chaplain.

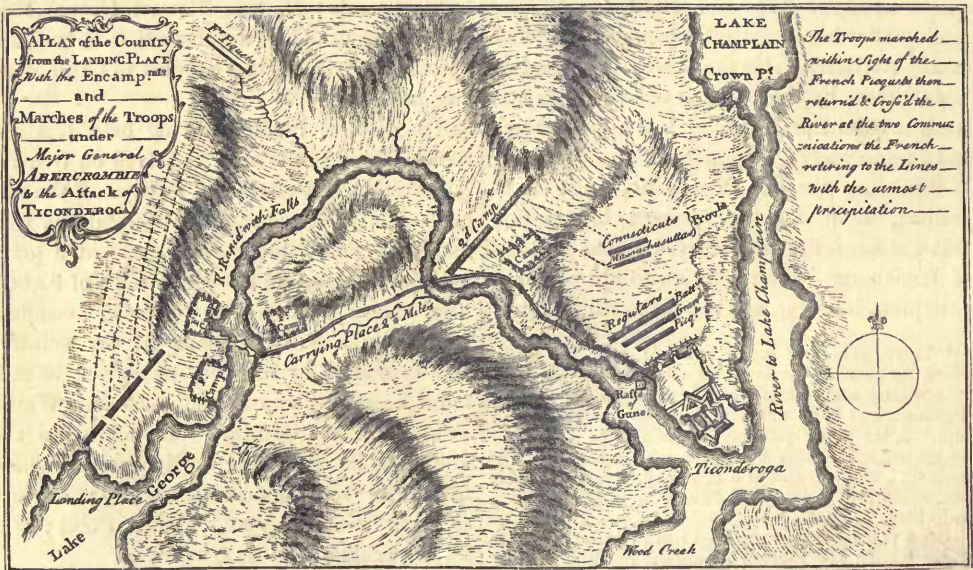
The Earl of Loudon having been recalled, the command of the army devolved on General Abercromby. Determined to wipe off the disgrace of former campaigns, the ministry, who had just come into power, fitted out a great naval armament and a military force of 32,000 men, which were placed under commanders who enjoyed the confidence of the country. The command of the fleet was given to Admiral Boscawen, and Brigadier-generals Wolfe, Townsend, and Murray, were added to the military staff. Three expeditions were planned in 1758; one against Louisburg; another against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and a third against Fort du Quesne.

General Abercromby, the commander-in-chief, took charge of the expedition against Ticonderoga, with a force of 15,390 men, of whom 6337 were regulars (including Lord John Murray's Highlanders), and 9024 provincials, besides a train of artillery.

Fort Ticonderoga stands on a tongue of land between Lake Champlain and Lake George, and is surrounded on three sides by water; part of the fourth side is protected by a morass; the remaining part was strongly fortified with high entrenchments, supported and flanked by three batteries, and the whole front of that

part which was accessible was intersected by deep traverses, and blocked up with felled trees, with their branches turned outwards and their points first sharpened and then hardened by fire, forming altogether a most formidable defence.³ On the 4th of July 1758 the commander-in-chief embarked his troops on Lake George, on board 900 batteaux and 135 whale-boats, with provisions, artillery, and ammunition; several pieces of cannon being mounted on rafts to cover the landing, which was effected next day without opposition. The troops were then formed into two parallel columns, and in this order marched towards the enemy's advanced post, consisting of one battalion, encamped behind a breast-work of logs. The enemy abandoned this defence without a shot, after setting the breast-work on fire and burning their tents and implements.

The troops continued their march in the same order, but the route lying through a wood, and the guides being imperfectly acquainted with the country, the columns were broken by coming in contact with each other. The right column, at the head of which was Lord Howe, fell in with a detachment of the enemy who had also lost their way in the retreat from the advanced post, and a smart skirmish ensuing, the enemy were routed with considerable loss. Lord Howe unfortunately fell in the beginning of this action. He was much regretted, being "a young nobleman of the most promising talents, who had distinguished himself in a peculiar manner by his courage, activity, and rigid observance of military discipline, and had acquired the esteem and affection of the soldiery by his generosity, sweetness of manners, and engaging address."⁴



Plan of the Sieges of Ticonderoga. Facsimile from *The Scots Magazine*, August 1758.

Perceiving that his men were greatly fatigued, General Abercromby ordered them to march back to their landing-place, which they reached about eight o'clock in the morning. Having taken possession of a saw-mill in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had abandoned, General Abercromby advanced towards the place next morning. It was garrisoned by 5000 men, of whom 2800 were

French troops of the line, who were stationed behind the traverses and felled trees in front of the fort. Receiving information from some prisoners that General Levi, with a force of 3000 men, was marching to the defence of Ticonderoga, the English commander resolved to anticipate him by striking, if possible, a decisive blow before a junction could be effected. He therefore sent an engineer across

³ Stewart's *Sketches*.

⁴ Smollett's *History of England*.

the river on the opposite side of the fort to reconnoitre the enemy's entrenchments, who reported that the works being still unfinished, might be attempted with a prospect of success. Preparations for the attack were therefore instantly made. The whole army being put in motion, the picquets, followed by the grenadiers, the battalions and reserve, which last consisted of the Highlanders and the 55th regiment, advanced with great alacrity towards the entrenchments, which they found to be much more formidable than they expected. The breast-work, which was regularly fortified, was eight feet high, and the ground before it was covered with an *abbatis* or *chevaux-de-frize*, projecting in such a manner as to render the entrenchment almost inaccessible. Undismayed by these discouraging obstacles, the British troops marched up to the assault in the face of a destructive fire, and maintained their ground without flinching. Impatient in the rear, the Highlanders broke from the reserve, and, pushing forward to the front, endeavoured to cut their way through the trees with their broadswords. After a long and deadly struggle, the assailants penetrated the exterior defences and advanced to the breast-work; but being unprovided with scaling ladders, they attempted to gain the breast-work, partly by mounting on each other's shoulders, and partly by fixing their feet in the holes which they made with their swords and bayonets in the face of the work. No sooner, however, did a man reach the top, than he was thrown down by the troops behind the entrenchments. Captain John Campbell,⁵ with a few men, at length forced their way over the breast-work, but they were immediately despatched with the bayonet. After a desperate struggle, which lasted about four hours under such discouraging circumstances, General Abercromby seeing no possible chance of success, gave orders for a retreat. It was with difficulty, however, that the troops could be prevailed upon to retire, and it was not till the third order that the Highlanders were induced to retreat, after

more than one-half of the men and twenty-five officers had been either killed or desperately wounded. No attempt was made to molest them in their retreat, and the whole retired in good order, carrying along with them the whole of the wounded, amounting to 65 officers and 1178 non-commissioned officers and soldiers. Twenty-three officers and 567 rank and file were killed.

The loss sustained by the 42d was as follows, viz.:—8 officers, 9 sergeants, and 297 men killed; and 17 officers, 10 sergeants, and 306 soldiers wounded. The officers killed were Major Duncan Campbell of Inveraw, Captain John Campbell, Lieutenants George Farquarson, Hugh MacPherson, William Baillie, and John Sutherland; Ensigns Patrick Stewart, brother of Bonskeid, and George Rattray. The wounded were Captains Gordon Graham, Thomas Graham of Duchray, John Campbell of Strachur, James Stewart of Urrard, James Murray (afterwards General); Lieutenants James Grant, Robert Gray, John Campbell, William Grant, John Graham, brother of Duchray, Alexander Campbell, Alexander Mackintosh, Archibald Campbell, David Miller, Patrick Balneaves; and Ensigns John Smith and Peter Grant.⁶

The intrepid conduct of the Highlanders on this occasion was made the topic of universal panegyric in Great Britain, and the public prints teemed with honourable testimonies to their bravery. If anything could add to the gratification they received from the approbation of their country, nothing was better calculated to enhance it than the handsome way in which their services were appreciated by their companions in arms. "With a mixture of esteem, grief, and envy (says an officer of the 55th), I consider the great loss and immortal glory acquired by the Scots Highlanders in the late bloody affair. Impatient for orders, they rushed forward to the entrenchments, which many of them actually mounted. They appeared like lions breaking from their chains. Their intrepidity was rather animated than damped by seeing their comrades fall on every side. I have only to say of them, that they seemed more anxious to revenge the

⁵ This officer, who was son of Duncan Campbell, of the family of Duneaves, in Perthshire, along with Gregor MacGregor, commonly called Gregor the Beautiful, grandfather of Sir Gregor MacGregor, were the two who were presented to George II. in the year 1743, when privates in the Black Watch.

⁶ Stewart's *Sketches*.

cause of their deceased friends, than careful to avoid the same fate. By their assistance, we expect soon to give a good account of the enemy and of ourselves. There is much harmony and friendship between us."⁷ The following extract of a letter from Lieutenant William Grant, an officer of the regiment, seems to contain no exaggerated detail:—"The attack began a little past one in the afternoon, and about two the fire became general on both sides, which was exceedingly heavy, and without any intermission, insomuch that the oldest soldier present never saw so furious and incessant a fire. The affair at Fontenoy was nothing to it: I saw both. We laboured under insurmountable difficulties. The enemy's breast-work was about nine or ten feet high, upon the top of which they had plenty of wall-pieces fixed, and which was well lined in the inside with small arms. But the difficult access to their lines was what gave them a fatal advantage over us. They took care to cut down monstrous large oak trees which covered all the ground from the foot of their breast-work about the distance of a cannon-shot every way in their front. This not only broke our ranks, and made it impossible for us to keep our order, but put it entirely out of our power to advance till we cut our way through. I have seen men behave with courage and resolution before now, but so much determined bravery can hardly be equalled in any part of the history of ancient Rome. Even those that were mortally wounded cried aloud to their companions, not to mind or lose a thought upon them, but to follow their officers, and to mind the honour of their country. Nay, their ardour was such, that it was difficult to bring them off. They paid dearly for their intrepidity. The remains of the regiment had the honour to cover the retreat of the army, and brought off the wounded as we did at Fontenoy. When shall we have so fine a regiment again? I hope we shall be allowed to recruit."⁸ Lieu-

tenant Grant's wish had been anticipated, as letters of service had been issued, before the affair of Ticonderoga was known in England, for raising a second battalion. Moreover, previous to the arrival of the news of the affair at Ticonderoga, his majesty George II. had issued a warrant conferring upon the regiment the title of Royal, so that after this it was known as the 42d Royal Highland Regiment.

So successful were the officers in recruiting, that within three months seven companies, each 120 men strong, which, with the three additional companies raised the preceding year, were to form the second battalion, were raised in three months, and embodied at Perth in October 1758.⁹ The officers appointed to

is broken,—the conduct of such a corps must be divided, and cannot be called purely national. The motive which made the Highlanders, when united, fight for the honour of their name, their clan, and district, is by this mixture lost. Officers, also, who are strangers to their language, their habits, and peculiar modes of thinking, cannot be expected to understand their character, their feelings, and their prejudices, which, under judicious management, have so frequently stimulated to honourable conduct, although they have sometimes served to excite the ridicule of those who knew not the dispositions and cast of character on which they were founded. But if Highland soldiers are judiciously commanded in quarters, treated with kindness and confidence by their officers, and led into action with spirit, it cannot on any good grounds be alleged that there is any deficiency of that firmness and courage which formerly distinguished them, although it may be readily allowed that much of the romance of the character is lowered. The change of manners in their native country will sufficiently account for this.

In my time many old soldiers still retained their original manners, exhibiting much freedom and ease in their communications with the officers. I joined the regiment in 1789, a very young soldier. Colonel Graham, the commanding officer, gave me a steady old soldier, named William Fraser, as my servant,—perhaps as my adviser and director. I know not that he had received any instructions on that point, but Colonel Graham himself could not have been more frequent and attentive in his remonstrances, and cautious with regard to my conduct and duty, than my old soldier was, when he thought he had cause to disapprove. These admonitions he always gave me in Gaelic, calling me by my Christian name, with an allusion to the colour of my hair, which was fair, or *bane*, never prefixing *Mr* or *Ensign*, except when he spoke in English. However contrary to the common rules, and however it might surprise those unaccustomed to the manners of the people, to hear a soldier or a servant calling his master simply by his name, my honest old monitor was one of the most respectful, as he was one of the most faithful, of servants."—Stewart's *Sketches*, p. 302.

⁹ General Stewart says that two officers, anxious to obtain commissions, enlisted eighteen Irishmen at Glasgow, contrary to the peremptory orders of Lord John Murray, that none but Highlanders should be taken. Several of the men were O'Donnells, O'Lachlans, O'Briens, &c. To cover this deception the O was

⁷ *St James's Chronicle*.

⁸ "It has been observed, that the modern Highland corps display less of that chivalrous spirit which marked the earlier corps from the mountains. If there be any good ground for this observation, it may probably be attributed to this, that these corps do not consist wholly of native Highlanders. If strangers are introduced among them, even admitting them to be the best of soldiers, still they are not Highlanders. The charm

these seven additional companies were Francis MacLean, Alexander Sinclair, John Stewart of Stenton, William Murray, son of Lintrose, Archibald Campbell, Alexander Reid, and Robert Arbuthnot, to be captains; Alexander MacLean, George Grant, George Sinclair, Gordon Clunes, Adam Stewart, John Robertson, son of Lude, John Grant, James Fraser, George Leslie, John Campbell, Alexander Stewart, Duncan Richardson, and Robert Robertson, to be lieutenants; and Patrick Sinclair, John Mackintosh, James MacDuff, Thomas Fletcher, Alexander Donaldson, William MacLean, and William Brown, to be ensigns.

Government having resolved to employ the seven new companies in an expedition against Martinique and Guadaloupe, 200 of the 840 men, embodied at Perth, were immediately embarked at Greenock for the West Indies, under the convoy of the Ludlow Castle, for the purpose of joining the armament lying in Carlisle bay, destined for that service. The whole land force employed in this expedition amounted to 5560 men, under the command of Major-generals Hopson and Barrington, and of Brigadier-generals Armiger, Haldane, Trapaud, and Clavering. They sailed from Barbadoes on the 13th of January 1759, for Martinique, which they descried next morning; and on the following day the British squadron entered the great bay of Port Royal. About this time the other division of the seven newly raised companies joined the expedition. On the 16th, three ships of the line attacked Fort Negro, the guns of which they soon silenced. A detachment of marines and sailors landing in flat-bottomed boats, clambered up the rock, and, entering through the embrasures with fixed bayonets, took possession of the fort, which had been abandoned by the enemy. The whole French troops retired to Port Royal, leaving the beach open, so that the British forces landed next morning at Cas de Navire without opposition. No enemy being in sight, the grenadiers, the 4th or king's regiment, and the Highlanders, moved forward about ten o'clock to reconnoitre; but they had not proceeded far when they fell in with

parties of the enemy, who retired on their approach. When within a short distance of Morne Tortueson, an eminence that overlooked the town and citadel of Port Royal, and the most important post in the island, the advanced party halted till the rest of the army came up. The advancing and retiring parties had kept up an irregular fire when in motion, and they still continued to skirmish. It was observed on this occasion, "that although debarred the use of arms in their own country, the Highlanders showed themselves good marksmen, and had not forgot how to handle their arms." The inhabitants of Martinique were in the greatest alarm, and some of the principal among them were about sending deputies to the British commander to treat for a surrender, but General Hopson relieved them from their anxiety by re-embarking his troops in the evening. The chief reason for abandoning the enterprise was the alleged impracticability of getting up the heavy cannon. The British had one officer killed and two wounded, one of whom was Lieutenant Leslie of the Royal Highlanders. Sixty privates were killed and wounded.

In a political point of view, the possession of Martinique was an object of greater importance than Guadaloupe, as it afforded, from its spacious harbour, a secure retreat to the enemy's fleets. By taking possession of St Pierre, the whole island might have been speedily reduced; and the British commanders proceeded to that part of the island with that view; but alarmed lest they might sustain considerable loss by its capture, which might thus cripple their future operations, they absurdly relinquished their design, and proceeded to Guadaloupe. On the expedition reaching the western division of the island, it was resolved to make a general attack by sea upon the citadel, the town, and the batteries by which it was defended. Accordingly, on the 20th of January, such a fire was opened upon the place that about ten o'clock at night it was in a general conflagration.

The troops landed at five o'clock in the evening of the following day without opposition, and took possession of the town and citadel, which they found entirely abandoned. The Chevalier D'Etreil, the governor of the

changed to Mac, and the Milesians passed muster as true Macdonnells, Maclachlans, and Macbriars, without being questioned.

island, taking shelter among the mountains, yielded the honour of continuing the contest to a lady of masculine courage named Ducharmey. Arming her slaves, whom she headed in person, she made several bold attempts upon an advanced post on a hill near the town, occupied by Major (afterwards General) Melville, opposite to which she threw up some entrenchments. Annoyed by the incessant attacks of this amazon, Major Melville attacked her entrenchments, which he carried, after an obstinate resistance. Madame Ducharmey escaped with difficulty, but some of her female companions in arms were taken prisoners. Ten of her people were killed and many wounded. Of the British detachment, 12 were slain and 30 wounded, including two subaltern officers, one of whom, Lieutenant MacLean of the Highlanders, lost an arm.

Finding it impracticable to carry on a campaign among the mountains of Basseterre, the general resolved to transfer the seat of war to the eastern division of the island, called Grandeterre, which was more accessible. Accordingly, on the 10th of February, a detachment of Highlanders and marines was landed in that part of the island in the neighbourhood of Fort Louis, after a severe cannonading which lasted six hours. The assailants, sword in hand, drove the enemy from their entrenchments, and, taking possession of the fort, hoisted the English colours.

General Hopson died on the 27th. He was succeeded by General Barrington, who resolved to complete the reduction of the island with vigour. Leaving, therefore, one regiment and a detachment of artillery under Colonel Debrisay in Basseterre, the general re-embarked the rest of the army and proceeded to Grandeterre, where he carried on a series of successful operations by means of detachments. One of these consisting of 600 men, under Colonel Crump, carried the towns of St Anne and St Francis with little loss, notwithstanding the fire from the entrenchments. The only officer who fell was Ensign MacLean of the Highlanders. Another detachment of 300 men took the town of Gosier by storm, and drove the garrison into the woods. The next operation of the general was an attempt to surprise the three towns of Petit Bourg, St Mary's, and Gouyave,

on the Capesterre side, the execution of which was committed to Colonels Crump and Clavering; but owing to the extreme darkness of the night, and the incapacity of the negro guides, the attempt was rendered abortive. Resolved to carry these towns, the general directed the same commanders to land their forces in a bay near the town of Arnonville. No opposition was made to their landing by the enemy, who retreated behind a strong entrenchment they had thrown up behind the river Licorn. With the exception of two narrow passes which they had fortified with a redoubt and entrenchments mounted with cannon, which were defended by a large body of militia, the access to the river was rendered inaccessible by a morass covered with mangroves; yet, in spite of these difficulties, the British commanders resolved to hazard an assault. Accordingly, under cover of a fire from the entrenchments from their field-pieces and howitzers, the regiment of Durore and the Highlanders moved forward, firing by platoons with the utmost regularity as they advanced. Observing the enemy beginning to abandon the first entrenchment on the left, "the Highlanders drew their swords, and, supported by a part of the other regiment, rushed forward with their characteristic impetuosity, and followed the enemy into the redoubt, of which they took possession."¹

Several other actions of minor importance afterwards took place, in which the enemy were uniformly worsted; and seeing resistance hopeless, they capitulated on the 1st of May, after an arduous struggle of nearly three months. The only Highland officer killed in this expedition was Ensign MacLean. Lieutenants MacLean, Leslie, Sinclair, and Robertson, were wounded; and Major Anstruther and Captain Arbuthnot died of the fever. Of the Royal Highlanders, 106 privates were killed, wounded, or died of disease.²

¹ *Letters from Guadaloupe.*

² "By private accounts, it appears that the French had formed the most frightful and absurd notions of the *Sauvages d'Ecosse*. They believed that they would neither take nor give quarter, and that they were so nimble, that, as no man could catch them, so nobody could escape them; that no man had a chance against their broadsword; and that, with a ferocity natural to savages, they made no prisoners, and spared neither man, woman, nor child: and as they were always in the front of every action in which they were engaged, it is probable that these notions had no small influence on

After the reduction of Guadaloupe, the services of the second battalion of Royal Highlanders were transferred to North America, where they arrived early in July, and after reaching the head quarters of the British army, were combined with the first battalion. About this time a series of combined operations had been projected against the French settlements in Canada. Whilst Major-general Wolfe, who had given proofs of great military talents at the siege of Louisburg, was to proceed up the St Lawrence and besiege Quebec, General Amherst, who had succeeded General Abercromby as commander-in-chief, was to attempt the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, after which he was to cross Lake Champlain and effect a junction with General Wolfe before Quebec. Brigadier-general Prideaux was to proceed against the French fort near the falls of the Niagara, the most important post of all French America. The army under General Amherst, which was the first put in motion, assembled at Fort Edward on the 19th of June. It included the 42d and Montgomery's Highlanders, and when afterwards joined by the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders, it amounted to 14,500 men. Preceded by the first battalion of the last named regiment and the light infantry, the main body of the army moved forward on the 21st, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga. The enemy seemed at first resolved to defend that important fortress; but perceiving the formidable preparations made by the English general for a siege, they abandoned the fort, after having in part dismantled the fortifications, and retired to Crown Point.

On taking possession of this important post, which effectually covered the frontiers of New York, General Amherst proceeded to repair the fortifications; and, while these were going on, he directed batteaux and other vessels to be prepared, to enable him to obtain the com-

mand of the lakes. Meanwhile the enemy, who seems to have had no intention of hazarding an action, evacuated Crown Point, and retired to Isle aux Noix, on the northern extremity of Lake Champlain. Detaching a body of rangers to take possession of the place the general embarked the rest of the army and landed at the fort on the 4th of August, where he encamped. The general then ordered up the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders from Oswego, with the exception of 150 men under Captain James Stewart, who were left to guard that post. Having by great exertions acquired a naval superiority on Lake Champlain, the general embarked his army in furtherance of his original plan of descending the St Lawrence, and co-operating with General Wolfe in the reduction of Quebec; but in consequence of contrary winds, the tempestuous state of the weather, and the early setting in of winter, he was compelled to abandon further prosecution of active operations in the mean time. He then returned to Crown Point to winter. A detailed account of the important enterprise against Quebec will be found in the history of Fraser's Highlanders.

After the fall of the fort of Niagara, which was taken by Prideaux's division, and the conquest of Quebec, Montreal was the only place of strength which remained in possession of the French in Canada. General Murray was ordered to proceed up the St Lawrence to attack Montreal, and General Amherst, as soon as the season permitted, made arrangements to join him. After his preparations were completed, he ordered Colonel Haviland, with a detachment of troops, to take possession of the Isle aux Noix, and thence to proceed to the banks of the St Lawrence by the nearest route. To facilitate the passage of the armed vessels to La Galette, Colonel Haldimand with the grenadiers, light infantry, and a battalion of the Royal Highlanders, took post at the bottom of the lake. Embarking the whole of his army on the 10th of August, he proceeded towards the mouth of the St Lawrence, and, after a dangerous navigation, in the course of which several boats were upset and about eighty men drowned, landed six miles above Montreal on the 6th of September. General Murray appeared before Montreal on the even-

the nerves of the militia, and perhaps regulars of Guadaloupe." It was always believed by the enemy that the Highlanders amounted to several thousands. This erroneous enumeration of a corps only eight hundred strong, was said to proceed from the frequency of their attacks and annoyance of the outposts of the enemy, who "saw men in the same garb who attacked them yesterday from one direction, again appear to-day to advance from another, and in this manner ever harassing their advanced position, so as to allow them no rest."—*Letters from Guadaloupe.*

ing of the same day, and the detachments under Colonel Haviland came down the following day on the south side of the river. Thus beset by three armies, who, by a singular combination, had united almost at the same instant of time, after traversing a great extent of unknown country, Monsieur Vandreuil, the governor, seeing resistance hopeless, surrendered upon favourable terms. Thus ended a series of successful operations, which secured Canada to the Crown of Great Britain.³

The Royal Highlanders remained in North America until the close of the year 1761, when they were embarked along with ten other regiments, among whom was Montgomery's Highlanders, for Barbadoes, there to join an armament against Martinique and the Havannah. The land forces consisted altogether of eighteen regiments, under the command of Major-general Monckton. The naval part of the expedition, which was commanded by Rear-admiral Rodney, consisted of eighteen sail of the line, besides frigates, bomb-vessels, and fire-ships.

The fleet anchored in St Ann's Bay, Martinique, on the 8th of January 1762, when the bulk of the army immediately landed. A detachment, under Brigadiers Grant (Ballindalloch) and Haviland, made a descent without opposition in the bay of Ance Darlet. Re-embarking his troops, General Monckton landed his whole army on the 16th near Cas de Navire, under Morne Tortueson and Morne Garnier. As these two eminences commanded the town and citadel of Fort Royal, and were their chief defence, great care had been taken to improve by art their natural strength, which, from the very deep ravines which protected them, was great. The general having resolved to attack Morne Tortueson first, he ordered a body of troops and 800 marines to advance on the right along the sea-side towards the town, for the purpose of attacking two redoubts near the beach; and to support this movement, he at the same time directed some flat-bottomed boats,

each carrying a gun, and manned with sailors, to follow close along the shore. A corps of light infantry was to get round the enemy's left, whilst, under cover of the fire of some batteries which had been raised on the opposite ridges by the perseverance of some sailors from the fleet, the attack on the centre was to be made by the grenadiers and Highlanders, supported by the main body of the army. After an arduous contest, the enemy were driven from the Morne Tortueson; but a more difficult operation still remained to be performed. This was to gain possession of the other eminence, from which, owing to its greater height, the enemy annoyed the British troops. Preparations were made for carrying this post; but before they were completed, the enemy descended from the hill, and attacked the advanced posts of the British. This attempt was fatal to the assailants, who were instantly repulsed. "When they began to retire, the Highlanders, drawing their swords, rushed forward like furies, and being supported by the grenadiers under Colonel Grant (Ballindalloch), and a party of Lord Rollo's brigade, the hills were mounted, and the batteries seized, and numbers of the enemy, unable to escape from the rapidity of the attack, were taken."⁴ The militia dispersed themselves over the country, but the regulars retired into the town, which surrendered on the 7th of February. The whole island immediately submitted, and in terms of the capitulation all the Windward Islands were delivered up to the British.

In this enterprise the Royal Highlanders had 2 officers, viz., Captain William Cockburn and Lieutenant David Barclay, 1 sergeant, and 12 rank and file killed: Major John Reid, Captains James Murray and Thomas Stirling; Lieutenants Alexander Mackintosh, David Milne, Patrick Balneaves, Alexander Turnbull, John Robertson, William Brown, and George Leslie; 3 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 72 rank and file, were wounded.

The Royal and Montgomery's Highlanders were employed the following year in the important conquest of the Havannah, under Lieutenant-general the Earl of Albemarle, in which they sustained very little loss. That of

³ An Indian sachen, astonished at the success of the British arms, remarked that "the English, formerly women, are now men, and are thick all over the country as trees in the woods. They have taken Niagara, Cataraque, Ticonderoga, Louisburg, and now lately Quebec, and they will soon eat the remainder of the French in Canada, or drive them out of the country."

⁴ *Westminster Journal*.

the two battalions of the 42d consisted only of 2 drummers and 6 privates killed, and 4 privates wounded; but they lost by disease Major Macneil, Captain Robert Menzies (brother of Sir John Menzies), and A. Macdonald; Lieutenants Farquharson, Grant, Lapsley, Cunnison, Hill, and Blair, and 2 drummers and 71 rank and file.

Shortly after the surrender of the Havannah, all the available forces in Cuba were removed from the island. The first battalion of the 42d and Montgomery's regiment embarked for New York, which they reached in the end of October. Before leaving Cuba all the men of the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders fit for service were drafted into the first. The remainder with the officers returned to Scotland, where they were reduced the following year. The junior officers were placed on half pay.

The Royal Highlanders were stationed in Albany till the summer of 1763, when they were sent to the relief of Fort Pitt, then besieged by the Indians. The management of this enterprise was intrusted to Colonel Bouquet of the 60th regiment, who, in addition to the 42d, had under his command a detachment of his own regiment and another of Montgomery's Highlanders, amounting in all to 956 men. This body reached Bushy Run about the end of July. When about to enter a narrow pass beyond the Run, the advanced guards were suddenly attacked by the Indians, who had planned an ambuscade. The light infantry of the 42d regiment moved forward to the support of the advanced guard, and driving the Indians from the ambuscade, pursued them a considerable distance. The Indians returned and took possession of some neighbouring heights. They were again compelled to retire; but they soon re-appeared on another position, and continuing to increase in numbers, they succeeded in surrounding the detachment, which they attacked on every side. Night put an end to the combat; but it was renewed next morning with increased vigour by the Indians, who kept up an incessant fire. They, however, avoided coming to close action, and the troops could not venture to pursue them far, as they were encumbered with a convoy of provisions, and were afraid to leave their wounded,

lest they might fall into the hands of the enemy. Recourse was, therefore, had to stratagem to bring the Indians to closer action. Feigning a retreat, Colonel Bouquet ordered two companies which were in advance to retire, and fall within a square which had been formed, which, as if preparing to cover a retreat, opened its files. The stratagem succeeded. Assuring themselves of victory, the Indians rushed forward with great impetuosity, and whilst they were vigorously charged in front, two companies, moving suddenly round a hill which concealed their approach, attacked them in flank. The assailants, in great consternation, turned their backs and fled, and Colonel Bouquet was allowed to proceed to Fort Pitt without further molestation. In this affair, the loss sustained by the Royal Highlanders was as follows:—Lieutenants John Graham and James Mackintosh, 1 sergeant, and 26 rank and file, killed; and Captain John Graham of Duchray, Lieutenant Duncan Campbell, 2 sergeants, 2 drummers, and 30 rank and file, wounded.

After passing the winter in Fort Pitt, eight companies of the Royal Highlanders were sent on a new enterprise, in the summer of 1764, under Colonel Bouquet, now promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. The object of this expedition was to repress the attacks of the Indians on the back-settlers. After a harassing warfare among the woods, the Indians sued for peace, which was granted, and the detachment under Brigadier-general Bouquet returned to Fort Pitt in the month of January, after an absence of six months. Notwithstanding the labours of a march of many hundred miles among dense forests, during which they experienced the extremes of heat and cold, the Highlanders did not lose a single man from fatigue or exhaustion.⁵

⁵ It was in 1776 that William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, uttered in Parliament his famous eulogy on the Highland regiments:—"I sought for merit wherever it could be found. It is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it, and found it, in the mountains of the north. I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men; men who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to have overturned the State, in the war before last. These men, in the last war, were brought to combat on your side; they served with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every quarter of the world."

The regiment passed the following year in Pennsylvania. Being ordered home, permission was given to such of the men as were desirous of remaining in America to volunteer into other regiments, and the result was, that a considerable number availed themselves of the offer. The regiment, reduced almost to a skeleton, embarked at Philadelphia for Ireland in the month of July 1767. The following extract from the *Virginia Gazette* of the 30th of that month shows the estimation in which the Highlanders were held by the Americans:—"Last Sunday evening the Royal Highland regiment embarked for Ireland, which regiment, since its arrival in America, has been distinguished for having undergone most amazing fatigues, made long and frequent marches through an inhospitable country, bearing excessive heat and severe cold with alacrity and cheerfulness, frequently encamping in deep snow, such as those that inhabit the interior parts of this province do not see, and which only those who inhabit the northern parts of Europe can have any idea of, continually exposed in camp, and on their marches, to the alarms of a savage enemy, who, in all their attempts, were forced to fly. . . . In a particular manner, the freemen of this and the neighbouring provinces have most sincerely to thank them for that resolution and bravery with which they, under Colonel Bouquet, and a small number of Royal Americans, defeated the enemy, and insured to us peace and security from a savage foe; and, along with our blessings for these benefits, they have our thanks for that decorum in behaviour which they maintained during their stay in this city, giving an example that the most amiable behaviour in civil life is no way inconsistent with the character of the good soldier; and for their loyalty, fidelity, and orderly behaviour, they have every wish of the people for health, honour, and a pleasant voyage."

The loss sustained by the regiment during the seven years it was employed in North America and the West Indies was as follows:—

	KILLED.
In Officers,	13
Sergeants,	12
Rank and File,	382
Total,	407

	WOUNDED.
In Officers,	33
Sergeants,	22
Rank and File,	508
Total,	563
Grand Total,	970

With the exception of the unfortunate affair at Ticonderoga, the loss sustained by the 42d in the field during this war was comparatively smaller than that of any other corps. The moderate loss the Highlanders suffered was accounted for by several officers who served in the corps, from the celerity of their attack and the use of the broadsword, which the enemy could never withstand. "This likewise," says General Stewart, "was the opinion of an old gentleman, one of the original soldiers of the Black Watch, in the ranks of which, although a gentleman by birth and education, he served till the peace of 1748. He informed me that although it was believed at home that the regiment had been nearly destroyed at Fontenoy, the thing was quite the reverse; and that it was the subject of general observation in the army that their loss should have been so small, considering how actively they were engaged in different parts of the field. 'On one occasion,' said the respectable veteran, who was animated with the subject, 'a brigade of Dutch were ordered to attack a rising ground, on which were posted the troops called the King of France's Own Guards. The Highlanders were to support them. The Dutch conducted their march and attack as if they did not know the road, halting and firing, and halting every twenty paces. The Highlanders, losing all patience with this kind of fighting, which gave the enemy such time and opportunity to fire at their leisure, dashed forward, passed the Dutch, and the first ranks giving their firelocks to the rear rank, they drew their swords, and soon drove the French from their ground. When the attack was concluded, it was found that of the Highlanders not above a dozen men were killed and wounded, while the Dutch, who had not come up at all, lost more than five times that number.'"

On the arrival of the regiment at Cork, recruiting parties were sent to the Highlands, and so eager were the youths there to enter the corps, that in May following the regiment was

fully completed.⁶ When the battle of Fontenoy was fought, there was not a soldier in the regiment born south of the Grampians, and at

⁶ To allure the young Highlanders to enlist into other regiments, recruiting parties assumed the dress of the Royal Highlanders, thus deceiving the recruits into the belief that they were entering the 42d. When the regiment lay in Dublin, a party of Highland recruits, destined for the 38th regiment, arrived there; but on representing the deception which had been practised upon them, they were, after a full inquiry, discharged by Lord Townshend, the lord lieutenant. They, however, immediately re-enlisted into the 42d regiment.—*Stewart*.

⁷ At this time, the words of "the Garb of Old Gaul" were composed. Major Reid set them to music of his own composition, which has ever since been the regimental march. Peace and country quarters affording leisure to the officers, several of them indulged their taste for poetry and music. Major Reid was one of the most accomplished flute-players of the age. He died in 1806, a general in the army, and colonel of the 88th or Connaught Rangers. He left the sum of £52,000 to the University of Edinburgh, where he was educated, to establish a Professorship of Music in the College, with a salary of not less than £300 per annum, and to hold an annual concert on the anniversary of his

this period they were all, except two, born north of the Tay.⁷

At the period of their arrival in Ireland the

birth-day, the 13th of February; the performance to commence with several pieces of his own composition, for the purpose of showing the style of music in his early years, and towards the middle of the last century. Among the first of these pieces is the Garb of Old Gaul. [See account of Clan Robertson.] The statement in Stewart's *Sketches*, that this song was originally written in Gaelic by a soldier of the 42d, is incorrect. Dr David Laing says, in Wood's *Songs of Scotland*, edited by G. F. Graham, that it was originally written in English by Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Erskine, Bart., second son of Sir John Erskine of Alva, who commanded the Scots Greys in 1762. It has been attributed to Sir Henry Erskine of Torry, but it was not written by him. Its earliest appearance (in English) was in *The Lark*, 1765. An indifferent translation into Gaelic, by Morrison, was published in Gillies' *Gaelic Poetry*, 1786. This is the first Gaelic version. A much better translation into Gaelic is by Captain M'Intyre, and appeared in *Am Fìdhich*, a Gaelic Song Book, edited by James Munro, 12mo, Edin. 1840.

We give here the original song, with the Gaelic version of Captain M'Intyre:—

IN THE GARB OF OLD GAUL.

In the garb of old Gaul, with the fire of old Rome,
From the heath-covered mountains of Scotia we come;
Where the Romans endeavoured our country to gain,
But our ancestors fought, and they fought not in vain.

Such our love of liberty, our country, and our laws,
That, like our ancestors of old, we stand by freedom's cause;

We'll bravely fight, like heroes bright, for honour
and applause,

And defy the French, with all their arts, to alter
our laws.

No effeminate customs our sinews unbrace,
No luxurious tables enervate our race;
Our loud-sounding pipe bears the true martial strain,
So do we the old Scottish valour retain.

As a storm in the ocean when Boreas blows,
So are we enraged when we rush on our foes:
We sons of the mountains, tremendous as rocks,
Dash the force of our foes with our thundering strokes.

We're tall as the oak on the mount of the vale,
Are swift as the roe which the hound doth assail,
As the full moon in autumn our shields do appear,
Minerva would dread to encounter our spear.

Quebec and Cape Breton, the pride of old France,
In their troops fondly boasted till we did advance;
But when our claymores they saw us produce,
Their courage did fail, and they sued for a truce.

In our realm may the fury of faction long cease,
May our councils be wise and our commerce increase,
And in Scotia's cold climate may each of us find,
That our friends still prove true and our beauties prove kind.

Then we'll defend our liberty, our country, and our
laws,

And teach our late posterity to fight in freedom's
cause,

That they like our ancestors bold, for honour and
applause,

May defy the French, with all their arts, to alter
our laws.

EIDEADH NAN GAEL.

Ann an éideadh nan Gàel,
Le tein'-ardain na Ròimh',
'S ann o fhraoch-bheannaibh Alba
A dh' fhalbh sinn a chum gleòis,
'Tir a sribhich na Ròimhich
Le foineart thoirt uainn,
Ach ar sinnsearra chòmhraig,
'S mar sheòid thug iad buaidh!

Le sòghalas na féisdachas
Ar féithean las cha-n fhàs;
Cha toir ròic no ruidht oirnn strìceadh
Chum's gu'n dìobair sinn ar càil;
'S i a' phlob a's àirde nual
A bhios g' ar gluasad gu blàr;—
Sin an ceòl a chumas suas annainn
Cruadal nan Gàel.

'S co-chruaidh sinn ris na daragan
Tha thall-ud anns a' ghleann;
Is co-luath sinn ris an eilid
Air nach beir ach an cù seang;
Mar a' ghealach làn as t-fhogar
Nochdar aghaidh ar cuid sgiath,
'S roimh 'r lannan guineach geur
Air Mìnérbha bi'dh fianh!

Mar a sheideas a' ghaath tuath
Air a' chuan a's gairge toirm,
'S ann mar sin a ni sinn brìghdadh
Air ar naimhde 'nill gu borb;
Mar chreaga trom a' tuirling orr'
Thig ur-shìol nam beannta,
G' an caitheamh as le 'n tréuntas,
'S le géiread an lann.

Mar so, ar Lagh 's ar Rìgheachd
Gu'n dìonar leinn gu bràth;—
Agus eath air taobh na saorsa
Gu'm faoghlum sinn d' ar n-àl;
Gus an dìong iad fòs an seanairean
'Am fearalas 's an càil,
'S gus an cuir iad clis gun tainng
Air an Fhraing 's air an Spàinn.

uniform of the regiment had a very sombre appearance. "The jackets were of a dull rusty-coloured red, and no part of the accoutrements was of a light colour. Economy was strictly observed in the article of clothing. The old jacket, after being worn a year, was converted into a waistcoat, and the plaid, at the end of two years, was reduced to the phillibeg. The hose supplied were of so bad a quality that the men advanced an additional sum to the government price, in order to supply themselves with a better sort. Instead of feathers for their bonnets, they were allowed only a piece of black bear-skin; but the men supplied themselves with ostrich feathers in the modern fashion,⁸ and spared no expense in fitting up their bonnets handsomely. The sword-belts were of black leather, two inches and a half in breadth; and a small cartouch-box, fitted only for thirty-two rounds of cartridges, was worn in front above the purse, and fixed round the loins with a thick belt, in which hung the bayonet. In these heavy colours and dark-blue facings the regiment had a far less splendid appearance at a short distance than English regiments with white breeches and belts; but on a closer view the line was imposing and warlike. The men possessed what an ingenious author calls 'the attractive beauties of a soldier; sun burnt complexions, a hardy weather-beaten visage, with a penetrating eye, and firm expressive countenance, sinewy and elastic limbs, traces of muscles strongly impressed, indicating capacity of action, and marking experience of service.'⁹ The personal appearance of the men has, no doubt, varied according as attention was paid to a proper selection of recruits. The appointments have also been different. The first alteration in this respect was made in the year 1769, when the regiment removed to Dublin. At this period the men received white cloth waistcoats, and the colonel supplied them with white goat-skin and buff leather purses, which were deemed an im-

provement on the vests of red cloth, and the purses made of badgers' skin.

"The officers also improved their dress, by having their jackets embroidered. During the war, however, they wore only a narrow edging of gold-lace round the borders of the facings, and very often no lace at all, epaulettes and all glittering ornaments being laid aside, to render them less conspicuous to the Indians, who always aimed particularly at the officers. During their stay in Ireland the dress of the men underwent very little alteration. The officers had only one suit of embroidery; this fashion being found too expensive was given up, and gold-lace substituted in its stead. Upon ordinary occasions they wore light hangers, using the basket-hilted broadsword only in full dress. They also carried fusils. The sergeants were furnished with carbines instead of the Lochaber axe or halbert, which they formerly carried. The soldiers were provided with new arms when on Dublin duty in 1774. The sergeants had silver-lace on their coats, which they furnished, however, at their own expense."¹

The regiment remained in Ireland after its return from North America about eight years, in the course of which it was occasionally occupied in different parts of that country in aid of the civil power,—a service in which, from their conciliatory disposition, they were found very useful. While in Ireland, a new company was added, as was the case with all the other regiments on the Irish establishment. Captain James Macpherson, Lieutenant Campbell, and Ensign John Grant, were in consequence appointed to the 42d.

In 1775 the regiment embarked at Donaghadee, and landed at Port Patrick, after an absence from Scotland of thirty-two years. Impelled by characteristic attachment to the country of their birth, many of the old soldiers leaped on shore with enthusiasm, and kissed the earth, which they held up in handfuls. From Port Patrick the regiment marched to Glasgow.

The conduct of the regiment and its mode of discipline while in Ireland is depicted by an intelligent officer who served in it at

⁸ "Officers and non-commissioned officers always wore a small plume of feathers, after the fashion of their country; but it was not till the period of which I am now writing that the soldiers used so many feathers as they do at present."—*Stewart's Sketches*.

⁹ *Jackson's European Armies*.

¹ *Stewart's Sketches*. The use of silver lace was not discontinued until 1830.

that time, and for many years both before and after that period, in a communication to General Stewart. He describes the regiment as still possessing the character which it had acquired in Germany and America, although there were not more than eighty of the men remaining who had served in America, and only a few individuals of those who had served in Germany previously to the year 1748. Their attachment to their native dress, and their peculiarity of language, habits, and manners contributed to preserve them a race of men separate from others of the same profession, and to give to their system of regimental discipline a distinctive and peculiar character. Their messes were managed by the non-commissioned officers, or old soldiers, who had charge of the barrack-room; and these messes were always so arranged that in each room the men were in friendship or intimacy with each other, or belonged to the same glen or district, or were connected by some similar tie. By these means every barrack-room was like a family establishment. After the weekly allowances for breakfast, dinner, and small necessities had been provided, the surplus pay was deposited in a stock purse, each member of the mess drawing for it in his turn. The stock thus acquired was soon found worth preserving, and instead of hoarding, they lent it out to the inhabitants, who seemed greatly surprised at seeing a soldier save money. Their accounts with their officers were settled once in three months, and, with the exception of a few careless spendthrifts, all the men purchased their own necessities, with which they were always abundantly provided. At every settlement of accounts they enjoyed themselves very heartily, but with a strict observance of propriety and good humour; and as the members of each mess considered themselves in a manner answerable for one another's conduct, they animadverted on any impropriety with such severity as to render the interference of further authority unnecessary.

Shortly after the arrival of the regiment in Glasgow two companies were added, and the establishment of the whole regiment augmented to 100 rank and file each company. The battalion, when complete, amounted to 1075 men, including sergeants and drummers. Little in-

ducement was required to fill the ranks, as men were always to be found ready to join a corps in such high estimation. At this time the bounty was a guinea and a crown. It was afterwards increased to three guineas; but this advance had little effect in the north where the *esprit du corps* had greater influence than gold.

Hitherto the officers had been entirely Highland and Scotch; but the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, contrary to the remonstrances of Lord John Murray, who saw the advantage of officering the regiment with natives of Scotland, prevailed with the government to admit two English officers into the regiment. His excellency even went so far as to get two lieutenants' commissions in favour of Scotchmen cancelled, although they had been gazetted.

In consequence of hostilities with America, the regiment was ordered to embark for that country. Before its departure the recruits were taught the use of the firelock, and, from the shortness of the time allowed, were drilled even by candle-light. New arms and accoutrements were supplied to the men by the government, and the colonel furnished them with broadswords and pistols, iron-stocked, at his own expense. The regiment was reviewed on the 10th of April 1776 by General Sir Adolphus Oughton, and being reported quite complete and unexceptionable, embarked on the 14th at Greenock, along with Fraser's Highlanders.*

II.

1776-1795.

The 42d goes to America—Battle of Brooklyn, 1776 —Broadswords and pistols laid aside—Skirmish near New York—White Plains—Capture of Fort Washington and Fort Lee—Skirmish at Trenton—Defeat of Mawhood's detachment—Pisquatawa—Chesapeake —Battle of Brandy Wine—Skirmish at Monmouth —New Plymouth—Portsmouth—Verplanks and Stony Point, 1779—Mutiny of a detachment at Leith—Charlestown—Paulus Hook—Desertion, 1783—Halifax—Cape Breton—Return of the regiment to England—Proceeds to Flanders—The "red heckle"—England—Coast of France—Ostend—Nimeguen—Gilderwalsen—Return of the regiment to England.

IN conjunction with Fraser's Highlanders, the 42d embarked at Greenock on the 14th of

* Of the number of privates, 931 were Highlanders, 74 Lowland Scotch, 5 English (in the band), 1 Welsh, and 2 Irish.

April 1776, to join an expedition under General Howe against the American revolutionists. The transports separated in a gale of wind, but they all reached their destination in Staten Island, where the main body of the army had assembled.¹ A grenadier battalion was immediately formed under the command of the Hon. Major (afterwards General) Sir Charles Stewart, the staff appointments to which, out of respect to the 42d, were taken by the commander-in-chief from that regiment. A light infantry corps was also formed, to the command of which Lieutenant-colonel Musgrave was appointed. The flank companies of the 42d were attached to these battalions. "The Highland grenadiers were remarkable for strength and height, and considered equal to any company in the army: the light infantry were quite the reverse in point of personal appearance, as the commanding officer would not allow a choice of men for them. The battalion companies were formed into two temporary battalions, the command of one being given to Major William Murray (Lintrose), and that of the other to Major William Grant (Rothiemurchus), with an adjutant quarter-master in each battalion; the whole being under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Stirling. These grenadiers were placed in the reserve with the grenadiers of the army, under the command of Earl Corn-

¹ The Oxford transport, with a company of the 42d on board, was captured by an American privateer. The military officers and ship's crew were taken on board the privateer, and a crew and guard sent to the transport, with directions to make the first friendly port. A few days afterwards the soldiers overpowered the Americans; and with the assistance of the carpenter, who had been left on board, navigated the vessel into the Chesapeake, and casting anchor at Jamestown, which had been evacuated by Lord Dunmore and the British, she was taken possession of, and the men marched as prisoners to Williamsburgh in Virginia, where every exertion was made, and every inducement held out, to prevail with them to break their allegiance, and join the American cause. When it was found that the offers of military promotion were rejected, they were told that they would have grants of fertile land to settle in freedom and happiness, and that they would all be lairds themselves, and have no rents to pay. These latter inducements also failed. "These trust-worthy men declared they would neither take nor possess any land, but what they had deserved by supporting their king, whose health they could not be restrained from drinking, although in the middle of enemies; and when all failed, they were sent in small separate parties to the back-settlements."—They were exchanged in 1778, and joined the regiment.—Stewart's *Sketches*, i. 368.

wallis. To these were added the 33d, his lordship's own regiment."²

The whole of the British force under the command of Sir William Howe, including 13,000 Hessians and Waldeckers, amounted to 30,000 men. The campaign opened by a landing on Long Island on the 22d of August 1776. The whole army encamped in front of the villages of Gravesend and Utrecht. The American army, under General Putnam, was encamped at Brooklyn, a few miles distant. A range of woody hills, which intersected the country from east to west, divided the two armies.

The British general having resolved to attack the enemy in three divisions, the right wing, under General Clinton, seized, on the 26th of August, at night-fall, a pass on the heights, about three miles from Bedford. The main body then passed through, and descended to the level country which lay between the hills and General Putnam's lines. Whilst this movement was going on, Major-general Grant (Ballindalloch) with his brigade (the 4th), supported by the Royal Highlanders from the reserve, was directed to march from the left along the coast to the Narrows, and attack the enemy in that quarter. The right wing having reached Bedford at nine o'clock next morning, attacked the left of the American army, which, after a short resistance, retired to their lines in great confusion, pursued by the British troops, Colonel Stuart leading with his battalion of Highland grenadiers. The Hessians, who had remained at Flat Bush, on hearing the fire at Bedford, advanced, and, attacking the centre of the American army, drove them, after a short engagement, through the woods, and captured three pieces of cannon. General Grant had previously attacked the right of the enemy, and a cannonade had been kept up near the Narrows on both sides, till the Americans heard the firing at Bedford, when they retreated in disorder. Notwithstanding these advantages, neither General Howe nor General Grant ventured to follow them up by pursuing the enemy, and attacking them in their lines, although they could have made no effectual resistance. The enemy lost 2000 men, killed, drowned, and taken prisoners.

² Stewart's *Sketches*.

The British had 5 officers, and 56 non-commissioned officers and privates killed; and 12 officers and 245 non-commissioned officers and privates wounded. Among the latter was Lieutenant Crammond and 9 rank and file of the 42d.

About this time the broadswords and pistols which the men received in Glasgow were ordered to be laid aside. The pistols being considered unnecessary, except in the field, were not intended, like the swords, to be worn by the men in quarters. The reason for discontinuing the broadswords was that they retarded the men by getting entangled in the brushwood. "Admitting that the objection was well-founded, so far as regarded the swords, it certainly could not apply to the pistols. In a close woody country, where troops are liable to sudden attacks and surprises by a hidden enemy, such a weapon is peculiarly useful. It is, therefore, difficult to discover a good reason for laying them aside. I have been told by several old officers and soldiers, who bore a part in these attacks, that an enemy who stood for many hours the fire of musketry, invariably gave way when an advance was made sword in hand. They were never restored, and the regiment has had neither swords nor pistols since."³

The army encamped in front of the enemy's lines in the evening of the 27th of August, and next day broke ground opposite their left redoubt. General Washington had crossed over from New York during the action at Brooklyn, and seeing resistance hopeless, resolved to retreat. With surprising skill he transported 9000 men, with guns, ammunition, and stores, in the course of one night, over to New York; and such was the secrecy with which this movement was effected, that the British army knew nothing of it till next morning, when the last of the rear-guard were seen in their boats crossing the broad ferry and out of danger.

Active operations were not resumed till the 15th of September, when the reserve, including the Royal Highlanders, crossed over to New York, and, after some opposition, took possession of the heights above the town. The

Highlanders and Hessians fell in with and captured a body of New England men and Virginians. Next day the light infantry were sent out to dislodge a party of the enemy from a wood opposite the British left. A smart action ensued, and, the enemy pushing forward reinforcements, the Highlanders were sent to support the light infantry. The Americans were then driven back to their entrenchments; but they renewed the attack with an increased force, and were again repulsed with considerable loss. The British had 14 men killed, and 5 officers and 70 men wounded. The 42d had 1 sergeant and 5 privates killed; and Captains Duncan Macpherson and John Mackintosh, and Ensign Alexander Mackenzie (who died of his wounds), and 1 piper, 2 drummers, and 47 privates wounded.

General Howe, in expectation of an attack, threw up entrenchments; but General Washington having no such intention, made a general movement, and took up a strong position on the heights in the rear of the White Plains. To induce the enemy to quit their ground, General Howe resolved to make a movement, and accordingly embarked his army on the 12th of October in flat-bottomed boats, and passing through the intricate narrow called Hell Gate, disembarked the same evening at Frogsneck, near West Chester. In consequence of the bridge which connected the latter place with the mainland having been broken down by the enemy, the general embarked his troops next day, and landed at Pell's Point, at the mouth of Hudson's river. On the 14th he reached the White Plains in front of the enemy's position. As a preliminary to a general engagement, General Howe attacked a post on a rising ground occupied by 4000 of the enemy, which he carried; but General Washington declining battle, the British general gave up the attempt, and proceeded against Fort Washington, the possession of which was necessary in order to open the communication between New York and the continent, to the eastward and northward of Hudson's river. The fort, the garrison of which consisted of 3000 men, was protected by strong grounds covered with lines and works. The Hessians, under General Knyphausen, supported by the whole of the

³ Stewart's *Sketches*.

reserve, under Major-General Earl Percy, with the exception of the 42d, who were to make a feint on the east side of the fort, were to make the principal attack. The Royal Highlanders embarked in boats on the 16th of November, before day-break, and landed in a small creek at the foot of the rock, in the face of a smart fire. The Highlanders had now discharged the duty assigned them, but determined to have a full share in the honour of the day, they resolved upon an assault, and assisted by each other, and by the brushwood and shrubs which grew out of the crevices of the rocks, scrambled up the precipice. On gaining the summit, they rushed forward, and attacked the enemy with such rapidity, that upwards of 200, unable to escape, threw down their arms; whilst the Highlanders, following up their advantage, penetrated across the table of the hill, and met Lord Percy's brigade as they were coming up on the opposite side. On seeing the Hessians approach in another direction, the enemy surrendered at discretion. In this affair the Royal Highlanders had 1 sergeant and 10 privates killed; and Lieutenants Patrick Graham (Inchbrakie), Norman Macleod,⁴ and Alexander Grant, and 4 sergeants and 66 rank and file wounded.

To secure the entire command of the North river, and to open an easy entrance into the Jerseys, Fort Lee was next reduced, in which service the Royal Highlanders were employed. The enemy, pursued by the detachment which captured that post, retired successively to Newbridge, Elizabeth Town, Newark, and Brunswick. On the 17th of November General Howe entered Prince Town with the main body of the army, an hour after it was evacuated by General Washington. Winter having

now set in, General Howe put his army into winter quarters. The advanced posts, which extended from Trenton to Mount-holly, were occupied by the Hessians and the Royal Highlanders, who were the only British regiments in front.

If, instead of suspending active operations, General Howe had continued occasionally to beat up the quarters of the Americans whilst dispirited by their late reverses, it is thought that he would have reduced them to the last extremity. General Washington availed himself of the inactivity of the British commander, and by making partial attacks on the advanced posts, he not only improved the discipline of his army, but, in consequence of the success which sometimes attended these attacks, revived the drooping spirits of his men. On the 22d of January 1777, he surprised and completely defeated the detachment of Hessians stationed at Trenton; in consequence of which reverse, the Royal Highlanders, who formed the left of the line of defence at Mount-holly, fell back on the light infantry at Prince Town.

During the remainder of the season the Royal Highlanders were stationed in the village of Pisquataua, on the line of communication between New York and Brunswick by Amboy. The duty was severe, from the rigour of the season and the want of accommodation. The houses in the village not being sufficient to contain one-half of the men, the officers and soldiers were intermixed in barns and sheds, and they always slept in their body-clothes, as the enemy were constantly sending down nocturnal parties to fire at the sentinels and picquets. The Americans, however, always kept at a respectful distance, and did not make any regular attack on the post till the 10th of May 1777, on which day, at four o'clock in the afternoon, a body of 2000 men, under the command of Maxwell and Stephens, American generals, attempted to surprise the Highlanders. Advancing with great secrecy, and being completely covered by the rugged nature of the country, their approach was not perceived till they had gained a small level piece of ground in front of the picquets, when they rushed forward, and attacked them with such promptitude, that the picquets had hardly time to seize their arms. At this time the

⁴ "This hill was so perpendicular, that the ball which wounded Lieutenant Macleod, entering the posterior part of his neck, ran down on the middle of his ribs, and lodged in the lower part of his back.

"One of the pipers, who began to play when he reached the point of a rock on the summit of the hill, was immediately shot, and tumbled from one piece of rock to another till he reached the bottom.

"Major Murray, being a large corpulent man, could not attempt this steep ascent without assistance. The soldiers, eager to get to the point of their duty, scrambled up, forgetting the situation of Major Murray, when he, in a melancholy supplicating tone, cried, 'Oh soldiers, will you leave me!' A party leaped down instantly, and brought him up, supporting him from one ledge of the rocks to another till they got him to the top."—*Stewart's Sketches.*

soldiers were either all differently employed, or taking the rest they could not obtain at night; but the picquets, by disputing every inch of ground, gave time to the soldiers to assemble, who drove the enemy back with great precipitation, leaving behind them upwards of 200 men in killed and wounded. On this occasion the 42d had 3 sergeants and 9 privates killed; and Captain Duncan Macpherson, Lieutenant William Stewart, 3 sergeants, and 35 privates wounded.⁵

The British troops again took the field about the middle of June, when General Howe attempted to draw Washington from his station at Middle Brook; but the American commander knew too well the value of such a strong position to abandon it. Not judging it prudent to attack it, the British general resolved to change the seat of war. Pursuant to this resolution, he embarked 36 battalions of British and Hessians, including the flank battalions of the grenadiers and light infantry, and sailed for the Chesapeake. Before the embarkation the Royal Highlanders received an accession of 170 recruits from Scotland.

The army landed at Elk Ferry on the 24th of August, after a tedious voyage. It was not till the 3d of September that they began their march for Philadelphia. The delay enabled Washington to cross the country, and to take an advantageous position at Red Clay Creek,

⁵ "On this occasion Sergeant Macgregor, whose company was immediately in the rear of the picquet, rushed forward to their support with a few men who happened to have their arms in their hands, when the enemy commenced the attack. Being severely wounded, he was left insensible on the ground. When the picquet was overpowered, and the few survivors forced to retire, Macgregor, who had that day put on a new jacket with silver-lace, having, besides, large silver buckles in his shoes, and a watch, attracted the notice of an American soldier, who deemed him a good prize. The retreat of his friends not allowing him time to strip the sergeant on the spot, he thought the shortest way was to take him on his back to a more convenient distance. By this time Macgregor began to recover; and, perceiving whether the man was carrying him, drew his dirk, and grasping him by the throat, swore that he would run him through the breast if he did not turn back and carry him to the camp. The American finding this argument irresistible, complied with the request, and meeting Lord Cornwallis (who had come up to the support of the regiment when he heard the firing), and Colonel Stirling, was thanked for his care of the sergeant; but he honestly told them that he only conveyed him thither to save his own life. Lord Cornwallis gave him liberty to go whithersoever he chose. His lordship procured for the sergeant a situation under government at Leith, which he enjoyed many years."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

11.

whence he pushed forward detachments to harass the British troops on their march. General Howe did not reach the Brandy Wine River till the middle of September, in consequence of the difficulties he met with in traversing a country covered with wood and full of defiles. On reaching that river, he found that the enemy had taken up a strong position beyond it, with the view of opposing the further advance of the royal army. The Americans had secured all the fording places, and in expectation that the British would attempt to cross at Chad's Ford, they had erected batteries and thrown up entrenchments at that place to command the passage. Making a circuit of some miles, Lord Cornwallis crossed Jeffrey's Ford with one division of the army without opposition, and turning down the river fell in with the American general, Sullivan, who had been detached by Washington to oppose him. An action took place, and the Americans were driven from all their posts through the woods towards the main army. Meanwhile General Knyphausen, with his division, made demonstrations for crossing the river at Chad's Ford, and as soon as he knew from the firing of cannon that Lord Cornwallis's movement had succeeded, he passed the river, and carried the batteries and entrenchments of the enemy. A general rout ensued, and Washington, with the corps he was able to keep together, fled with his baggage and cannon to Chester. The British had 50 officers killed and wounded in the battle of Brandy Wine, and 438 rank and file, including non-commissioned officers. The flank companies of the 42d, being the only ones engaged, had 6 privates killed, and 1 sergeant and 15 privates wounded.

On the 25th, the army marched to German Town, and the following morning the grenadiers took peaceable possession of Philadelphia. The 42d took part in the operations, by which the British commander endeavoured to bring the enemy to a general engagement at White Marsh, and was afterwards quartered at Philadelphia.⁶

⁶ From Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia* we learn that a Mrs Gordon opened a boarding-house in Front Street, which was much frequented by British officers during the American Revolution war, and at times was nearly filled with officers of the 42d and Royal

The next enterprise in which the Royal Highlanders were engaged, was under Major-General Charles Grey, who embarked with the grenadiers, the light infantry brigade, and the 42d regiment, for the purpose of destroying a number of privateers, with their prizes, at New Plymouth. The troops landed on the banks of the Acushnet river on the 5th of September, and having destroyed seventy

vessels, with all the stores, cargoes, wharfs, and buildings, along the whole extent of the river, the whole were re-embarked the following day, and returned to New York.

Matters remained quiescent till the 25th of February 1779, when Colonel Stirling, with a detachment consisting of the light infantry of the Guards and the 42d regiment, was ordered to attack a post at Elizabeth Town, which was



British Barracks, Philadelphia. From Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*.

taken without opposition. In April following, the Highland regiment was employed in an expedition to the Chesapeake, to destroy the stores and merchandise at Portsmouth in Virginia. They were again employed with the Guards and a corps of Hessians in another expedition under General Mathews, which sailed on the 30th, under the convoy of Sir

Irish. "The British Barracks," we learn from Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, "were built in the Northern Liberties soon after the defeat of Braddock's army, and arose from the necessity, as it was alleged, of making better permanent provision for troops deemed necessary to be among us for future protection. Many of the people had so petitioned the king, not being then so sensitive of the presence of 'standing armies' as their descendants have since become. The parade and 'pomp of war' which their erection produced in the former peaceful city of Penn, gave it an attraction to the town's people, and being located far out of town, it was deemed a pleasant walk to the country and fields, to go out and see the long ranges of houses, the long lines of kilted and bonneted Highlanders, and to hear 'the spirit stirring fife and soul-inspiring drum!' The ground plot of the barracks extended from Second to Third Street, and from St Tamany Street to Green Street, having the officer's quarters, a large three-storey brick build-

ing, on Third Street, the same now standing as a Northern Liberty Town Hall. The parade ground fronted upon Second Street, shut in by an ornamental palisade fence on the line of that street. After the war of Independence they were torn down, and the lots sold for the benefit of the public. It was from the location of those buildings that the whole region thereabout was familiarly called Campingtoun. In 1758 I notice the first public mention of 'the new barracks in Campingtoun,' the *Gazettes* stating the arrival there of 'Colonel Montgomery's Highlanders,' and some arrangement by the City Council to provide them their bedding, &c. In the year 1764 the barracks were made a scene of great interest to all the citizens; there the Indians, who fled from the threats of the murderous Paxtang boys, sought their refuge under the protection of the Highlanders, while the approach of the latter was expected, the citizens ran there with their arms to defend them and to throw up entrenchments."

The campaign of 1779 was begun by the

capture, on the part of the British, of Verplanks and Stony Point. A garrison of 600 men, among whom were two companies of Fraser's Highlanders, took possession of this last post; but owing to the too great confidence of the commander, it was surprised and re-captured. Flushed with this success, the American general, Wayne, made an immediate attack upon Verplanks, which was garrisoned by the 33d regiment; but receiving accounts of the advance of Colonel Stirling with the light infantry of the 42d, he retreated from Verplanks and abandoned Stony Point, of which Colonel Stirling took possession. This officer being shortly thereafter appointed aid-de-camp to the king, and a brigadier-general, the command of the 42d regiment devolved on Major Charles Graham.

About this time a circumstance occurred which tended greatly to deteriorate, for several years, the hitherto irreproachable character of the Royal Highland regiment. By order of the inspector-general at Chatham, a body of 150 recruits, raised principally from the refuse of the population of London and Dublin, was embarked for the regiment in the autumn of this year. Of such dissipated habits had these men been, that 16 died on the voyage, and 75 were sent to the hospital as soon as they disembarked.⁷ The infusion of such immoral ingredients could not have failed to taint the whole mass, and General Stirling made a strong representation to the commander-in-chief to avert such a calamity from the regiment, by removing the recruits to another corps. They were, in consequence, drafted into the 26th, in exchange for the same number of Scotchmen; but the introduction of these men into the regiment dissolved the charm which, for nearly forty years, had preserved the Highlanders from contamination. During that long period there were few courts-martial, and, for many years, no instance of corporal punishment occurred. So nice were their notions of honour, that, "if a soldier was brought to the halberts, he became degraded, and little more good was to be expected of him. After being

publicly disgraced, he could no longer associate with his comrades; and, in several instances, the privates of a company have, from their pay, subscribed to procure the discharge of an obnoxious individual." But "punishments being found indispensable for the men newly introduced, and others becoming more habituated to the sight, much of the sense of honour was necessarily lost."⁸

An illustration of the strong national feeling with which the corps was regarded by the Highlanders, and of the expediency of keeping it unmixed, occurred in April of the same year, when two strong detachments of recruits belonging to the 42d and 71st regiments arrived at Leith from Stirling Castle, for the purpose of embarking to join their respective regiments in North America. Being told that they were to be turned over to the 80th and 82d, the Edinburgh and Hamilton regiments, the men remonstrated, and declared openly and firmly that they were determined to serve only in the corps for which they were enlisted. After some negotiation, troops were sent to Leith with orders to convey the refractory Highlanders as prisoners to Edinburgh Castle, if they persisted in their determination. As they still refused to forego their resolution, attempts were made to enforce the orders; but the Highlanders refused to submit, and flying to arms, a desperate conflict ensued, in which Captain Mansfield of the South Fencible regiment and 9 men were killed, and 31 soldiers wounded. Being at last overpowered, the mutineers were carried to the castle.

In the month of May following, three of these prisoners, Charles Williamson and Archibald Macivor, soldiers of the 42d regiment, and Robert Budge, soldier of the 71st, were brought before a court-martial, "charged with having been guilty of a mutiny at Leith, upon Tuesday the 20th of April last past, and of having instigated others to be guilty of the same, in which mutiny several of his majesty's subjects were killed, and many wounded."

Their reasons for resisting the orders to embark are thus stated in their defence:—"The prisoners, Archibald Macivor and Charles Williamson, enlisted as soldiers in the 42d.

⁷ "In the year 1776 (says General Stewart) the three battalions of the 42d and of Fraser's Highlanders embarked 3248 soldiers; after a stormy passage of more than three months, none died; they had only a few sick, and these not dangerously."

⁸ Stewart's *Sketches*.

being an old Highland regiment, wearing the Highland dress. Their native language was Gaelic,—the one being a native of the northern parts of Argyleshire, and the other of the western parts of Inverness-shire, where the language of the country is Gaelic only. They have never used any other language, and are so ignorant of the English tongue that they cannot avail themselves of it for any purpose of life. They have always been accustomed to the Highland habit, so far as never to have worn breeches, a thing so inconvenient, and even so impossible for a native Highlander to do, that, when the Highland dress was prohibited by act of parliament, though the philibeg was one of the forbidden parts of the dress, yet it was necessary to connive at the use of it, provided only that it was made of a stuff of one colour and not of tartan, as is well known to all acquainted with the Highlands, particularly with the more mountainous parts of the country. These circumstance made it more necessary for them to serve in a Highland regiment only, as they neither could have understood the language, nor have used their arms, or marched in the dress of any other regiment."

The other prisoner, Budge, stated that he was a native of the upper parts of Caithness, and being ignorant of the English language, and accustomed to wear the Highland garb, he enlisted to serve in Fraser's Highlanders, and in no other regiment. In continuation, the three prisoners stated, that, "when they arrived at Leith, they were informed by their officer, Captain Innes, who had conducted them, that they were now to consider the officers of the 82d, or Duke of Hamilton's regiment, a regiment wearing the Lowland dress and speaking the tongue, as their officers; but how this happened they were not informed. No order from the commander-in-chief for their being drafted was read or explained to them, but they were told that they must immediately join the Hamilton and Edinburgh regiments. A great number of the detachment represented, without any disorder or mutinous behaviour, that they were altogether unfit for service in any other corps than Highland ones, particularly that they were incapable of wearing breeches as a part of their dress. At the same time, they declared

their willingness to be regularly transferred to any other Highland regiment, or to continue to serve in those regiments into which they had been regularly enlisted. But no regard was paid to these remonstrances, which, if they had had an opportunity, they would have laid before the commander-in-chief. But an order for an immediate embarkation prevented this. The idea that naturally suggested itself to them was, that they should insist on serving in the same regiment in which they had been enlisted, and not to go abroad as part of the Duke of Hamilton's regiment till such time as these difficulties were removed. They accordingly drew up under arms on the shore of Leith, each respective corps by itself. The prisoners were informed that the orders issued were to take them prisoners to the castle: had these orders been explained to them, they would have submitted, and, with proper humility, have laid their case before those that could have given them redress. But, unfortunately, the sergeant who undertook to explain to them in Gaelic, represented that they were immediately to go on board as part of the Hamilton regiment, but which they do with great deference say, that they did not at the time conceive they could lawfully have done." After the defence was read, "Captain Innes of the 71st regiment showed an attestation to the court, which he said was in the uniform style of the attestations for that regiment; and it expressly bore, that the persons thereby attested were to serve in the 71st regiment, commanded by General Simon Fraser of Lovat, and that they were to serve for three years only, or during the continuance of the present war."

Having been found guilty, the prisoners were sentenced to be shot. The king gave them a free pardon, "in full confidence that they would endeavour, by a prompt obedience and orderly behaviour, to atone for this atrocious offence." These men, along with the rest of the detachment, joined the second battalion of the 42d. The prisoners justified the confidence of his majesty by steadiness and good conduct in the regiment.

With the intention of pushing the war with vigour, the new commander-in-chief resolved to attack Charlestown, the capital of South

Carolina. Leaving General Knyphausen in command, he embarked part of his army, and after a boisterous and protracted voyage of nearly seven weeks, during which some of his transports were lost or taken, he landed at John's Island, 30 miles from Charlestown, on the 11th of February 1780. Owing to various impediments, he did not reach Charlestown till the end of March. After a siege of six weeks the place surrendered. The loss of the British did not exceed 300 men. Lieutenant Macleod of the 42d, and 9 privates, were killed; and Lieutenant Alexander Grant of the same regiment, son of Colonel Grant of Moy, was wounded by a six-pound ball, which struck him on the back in a slanting direction, near the right shoulder, and carried away the entire scapula with several other bones. The surgeons considered his case as utterly hopeless, but to their surprise they found him alive next morning, and free from fever and all bad symptoms. He recovered completely, and served many years in perfect good health. 14 privates were wounded.

The Royal Highlanders, with the Grenadiers and Hessians, re-embarked on the 4th of June for New York, and, after several movements in the province, went into winter quarters. Here they received an accession of 100 recruits from Scotland. The regiment was not again employed in any active service during the remainder of the war.

Whilst the war lasted, the Americans held out every allurements to the British soldiers to induce them to desert their ranks and join the cause of American independence. Many were, in consequence, seduced from their allegiance; but during five campaigns, and until the unfortunate draft of men from the 26th regiment, not one man from the 42d deserted its ranks. About the close of the war the regiment was stationed at Paulus Hook, an advanced post from New York leading to the Jerseys, and here, for the first time, several of the men deserted to the enemy. One of these deserters, by name Anderson, was afterwards taken, tried by a court-martial, and shot.

After the peace the establishment of the regiment was reduced to 8 companies of 50 men each. The officers of the ninth and tenth companies were not put on half-pay, but kept

as supernumeraries to fill up vacancies as they occurred in the regiment. Many of the men having been discharged at their own request, their places were supplied by drafts from Fraser's and Macdonald's Highlanders, and from the Edinburgh and Hamilton regiments, some of the men in these corps having preferred rather to remain in America than return home with their regiments.

During the American revolutionary war the loss of the Royal Highlanders was as follows:—

	KILLED.
In Officers,	2
Sergeants,	9
Rank and File, including Drummers,	72
Total,	83
	WOUNDED.
In Officers,	12
Sergeants,	18
Rank and File, including Drummers,	256
Total,	286
Grand Total,	369

In October 1783, the regiment was sent to Halifax, in Nova Scotia, where it remained till the year 1786, when six companies were removed to the island of Cape Breton, the remaining two companies being detached to the island of St John. Next year two companies were added to the regiment, in consequence of preparations for war with Holland. Captains William Johnstone and Robert Christie succeeded to these companies. Lieutenant Robert Macdonald, brother of Macdonald of Sanda, from the half-pay of Fraser's regiment, and Ensign James Rose, were appointed lieutenants; and Ensign David Stewart (afterwards major-general, and author of the *Sketches*.) and James Stewart, nephew of the Earl of Moray, ensigns.

On the 1st of January 1785, new colours were presented to the regiment by Major-General John Campbell, commanding the Forces in Nova Scotia, who made an eloquent address on that occasion:—

“Forty-second, Royal Highlanders,—With particular pleasure I address you on this occasion, and congratulate you on the service you have done your country, and the honour you have procured yourselves, by protecting your old colours, and defending them from

your enemies in different engagements during the late unnatural rebellion.

"From those ragged, but honourable, remains, you are now to transfer your allegiance and fidelity to these new National and Regimental Standards of Honour, now consecrated and solemnly dedicated to the service of our King and Country. These Colours are committed to your immediate care and protection; and I trust you will, on all occasions, defend them from your enemies, with honour to yourselves, and service to your country,—with that distinguished and noble bravery which has always characterised the ROYAL HIGHLANDERS in the field of battle.

"With what pleasure, with what peculiar satisfaction,—nay, with what pride, would I enumerate the different memorable actions where the regiment distinguished itself. To particularise the whole would exceed the bounds of this address: let me therefore beg your indulgence while I take notice only of a few of them."

He then in glowing language alluded to the numerous engagements in which the regiment had distinguished itself, from Fontenoy to Pisuquata, and concluded by urging upon the men ever to try to sustain the high character of the regiment, and never to forget they were citizens of a great country, and Christians as well as soldiers.

About this time the regiment had to regret the loss of its colonel, Lord John Murray, who died on the 1st of June 1787, after commanding the corps forty-one years. He was the steady friend of the officers and men. Major-General Sir Hector Monro succeeded him in the command.⁹

⁹ "On the 1st of June this year, Lord John Murray died, in the forty-second year of his command of the regiment, and was succeeded by Major-General Sir Hector Munro. It is said that Lord Eglinton was much disappointed on that occasion. He had formed an attachment to the Highland soldiers, when he commanded his Highland regiment in the seven years' war; and, owing to Lord J. Murray's great age, had long looked to the command of the Royal Highlanders. In Lord North's administration, and likewise in Mr Pitt's, he had, in some measure, secured the succession; but the king had previously, and without the knowledge of his ministers, assented to an application from Sir H. Munro. Lord Eglinton was appointed to the Scots Greys on the first vacancy. Till Lord John Murray was disabled by age, he was the friend and supporter of every deserving officer and soldier in the regiment. The public journals during the German

The regiment embarked for England in August 1789, and landed in Portsmouth in October, after an absence of fourteen years. They wintered in Tynemouth barracks, where they received a reinforcement of 245 young recruits. At this time a small alteration was made in the military appointments of the men. Instead of the black leather belts for the bayonet, white buff belts were substituted. The epaulettes of the officers, formerly very small, were then enlarged.¹

The regiment was removed to Glasgow in the month of May 1790, where they were received with great cordiality by the inhabitants. From an ill-judged hospitality on the part of the citizens, who compelled some of the soldiers to drink copiously of ardent spirits, the discipline of the regiment was relaxed; but its removal to Edinburgh Castle in the month of November cured the evil.

Warlike preparations having been made in 1790, in expectation of a rupture with Spain, orders were received to augment the regiment; but, from recent occurrences in the Highlands, the regiment was not successful in recruiting. Several independent companies were raised, one of which, a fine body of young Highlanders, recruited by the Marquis of Huntly (afterwards Duke of Gordon), joined the regiment along with his lordship, who had exchanged with Captain Alexander Grant.

The regiment was reviewed in June 1791, by Lord Adam Gordon, the commander-in-chief in Scotland, and was marched to the north in October following. The head quarters were at Fort George; one company was stationed at Dundee, another at Montrose, two at Aberdeen, and one at Banff. The regiment assembled at Fort George in the

or seven years' war give many instances. I shall notice one. When the disabled soldiers came home from Ticonderoga in 1758, to pass the Board at Chelsea, it is stated, "that the morning they were to appear before the Board, he was in London, and dressed himself in the full Highland uniform, and, putting himself at the head of all those who could walk, he marched to Chelsea, and explained their case in such a manner to the Commissioners, that all obtained the pension. He gave them five guineas to drink the king's health, and their friends, with the regiment, and two guineas to each of those who had wives, and he got the whole a free passage to Perth, with an offer to such as chose to settle on his estate, to give them a house and garden."—*Westminster Journal*.

¹ Stewart's Sketches.

spring of 1792, and after having been marched south to Stirling, and reviewed by the Hon. Lieutenant-General Leslie, returned to their former cantonments along the coast. The men had however scarcely returned to their quarters, when they were ordered to proceed by forced marches into Ross-shire, to quell some tumults among the tenantry who had been cruelly ejected from their farms. Fortunately, however, there was no occasion for the exercise of such an unpleasant duty, as the poor people separated and concealed themselves on hearing of the approach of the military. After a series of marches and countermarches, the regiment returned to its former cantonments.

In consequence of the war with France, the whole regiment was ordered south, and, preparatory to their march, assembled at Montrose in April 1793. An attempt to increase the establishment by recruiting proved unsuccessful, the result, in some degree, of the depopulating system which had lately been commenced in Ross-shire, and which soured the kindly dispositions of the Highlanders. The corps at this time scarcely exceeded 400 men, and to make up for deficiencies in recruiting, two independent companies, raised by Captains David Hunter of Burnside, and Alexander Campbell of Ardchattan, were ordered to join the regiment.

On the 8th of May, the regiment embarked at Musselburgh for Hull, the inhabitants of which received the Highlanders most kindly, and were so well pleased with their good conduct that, after they embarked for Flanders, the town sent each man a present of a pair of shoes, a flannel shirt, and worsted socks. The regiment joined the army under his Royal Highness the Duke of York, then encamped in the neighbourhood of Menin, on the 3d of October.

The first enterprise in which the Highlanders were engaged was in conjunction with the light companies of the 19th, 27th, and 57th regiments, in the month of October, when they marched to the relief of Nieupoort, then garrisoned by the 53d regiment, and a small battalion of Hessians. On the appearance of this reinforcement, the besiegers retired. The Highlanders had 1 sergeant and 1 private killed, and 2 privates wounded. After this the regiment was re-embarked for England,

along with the three others just mentioned, to join an expedition then preparing against the French colonies in the West Indies; but on arriving at Portsmouth, the 42d was ordered to join another expedition then fitting out against the coast of France, under the command of the Earl of Moira. Colonel Graham, who had held the command of the regiment since the year 1791, being at this time appointed to the command of a brigade, the command devolved on Major George Dalrymple.

The expedition sailed on the 30th of November; but although it reached the coast of France to the eastward of Cape la Hogue, no landing took place. The expedition, after stopping some time at Guernsey, returned to Portsmouth in the beginning of January 1794. The troops remained in England till the 18th of June, when they were re-embarked for Flanders, under the command of the Earl of Moira. They landed at Ostend on the 26th. At this time the allied armies, in consequence of the advance of a large French army and the partial defection of Prussia, were placed in a very critical situation, particularly the small division under the Duke of York encamped at Malines. A junction with the duke became a primary object with Lord Moira, who accordingly resolved to abandon Ostend. He embarked all the stores and the garrison, and whilst the embarkation was proceeding, the troops were ordered under arms on the sand hills in the neighbourhood in light marching order. The officers left all their luggage behind, except what they carried on their backs. In the evening of the 28th the troops moved forward, and halting ten miles beyond the town, proceeded at midnight towards Ostender, and reached Alost on the 3d of July. Whilst these troops remained here, about 400 of the enemy's cavalry entered the town, and being mistaken for Hessians, passed unmolested to the market-place. One of them made an attempt to cut down a Highlander named Macdonald, who was passing through the market-place with a basket on his head. The dragoon having wounded the man severely in the hand which held the basket, the enraged mountaineer drew his bayonet with the other hand and attacked the horseman, who fled. Macdonald thereupon continued his course,

venting his regret as he went along that he had not a broadsword to cut down the intruder. On being recognised, the enemy were driven out by some dragoons and picquets.

After a fatiguing march in presence of a superior force under General Vandamme, the reinforcement joined the Duke of York on the 9th of July. A succession of petty skirmishes occurred until the 20th, when Lord Moira resigned the command. He was succeeded by Lieutenant-General Ralph Abercromby, to whom the command of the third brigade, or reserve, in which were the Highlanders, was assigned. The army crossed the Waal at Nimeguen on the 8th of October. Several smart affairs took place between the advanced posts of the two armies till the 20th, when the enemy attacked the whole of the British advanced posts. They were repulsed, but the 77th regiment sustained a severe loss in officers and men. By incessant attacks, however, the enemy established themselves in front of Nimeguen, and began to erect batteries preparatory to a siege; but on the 4th of November they were driven from their works, after an obstinate resistance. The enemy still persevering with great energy to push their preparations for a siege, it was found necessary to evacuate the town.

This evacuation took place on the 7th of November, and the army was cantoned along the banks of the river. They suffered greatly from the severity of the weather, and so intense was the frost, that the enemy crossed the Waal on the ice. They took post at Thuyl; but although the place was surrounded with entrenchments, and the approach flanked by batteries placed on the isle of Bommell, they were forced from all their posts, and obliged to repass the Waal, by a body of 8000 British, among whom was the third brigade. The loss of the British was trifling. The enemy again crossed the Waal on the 4th of January 1795, and retook Thuyl, from which it was now found impossible to dislodge them. In an attack which they made on the forces under General David Dundas at Gildermaslen, they were repulsed with the loss of 200 men, whilst that of the British was only about one-fourth of that number. The 42d had 1 private killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lamond and 7 privates wounded.

Compelled by the severity of the weather, and the increasing numbers of the French, to retreat, the British troops retired behind the Leck, after the division under Lord Cathcart had repulsed an attack made by the enemy on the 8th.

Disease, the result of a want of necessaries and proper clothing, had greatly diminished the ranks of the British; and the men, whose robustness of constitution had hitherto enabled them to withstand the rigours of one of the severest winters ever remembered, at last sank under the accumulated hardships which beset them. Such was the state of the British army when General Pichegru, crossing the Waal in great force, made a general attack on the 14th of January along the whole line, from Arnheim to Amerougen. After a continued resistance till morning, the British began the disastrous retreat to Deventer, the miseries of which have only been exceeded by the sufferings of the French in their disastrous retreat from Moscow.² The inhumanity of the Dutch boors, who uniformly shut their doors against the unfortunate sufferers, will ever remain a disgrace on the Dutch nation. The hospitable conduct of the inhabitants of Bremen, where the remains of this luckless army arrived in the beginning of April, formed a noble contrast to that of the selfish and unfeeling Dutch.

In no former campaign was the superiority of the Highlanders over their companions in arms, in enduring privations and fatigues, more conspicuous than in this; for whilst some of the newly-raised regiments lost more than 300 men by disease alone, the 42d, which had 300 young recruits in its ranks, lost only 25, including those killed in battle, from the time of their disembarkation at Ostend till their embarkation at Bremen, on the 14th of April.

The Royal Highlanders having landed at Harwich were marched to Chelmsford, and encamped in June 1795 in the neighbourhood of Danbury. In September the regiment was augmented to 1000 men, by drafts from the Strathspey and Perthshire Highlanders, and the regiments of Colonel Duncan Cameron and Colonel Simon Fraser, which had been raised the preceding year, and were now broken

² Stewart's *Sketches*.

up. "Although these drafts," says General Stewart, "furnished many good and serviceable men, they were, in many respects, very inferior to former recruits. This difference of character was more particularly marked in their habits and manners in quarters, than in their conduct in the field, which was always unexceptionable. Having been embodied for upwards of eighteen months, and having been subject to a greater mixture of character than was usual in Highland battalions, these corps had lost much of their original manners, and of that strict attention to religious and moral duties which distinguished the Highland youths on quitting their native glens, and which, when in corps unmixed with men of different characters, they always retained. This intermixture produced a sensible change in the moral conduct and character of the regiment."

Since 1795 the soldiers of the 42d have worn a red feather or "heckle" in their bonnets, being in this respect distinguished from all the other Highland regiments. The following is the story of the "glorious old red heckle," as told by Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley, who, we believe, had his information directly from those who took part in the exploit on account of which the Black Watch is entitled to wear the plume.

In December 1794, when the Forty-Second were quartered at Thuyl, as above mentioned, they received orders for the night of the 31st to march upon Bommell, distant some miles on the opposite side of the river Waal, which they reached by four o'clock on the morning of 1st January 1795. Here they were joined by a number of other regiments, and lay on their arms until daybreak, when they attacked the French army, and drove them across the river on the ice. The British held their position on the banks of the river until the evening of the 3d, when (the French having been reinforced) a partial retreat took place early on the morning of the 4th. The British retired upon the village of Guidermalson, where the 42d, with a number of other regiments, halted, and formed up to cover the retreat through the village. The French cavalry, however, cut through the retreating picquets, and made their way up to the regiments stationed at the village, where they were met and repulsed,

II.

and a number of them taken prisoners.³ Two field-pieces were placed in front of the village to protect the retreat of the picquets; but instead of resisting the charge of cavalry, they (the picquets) retreated to the rear of the village, leaving their guns in possession of the French, who commenced dragging them off. An A.D.C. (Major Rose) ordered Major Dalrymple, commanding the 42d, to charge with his regiment, and retake the guns; which was immediately done, with the loss of 1 man killed and 3 wounded. The guns were thus rescued and dragged in by the 42d, the horses having been disabled and the harness cut.

There was little or no notice taken of this affair at the time, as all was bustle; but after their arrival in England, it was rumoured that the 42d were to get some distinctive badge for their conduct in retaking the guns on the 4th of January; but the nature of the honour was kept a profound secret. On the 4th of June 1795, as the regiment, then quartered at Royston, Cambridgeshire, was out on parade to fire three rounds in honour of his Majesty's birthday, the men were surprised and delighted when a large box was brought on to the field, and a red feather distributed to each soldier. This distinctive ornament has ever since adorned the otherwise funereal headdress of the old Black Watch.

In 1822, from a mistaken direction in a book of dress for the guidance of the army, some of the other Highland regiments concluded that they also had a right to wear "a red vulture feather." The 42d, however, remonstrated, and their representations at headquarters called forth the following memorandum:—

"For Officers commanding Highland Regiments.

"HORSE GUARDS, 20th Aug. 1822.

"The red vulture feather prescribed by the recent regulations for Highland regiments is intended to be used exclusively by the Forty-Second Regiment: other Highland corps will be allowed to continue to wear the same description of feather that may have been hitherto in use.

"H. TORRENS, Adjutant-General."

³ One of these, a trumpeter, was brought to England by the 42d, and given over to the York Rangers, at the formation of that corps.

III.

1795—1811.

Expedition to the West Indies—England, Gibraltar, Minorca, 1798—Expedition to Egypt, 1800—Battle of the 13th March 1801—Battle of the 21st—Death of Sir Ralph Abercromby—Capture of Rosetta—Surrender of Grand Cairo and of Alexandria—England—Misunderstanding between the 42d and the Highland Society of London—The regiment reviewed by George III.—Return of the 42d to Scotland—Embarks at Leith for Weeley in Essex—Second battalion—Gibraltar—Portugal—Spain—Retreat to Corunna—Battle of Corunna—Death of Sir John Moore—England, 1809—Walcheren—Scotland, 1810—England, 1811.

GOVERNMENT having determined to reduce the French and Dutch possessions in the West Indies, a large armament was fitted out under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercromby. The land forces consisted of 460 cavalry and 16,479 infantry. The Royal Highlanders formed part of this expedition. Another expedition, destined also for the West Indies, consisting of 2600 cavalry and 5680 foot, assembled at Cork during the embarkation of the first. Great care was taken to furnish the troops with everything necessary for the voyage, and particular attention was paid to their clothing. To protect them from the damps and chills of midnight, they were supplied with flannel, and various changes were made in their clothing to guard them against the effects of the yellow fever. Among other changes, the plaid kilt and bonnet of the Highlanders were laid aside, and their place supplied by Russian duck pantaloons and a round hat; but experience showed that the Highland dress was better suited to a campaign in the West Indies during the rainy season, than the articles which superseded it.

The embarkation was completed by the 27th of October 1795; but in consequence of damage sustained by some of the ships in a hurricane, and the loss of others, the expedition did not sail till the 11th of November. On that day the fleet, amounting to 328 sail, got under weigh with a favourable breeze. Owing to accidents which befell two of the ships, the fleet did not clear the channel till the 13th of December; but it had scarcely got out when a violent storm arose, which continued almost without intermission for several weeks. The

greater part of the fleet was scattered, and many of the ships took refuge in different ports in England. Admiral Crichton struggled with such of the ships as remained with him till the end of January, but was at last obliged, from the disabled state of some of the ships, to return to Portsmouth, where he arrived on the 29th of that month with about 50 sail. Seventy-eight of the ships which kept the sea proceeded on their voyage, and reached Barbadoes in a straggling manner. Had the troops been sent off in detachments as they embarked, these misfortunes would have been avoided.

After the partial return of the expedition, the destination of some of the returned regiments was changed. Five companies of the Highlanders were in a few weeks embarked for Gibraltar, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson. The other five companies reached Barbadoes on the 9th of February in the *Middlesex* East Indiaman, one of the straggling ships which had proceeded on the voyage. The expedition again put to sea on the 14th of February, and arrived at Barbadoes on the 14th of March. By the great care of Sir Ralph Abercromby, in ordering the transports to be properly ventilated on their arrival, and by enforcing cleanliness and exercise among the troops, few deaths occurred; and of the five Highland companies, none died, and only 4 men with trifling complaints were left on board when the troops disembarked at St Lucia in April. The troops from Cork, though favoured with better weather, were less fortunate in their voyage, several officers and a great many men having died.

The first enterprise was against the Dutch colonies of Demerara and Berbice, which surrendered to a part of the Cork division under Major-General White on the 22d of April. On the same day the expedition sailed from Barbadoes, and appeared off St Lucia on the 26th, it being considered imprudent to attempt Guadaloupe with a force which had been so much diminished.

The troops landed in four divisions at Longueville Bay, Pigeon Island, Chock Bay, and Anee la Raze. The Highlanders, under the command of Brigadier-General John Moore, landed in a small bay close under Pigeon

Island. The army moved forward on the 27th to close in upon Morne Fortunée, the principal post in the island. To enable them to invest this place, it became necessary to obtain possession of Morne Chabot, a strong and commanding position overlooking the principal approach. Detachments under the command of Brigadier-Generals Moore and the Hon. John Hope, were accordingly ordered to attack this post on two different points. General Moore advanced at midnight, and General Hope followed an hour after by a less circuitous route; but falling in with the enemy sooner than he expected, General Moore carried the Morne, after a short but obstinate resistance, before General Hope came up. Next day General Moore took possession of Morne Duchassaix. By the advance of Major-General Morshead from Ance la Raze, Morne Fortunée was completely invested, but not until several officers and about 50 of the grenadiers, who formed the advanced post under Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, had been killed and wounded.

To dispossess the enemy of the batteries they had erected on the Cul de Sac, Major-General Morshead's division was ordered to advance against two batteries on the left; whilst Major-General Hope, with the five companies of the Highlanders, the light infantry of the 57th regiment, and a detachment of Malcolm's Rangers, supported by the 55th regiment, was to attack the battery of Secke, close to the works of Morne Fortunée. The light infantry and the rangers quickly drove the enemy from the battery; but they were obliged to retire from the battery in their turn under the cover of the Highlanders, in consequence of the other divisions under Brigadier-General Perryn and Colonel Riddle having been obstructed in their advance. In this affair Colonel Malcolm, a brave officer, was killed, and Lieutenant J. J. Fraser of the 42d, and a few men, wounded. The other divisions suffered severely.

So great were the difficulties which presented themselves from the steep and rugged nature of the ground, that the first battery was not ready to open till the 14th of May. In an attempt which the 31st regiment made upon a fortified ridge called the Vizie, on the evening of the 17th, they were repulsed with great

loss; but the grenadiers, who had pushed forward to support them, compelled the enemy to retire. For six days a constant fire was kept up between the batteries and the fort. Having ineffectually attempted to drive back the 27th regiment from a lodgment they had formed within 500 yards of the garrison, the enemy applied for and obtained a suspension of hostilities. This was soon followed by a capitulation and the surrender of the whole island. The garrison marched out on the 29th, and became prisoners of war. The loss of the British was 2 field officers, 3 captains, 5 subalterns, and 184 non-commissioned officers and rank and file killed; and 4 field officers, 12 captains, 15 subalterns, and 523 non-commissioned officers and rank and file wounded and missing.

As an instance of the influence of the mind on bodily health, and of the effect of mental activity in preventing disease, General Stewart adduces this expedition as a striking illustration:—"During the operations which, from the nature of the country, were extremely harassing, the troops continued remarkably healthy; but immediately after the cessation of hostilities they began to droop. The five companies of Highlanders, who landed 508 men, sent few to the hospital until the third day subsequent to the surrender; but after this event, so sudden was the change in their health, that upwards of 60 men were laid up within the space of seven days. This change may be, in part, ascribed to the sudden transition from incessant activity to repose, but its principal cause must have been the relaxation of the mental and physical energies, after the motives which stimulated them had subsided."

The next enterprise was against St Vincent, where the expedition, consisting of the Buffs, the 14th, 34th, 42d, 53d, 54th, 59th, and 63d regiments, and the 2d West Indian Regiment, landed on the 8th of June. The enemy had erected four redoubts on a high ridge, called the Vizie, on which they had taken up a position. The arrangements for an attack having been completed on the 10th, the troops were drawn up in two divisions under Major-Generals Hunter and William Morshed, at a short distance from the ridge. Another division formed on the opposite side

of the hill. The attack was commenced by a fire from some field-pieces on the redoubts, which was kept up for some hours, apparently with little effect. As a feint, the Highlanders and some of the Rangers in the meantime moved forward to the bottom of a woody steep which terminated the ridge, on the top of which stood one of the redoubts, the first in the range. Pushing their way up the steep, the 42d turned the feint into a real assault, and, with the assistance of the Buffs, by whom they were supported, drove the enemy successively from the first three redoubts in less than half an hour. Some of the Highlanders had pushed close under the last and principal redoubt, but the general, seeing that he had the enemy in his power, and wishing to spare the lives of his troops, recalled the Highlanders, and offered the enemy terms of capitulation, which were accepted. The conditions, *inter alia*, were, that the enemy should embark as prisoners of war; but several hundreds of them broke the capitulation by escaping into the woods the following night. The total loss of the British on this occasion was 181 in killed and wounded. The Highlanders had 1 sergeant and 12 rank and file killed; and 1 officer (Lieutenant Simon Fraser), 2 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 29 rank and file wounded.¹

In order to subjugate the island, the troops were divided and sent to different stations, and military posts were established in the neighbourhood of the country possessed by the Caribs and brigands. Favoured by the natural strength of the country, the enemy carried on a petty warfare with the troops among the woods till the month of September, when they

surrendered. The French, including the brigands, were sent prisoners to England, and the Indians or Caribs, amounting to upwards of 5000, were transported to Ratan, an island in the gulf of Mexico.²

² In one of the skirmishes in the woods between a party of the 42d and the enemy, Lieutenant-Colonel Graham (afterwards a lieutenant-general and governor of Stirling Castle) was wounded, and lay senseless on the ground. "His recovery from his wound," says General Stewart, "was attended by some uncommon circumstances. The people believing him dead, rather dragged than carried him over the rough channel of the river, till they reached the sea-beach. Observing here that he was still alive, they put him in a blanket and proceeded in search of a surgeon. After travelling in this manner four miles, I met them, and directed the soldiers to carry him to a military post, occupied by a party of the 42d under my command. All the surgeons were out in the woods with the wounded soldiers, and none could be found. Colonel Graham was still insensible. A ball had entered his side, and passing through, had come out under his breast. Another, or perhaps the same ball, had shattered two of his fingers. No assistance could be got but that of a soldier's wife, who had been long in the service, and was in the habit of attending sick and wounded soldiers. She washed his wounds, and bound them up in such a manner, that when a surgeon came and saw the way in which the operation had been performed, he said he could not have done it better, and would not unbind the dressing. The colonel soon afterwards opened his eyes, and though unable to speak for many hours, seemed sensible of what was passing around him. In this state he lay nearly three weeks, when he was carried to Kingston, and thence conveyed to England. He was still in a most exhausted state,—the wound in his side discharging matter from both orifices. He went to Edinburgh, with little hopes of recovery; but on the evening of the illumination for the victory of Camperdown, the smoke of so many candles and flambeaux having affected his breathing, he coughed with great violence; and, in the exertion, threw up a piece of cloth, carried in and left by the ball in its passage through his body. From that day he recovered as by a charm.

¹ General Stewart says that in the assault on the redoubts, when proceeding from the second to the third, he found a lad of seventeen years of age whom he had enlisted in August preceding, with his foot on the body of a French soldier, and his bayonet thrust through from ear to ear, attempting to twist off his head. Lieutenant Stewart touched him on the shoulder, and desired him to let the body alone. "Oh, the brigand," said he, "I must take off his head." When told that the man was already dead, and that he had better go and take the head off a living Frenchman, he answered, "You are very right, Sir; I did not think of that;" and immediately ran forward to the front of the attack. Yet such is the power of example, that this young man, so bold, turned pale and trembled, when, a few days after he had enlisted, he saw one of his companions covered with blood from a cut he had received in the head and face in some horseplay with his comrades.

"The soldier's wife," continues the General, "who was so useful to him in his extremity, was of a character rather uncommon. She had been long a follower of the camp, and had acquired some of its manners. While she was so good and useful a nurse in quarters, she was bold and fearless in the field. When the arrangements were made previously to the attack on the Vieze on the 10th of June, I directed that her husband, who was in my company, should remain behind to take charge of the men's knapsacks, which they had thrown off to be light for the advance up the hill, as I did not wish to expose him to danger on account of his wife and family. He obeyed his orders, and remained with his charge; but his wife, believing, perhaps, that she was not included in these injunctions, pushed forward to the assault. When the enemy had been driven from the third redoubt, I was standing giving some directions to the men, and preparing to push on to the fourth and last redoubt, when I found myself tapped on the shoulder, and turning round, I saw my Amazonian friend standing with her clothes tucked up to her knees, and seizing my hand, 'Well done, my Highland lad,' she exclaimed, 'see how the brigands scamper like so many deer!'—'Come,' added she, 'let us drive them from yonder hill!' On inquiry, I found that she had been in the hottest fire, cheering

In September, Sir Ralph Abercromby returned to England, when the temporary command of the army devolved upon Major-General Charles Graham, who was promoted this year from the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 42d to the colonelcy of the 5th West India Regiment. He was succeeded in the lieutenant-colonelcy by Major James Stewart. The commander-in-chief returned from England in February 1797, and immediately collected a force for an attack on Trinidad, which surrendered without opposition. He, thereafter, assembled a body of troops, consisting of the 26th light dragoons dismounted, the 14th, 42d, 53d, and some other corps, at St Christopher's, for an attack on Porto Rico, whither they proceeded on the 15th of April, and anchored off Congregus's Point on the 17th. The enemy made a slight opposition to the landing, but retired when the troops disembarked. As the inhabitants of Porto Rico, who had been represented as favourable, did not show any disposition to surrender, and as the Moro or castle was too strong to be attacked with such an inconsiderable force, which was insufficient to blockade more than one of its sides, the commander-in-chief resolved to give up the attempt, and accordingly re-embarked his troops on the 30th of April. This was the last enterprise against the enemy in that quarter during the rest of the war. The Highlanders were sent to Martinique, where they embarked for England, free from sickness, after having the casualties of the two preceding years more than supplied by volunteers from the 79th Highlanders, then stationed in Martinique. The Royal Highlanders landed at Portsmouth on the 30th of July in good health, and were marched to Hillsea barracks. After remaining a few weeks there, the five companies embarked for Gibraltar, where they joined the five other companies, whose destination had been changed by their return to port after the sailing of the expedition to the West Indies. The regiment was now 1100 men strong.

The next service in which the Royal Highlanders were engaged was on an expedition

and animating the men; and when the action was over, she was as active as any of the surgeons in assisting the wounded."

against the island of Minorca, under the command of Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir Charles Stewart, in the month of November 1798. The British troops having invested Cittadella, the principal fortress in the island, on the 14th of November, the Spanish commander, who had concentrated his forces in that garrison, surrendered on the following day. The Spanish general, whose force greatly exceeded that of the invaders, was deceived as to their numbers, which, from the artful mode in which they were dispersed over the adjoining eminences, he believed to amount to at least 10,000 men.

The possession of Minorca was of considerable importance, as it was made the rendezvous of a large force about to be employed on the coast of the Mediterranean, in support of our allies, in the year 1800. The command of this army was given to Sir Ralph Abercromby, who arrived on the 22d of June 1799, accompanied by Major-Generals Hutchinson and Moore. A part of the army was embarked for the relief of Genoa, then closely besieged by the French, and a detachment was also sent to Colonel Thomas Graham of Balgowan, who blockaded the garrison of La Vallette in the island of Malta.

Genoa having surrendered before the reinforcement arrived, the troops returned to Minorca, and were afterwards embarked for Gibraltar, where they arrived on the 14th of September, when accounts were received of the surrender of Malta, after a blockade of nearly two years. Early in October the armament sailed for Cadiz, to take possession of the city, and the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Carraccas, and was joined by the army under Sir James Pulteney from Ferrol; but when the Highlanders and part of the reserve were about landing in the boats, a gun from Cadiz announced the approach of a flag of truce. The town was suffering dreadfully from the ravages of the pestilence, and the object of the communication was to implore the British commander to desist from the attack. Sir Ralph Abercromby, with his characteristic humanity, could not withstand the appeal, and accordingly suspended the attack. The fleet got under weigh the following morning for the bay of Tetuan, on the

coast of Barbary, and after being tossed about in a violent gale, during which it was obliged to take refuge under the lee of Cape Spartell, the fleet returned to Gibraltar.

Government having determined to make an attempt to drive the French out of Egypt, despatched orders to the commander-in-chief to proceed to Malta, where, on their arrival, the troops were informed of their destination. Tired of confinement on board the transports, they were all greatly elevated on receiving this intelligence, and looked forward to a contest on the plains of Egypt with the hitherto victorious legions of France, with the feelings of men anxious to support the honour of their country. The whole of the British land forces amounted to 13,234 men and 630 artillery, but the efficient force was only 12,334. The French force amounted to 32,000 men, besides several thousand native auxiliaries.

The fleet sailed in two divisions for Marmorice, a bay on the coast of Greece, on the 20th and 21st of December, in the year 1800. The Turks were to have a reinforcement of men and horses at that place. The first division arrived on the 28th of December, and the second on the 1st of January following. Having received the Turkish supplies, which were in every respect deficient, the fleet again got under weigh on the 23d of February, and on the morning of Sunday the 1st of March the low and sandy coast of Egypt was descried. The fleet came to anchor in the evening of 1st March 1801 in Aboukir bay, on the spot where the battle of the Nile had been fought nearly three years before. After the fleet had anchored, a violent gale sprung up, which continued without intermission till the evening of the 7th, when it moderated.

As a disembarkation could not be attempted during the continuance of the gale, the French had ample time to prepare themselves, and to throw every obstacle which they could devise in the way of a landing. No situation could be more embarrassing than that of Sir Ralph Abercromby on the present occasion; but his strength of mind carried him through every difficulty. He had to force a landing in an unknown country, in the face of an enemy more than double his numbers, and nearly three times as numerous as they were pre-

viously believed to be—an enemy, moreover, in full possession of the country, occupying all its fortified positions, having a numerous and well-appointed cavalry, inured to the climate, and a powerful artillery,—an enemy who knew every point where a landing could, with any prospect of success, be attempted, and who had taken advantage of the unavoidable delay, already mentioned, to erect batteries and bring guns and ammunition to the point where they expected the attempt would be made. In short, the general had to encounter embarrassments and bear up under difficulties which would have paralysed the mind of a man less firm and less confident of the devotion and bravery of his troops. These disadvantages, however, served only to strengthen his resolution. He knew that his army was determined to conquer, or to perish with him; and, aware of the high hopes which the country had placed in both, he resolved to proceed in the face of obstacles which some would have deemed insurmountable.³

The first division destined to effect a landing consisted of the flank companies of the 40th, and Welsh Fusileers on the right, the 28th, 42d, and 58th, in the centre, the brigade of Guards, Corsican Rangers, and a part of the 1st brigade, consisting of the Royals and 54th, on the left,—amounting altogether to 5230 men. As there was not a sufficiency of boats, all this force did not land at once; and one company of Highlanders, and detachments of other regiments, did not get on shore till the return of the boats. The troops fixed upon to lead the way got into the boats at two o'clock on the morning of the 8th of March, and formed in the rear of the *Mondovi*, Captain John Stewart, which was anchored out of reach of shot from the shore. By an admirable arrangement, each boat was placed in such a manner, that, when the landing was effected, every brigade, every regiment, and even every company, found itself in the proper station assigned to it. As such an arrangement required time to complete it, it was eight o'clock before the boats were ready to move forward. Expectation was wound up to the highest pitch, when, at nine o'clock, a signal

³ Stewart's *Sketches*.

was given, and the whole boats, with a simultaneous movement, sprung forward, under the command of the Hon. Captain Alexander Cochrane. Although the rowers strained every nerve, such was the regularity of their pace, that no boat got a-head of the rest.

At first the enemy did not believe that the British would attempt a landing in the face of their lines and defences; but when the boats had come within range of their batteries, they began to perceive their mistake, and then opened a heavy fire from their batteries in front, and from the castle of Aboukir in flank. To the showers of grape and shells, the enemy added a fire of musketry from 2500 men, on the near approach of the boats to the shore. In a short time the boats on the right, containing the 23d, 28th, 42d, and 58th regiments, with the flank companies of the 40th, got under the elevated position of the enemy's batteries, so as to be sheltered from their fire, and meeting with no opposition from the enemy, who did not descend to the beach, these troops disembarked and formed in line on the sea shore. Lest an irregular fire might have created confusion in the ranks, no orders were given to load, but the men were directed to rush up the face of the hill and charge the enemy.

When the word was given to advance, the soldiers sprung up the ascent, but their progress was retarded by the loose dry sand which so deeply covered the ascent, that the soldiers fell back half a pace every step they advanced. When about half way to the summit, they came in sight of the enemy, who poured down upon them a destructive volley of musketry. Redoubling their exertions, they gained the height before the enemy could reload their pieces; and, though exhausted with fatigue, and almost breathless, they drove the enemy from their position at the point of the bayonet. A squadron of cavalry then advanced and attacked the Highlanders, but they were instantly repulsed, with the loss of their commander. A scattered fire was kept up for some time by a party of the enemy from behind a second line of small sand-hills, but they fled in confusion on the advance of the troops. The Guards and first brigade having landed on ground nearly on a level with the

water, were immediately attacked,—the first by cavalry, and the 54th by a body of infantry, who advanced with fixed bayonets. The assailants were repulsed.⁴

In this brilliant affair the British had 4 officers, 4 sergeants, and 94 rank and file killed, among whom were 31 Highlanders; 26 officers, 34 sergeants, 5 drummers, and 450 rank and file wounded; among whom were, of the Highlanders, Lieutenant-Colonel James Stewart, Captain Charles Macquarrie, Lieutenants Alexander Campbell, John Dick, Frederick Campbell, Stewart Campbell, Charles Campbell, Ensign Wilson, 7 sergeants, 4 drummers, and 140 rank and file.⁵

The venerable commander-in-chief, anxious to be at the head of his troops, immediately left the admiral's ship, and on reaching the shore, leaped from the boat with the vigour of youth. Taking his station on a little sand-hill, he received the congratulations of the officers by whom he was surrounded, on the ability and firmness with which he had conducted

⁴ When the boats were about to start, two young French field officers, who were prisoners on board the *Minotaur*, Captain Louis, went up to the rigging "to witness, as they said, the last sight of their English friends. But when they saw the troops land, ascend the hill, and force the defenders at the top to fly, the love of their country and the honour of their arms overcame their new friendship: they burst into tears, and with a passionate exclamation of grief and surprise ran down below, and did not again appear on deck during the day."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

⁵ "The great waste of ammunition," says General Stewart, "and the comparatively little execution of musketry, unless directed by a steady hand, was exemplified on this occasion. Although the sea was as smooth as glass, with nothing to interrupt the aim of those who fired,—although the line of musketry was so numerous, that the soldiers compared the fall of the bullets on the water to boys throwing handfuls of pebbles into a mill-pond,—and although the spray raised by the cannon-shot and shells, when they struck the water, wet the soldiers in the boats,—yet, of the whole landing force, very few were hurt; and of the 42d one man only was killed, and Colonel James Stewart and a few soldiers wounded. The noise and foam raised by the shells and large and small shot, compared with the little effect thereby produced, afford evidence of the saving of lives by the invention of gunpowder; while the fire, noise, and force, with which the bullets flew, gave a greater sense of danger than in reality had any existence. That eight hundred and fifty men (one company of the Highlanders did not land in the first boats) should force a passage through such a shower of balls and bomb-shells, and only one man killed and five wounded, is certainly a striking fact." Four-fifths of the loss of the Highlanders was sustained before they reached the top of the hill. General Stewart, who then commanded a company in the 42d, says that eleven of his men fell by the volley they received when mounting the ascent.

the enterprise. The general, on his part, expressed his gratitude to them for "an intrepidity scarcely to be paralleled," and which had enabled them to overcome every difficulty.

The remainder of the army landed in the course of the evening, but three days elapsed before the provisions and stores were disembarked. Menou, the French commander, availed himself of this interval to collect more troops and strengthen his position; so that on moving forward on the evening of the 12th, the British found him strongly posted among sand-hills, and palm and date trees, about three miles east of Alexandria, with a force of upwards of 5000 infantry, 600 cavalry, and 30 pieces of artillery.

Early on the morning of the 13th, the troops moved forward to the attack in three columns of regiments. At the head of the first column was the 90th or Perthshire regiment; the 92d or Gordon Highlanders formed the advance of the second; and the reserve marching in column covered the movements of the first line, to which it ran parallel. When the army had cleared the date trees, the enemy, leaving the heights, moved down with great boldness on the 92d, which had just formed in line. They opened a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, which the 92d quickly returned; and although repeatedly attacked by the French line, supported by a powerful artillery, they maintained their ground singly till the whole line came up. Whilst the 92d was sustaining these attacks from the infantry, the French cavalry attempted to charge the 90th regiment down a declivity with great impetuosity. The regiment stood waiting their approach with cool intrepidity, and after allowing the cavalry to come within fifty yards of them, they poured in upon them a well-directed volley, which so completely broke the charge that only a few of the cavalry reached the regiment, and the greater part of these were instantly bayoneted; the rest fled to their left, and retreated in confusion. Sir Ralph Abercromby, who was always in front, had his horse shot under him, and was rescued by the 90th regiment when nearly surrounded by the enemy's cavalry.

After forming in line, the two divisions moved forward — the reserve remaining in column to cover the right flank. The enemy

retreated to their lines in front of Alexandria, followed by the British army. After reconnoitring their works, the British commander, conceiving the difficulties of an attack insuperable, retired, and took up a position about a league from Alexandria. The British suffered severely on this occasion. The Royal Highlanders, who were only exposed to distant shot, had only 3 rank and file killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson, Captain Archibald Argyll Campbell, Lieutenant Simon Fraser, 3 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 23 rank and file wounded.

In the position now occupied by the British general, he had the sea on his right flank, and the Lake Maadie on his left. On the right the reserve was placed as an advanced post; the 58th possessed an extensive ruin, supposed to have been the palace of the Ptolemies. On the outside of the ruin, a few paces onward and close on the left, was a redoubt, occupied by the 28th regiment. The 23d, the flank companies of the 40th, the 42d, and the Corsican Rangers, were posted 500 yards towards the rear, ready to support the two corps in front. To the left of this redoubt a sandy plain extended about 300 yards, and then sloped into a valley. Here, a little retired towards the rear, stood the cavalry of the reserve; and still farther to the left, on a rising ground beyond the valley, the Guards were posted, with a redoubt thrown up on their right, a battery on their left, and a small ditch or embankment in front, which connected both. To the left of the Guards, in echelon, were posted the Royals, 54th (two battalions), and the 92d; then the 8th or Kings, 18th or Royal Irish, 90th, and 13th. To the left of the line, and facing the lake at right angles, were drawn up the 27th or Enniskillen, 79th or Cameron Highlanders, and 50th regiment. On the left of the second line were posted the 30th, 89th, 44th, Dillon's, De Roll's, and Stuart's regiments; the dismounted cavalry of the 12th and 26th dragoons completed the second line to the right. The whole was flanked on the right by four cutters, stationed close to the shore. Such was the disposition of the army from the 14th till the evening of the 20th, during which time the whole was kept in constant employment, either in performing military duties, strengthening

the position—which had few natural advantages—by the erection of batteries, or in bringing forward cannon, stores, and provisions. Along the whole extent of the line were arranged two 24 pounders, thirty-two field-pieces, and one 24 pounder in the redoubt occupied by the 28th.

The enemy occupied a parallel position on a ridge of hills extending from the sea beyond the left of the British line, having the town of Alexandria, Fort Caffarell, and Pharos, in the rear. General Lanusse was on the left of Menou's army with four demi-brigades of infantry, and a considerable body of cavalry commanded by General Roise. General Renier was on the right with two demi-brigades and two regiments of cavalry, and the centre was occupied by five demi-brigades. The advanced guard, which consisted of one demi-brigade, some light troops, and a detachment of cavalry, was commanded by General D'Estain.

Meanwhile, the fort of Aboukir was blockaded by the Queen's regiment, and, after a slight resistance, surrendered to Lord Dalhousie on the 18th. To replace the Gordon Highlanders, who had been much reduced by previous sickness, and by the action of the 13th, the Queen's regiment was ordered up on the evening of the 20th. The same evening the British general received accounts that General Menou had arrived at Alexandria with a large reinforcement from Cairo, and was preparing to attack him.

Anticipating this attack, the British army was under arms at an early hour in the morning of the 21st of March, and at three o'clock every man was at his post. For half an hour no movement took place on either side, till the report of a musket, followed by that of some cannon, was heard on the left of the line. Upon this signal the enemy immediately advanced, and took possession of a small picquet, occupied by part of Stuart's regiment; but they were instantly driven back. For a time silence again prevailed, but it was a stillness which portended a deadly struggle. As soon as he heard the firing, General Moore, who happened to be the general officer on duty during the night, had galloped off to the left; but an idea having struck him as he proceeded,

that this was a false attack, he turned back, and had hardly returned to his brigade when a loud huzza, succeeded by a roar of musketry, showed that he was not mistaken. The morning was unusually dark, cloudy, and close. The enemy advanced in silence until they approached the picquets, when they gave a shout and pushed forward. At this moment Major Sinclair, as directed by Major-General Oakes, advanced with the left wing of the 42d, and took post on the open ground lately occupied by the 28th regiment, which was now ordered within the redoubt. Whilst the left wing of the Highlanders was thus drawn up, with its right supported by the redoubt, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Stewart was directed to remain with the right wing 200 yards in the rear, but exactly parallel to the left wing. The Welsh Fusileers and the flank companies of the 40th moved forward, at the same time, to support the 58th, stationed in the ruin. This regiment had drawn up in the chasms of the ruined walls, which were in some parts from ten to twenty feet high, under cover of some loose stones which the soldiers had raised for their defence, and which, though sufficiently open for the fire of musketry, formed a perfect protection against the entrance of cavalry or infantry. The attack on the ruin, the redoubt, and the left wing of the Highlanders, was made at the same moment, and with the greatest impetuosity; but the fire of the regiments stationed there, and of the left wing of the 42d, under Major Stirling, quickly checked the ardour of the enemy. Lieutenant-Colonels Paget of the 28th, and Houston of the 58th, after allowing the enemy to come quite close, directed their regiments to open a fire, which was so well-directed and effective, that the enemy were obliged to retire precipitately to a hollow in their rear.⁶

During this contest in front, a column of the enemy, which bore the name of the "Invincibles," preceded by a six-pounder, came silently along the hollow interval from which the cavalry picquet had retired, and passed between the left of the 42d and the right of the Guards. Though it was still so dark that an object could not be properly

⁶ Stewart's *Sketches*.

distinguished at the distance of two yards, yet, with such precision did this column calculate its distance and line of march, that on coming in line with the left wing of the Highlanders, it wheeled to its left, and marched in between the right and left wings of the regiment, which were drawn up in parallel lines. As soon as the enemy were discovered passing between the two lines, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Stewart instantly charged them with the right wing to his proper front, whilst the rear-rank of Major Stirling's force, facing to the right about, charged to the rear. Being thus placed between two fires, the enemy rushed forward with an intention of entering the ruin, which they supposed was unoccupied. As they passed the rear of the redoubt the 28th faced about and fired upon them. Continuing their course, they reached the ruin, through the openings of which they rushed, followed by the Highlanders, when the 58th and 48th, facing about as the 28th had done, also fired upon them. The survivors (about 200), unable to withstand this combined attack, threw down their arms and surrendered. Generals Moore and Oakes were both wounded in the ruin, but were still able to continue in the exercise of their duty. The former, on the surrender of the "Invincibles," left the ruin, and hurried to the left of the redoubt, where part of the left wing of the 42d was busily engaged with the enemy after the rear rank had followed the latter into the ruins. At this time the enemy were seen advancing in great force on the left of the redoubt, apparently with an intention of making another attempt to turn it. On perceiving their approach, General Moore immediately ordered the Highlanders out of the ruins, and directed them to form line in battalion on the flat on which Major Stirling had originally formed, with their right supported by the redoubt. By thus extending their line they were enabled to present a greater front to the enemy; but, in consequence of the rapid advance of the latter, it was found necessary to check their progress even before the battalion had completely formed in line. Orders were therefore given to drive the enemy back, which were instantly performed with complete success.

Encouraged by the commander-in-chief, who

called out from his station, "My brave Highlanders, remember your country, remember your forefathers!" they pursued the enemy along the plain; but they had not proceeded far, when General Moore, whose eye was keen, perceived through the increasing clearness of the atmosphere, fresh columns of the enemy drawn up on the plain beyond with three squadrons of cavalry, as if ready to charge through the intervals of their retreating infantry. As no time was to be lost, the general ordered the regiment to retire from their advanced position, and re-form on the left of the redoubt. This order, although repeated by Colonel Stewart, was only partially heard in consequence of the noise of the firing; and the result was, that whilst the companies who heard it retired on the redoubt, the rest hesitated to follow. The enemy observing the intervals between these companies, resolved to avail themselves of the circumstance, and advanced in great force. Broken as the line was by the separation of the companies, it seemed almost impossible to resist with effect an impetuous charge of cavalry; yet every man stood firm. Many of the enemy were killed in the advance. The companies, who stood in compact bodies, drove back all who charged them, with great loss. Part of the cavalry passed through the intervals, and wheeling to their left, as the "Invincibles" had done early in the morning, were received by the 28th, who, facing to their rear, poured on them a destructive fire, which killed many of them. It is extraordinary that in this onset only 13 Highlanders were wounded by the sabre,—a circumstance to be ascribed to the firmness with which they stood, first endeavouring to bring down the horse, before the rider came within sword-length, and then despatching him with the bayonet, before he had time to recover his legs from the fall of the horse.⁷

⁷ Concerning this episode in the fight, and the capture of the standard of the "Invincibles" by one of the 42d, we shall here give the substance of the narrative of Andrew Dowie, one of the regiment who was present and saw the whole affair. We take it from Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley's Memoranda, and we think our readers may rely upon it as being a fair statement of the circumstances. It was written in 1845, in a letter to Sergeant-Major Drysdale of the 42d, who went through the whole of the Crimean and Indian Mutiny campaigns without being one day absent, and who died at Uphall, near Edinburgh—

Enraged at the disaster which had befallen the *elite* of his cavalry, General Menou ordered forward a column of infantry, supported by cavalry, to make a second attempt on the position; but this body was repulsed at all points by the Highlanders. Another body of cavalry now dashed forward as the former had done, and met with a similar reception, numbers falling, and others passing through to the rear, where they were again overpowered by the 28th. It was impossible for the Highlanders to withstand much longer such repeated attacks, particularly as they were reduced to the necessity of fighting every man on his own ground, and unless supported they must soon have been destroyed. The fortunate arrival of the brigade of Brigadier-General Stuart, which advanced from the second line, and formed on the left of the Highlanders, probably saved them from destruction. At this time the enemy were advancing in great force, both in cavalry and infantry, apparently determined to overwhelm the handful of men who had hitherto baffled all their efforts. Though surprised to

Major and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel in the regiment—on the 4th July 1865:—While Dowie was inside of the ruin above mentioned, he observed an officer with a stand of colours, surrounded by a group of some 30 men. He ran and told Major Stirling of this, who advanced towards the French officer, grasped the colours, carried them off, and handed them to Sergeant Sinclair of the 42d Grenadiers, telling him to take them to the rear of the left wing, and display them. The major then ordered all out of the fort to support the left wing, which was closely engaged. Meantime, some of the enemy seeing Sinclair with the colours, made after and attacked him. He defended himself to the utmost till he got a sabre-cut on the back of the neck, when he fell with the colours among the killed and wounded. Shortly afterwards the German regiment, commanded by Sir John Stewart, came from the rear line to the support of the 42d, and in passing through the killed and wounded, one Anthony Lutz picked up the colours, stripped them off the staff, wound them round his body, and in the afternoon took them to Sir Ralph's son, and it was reported received some money for them. In 1802 this German regiment (97th or Queen's Own) arrived at Winchester, where this Anthony Lutz, in a quarrel with one of his comrades, stabbed him with a knife, was tried by civil law, and sentence of death passed upon him. His officers, to save his life, petitioned the proper authorities, stating that it was he who took the "Invincible Colours." Generals Moore and Oakes (who had commanded the brigade containing the 42d), then in London, wrote to Lieut.-Col. Dickson, who was with the regiment in Edinburgh Castle, and a court of inquiry was held. Sergeant Sinclair was sent for from Glasgow, and, along with Dowie, was examined on the matter, the result of the examination being in substance what has just been narrated. Sergeant Sinclair was a captain in the 81st regiment in Sicily in 1810.

find a fresh and more numerous body of troops opposed to them, they nevertheless ventured to charge, but were again driven back with great precipitation.

It was now eight o'clock in the morning; but nothing decisive had been effected on either side. About this time the British had spent the whole of their ammunition; and not being able to procure an immediate supply, owing to the distance of the ordnance-stores, their fire ceased,—a circumstance which surprised the enemy, who, ignorant of the cause, ascribed the cessation to design. Meanwhile, the French kept up a heavy and constant cannonade from their great guns, and a straggling fire from their sharp-shooters in the hollows, and behind some sand-hills in front of the redoubt and ruins. The army suffered greatly from the fire of the enemy, particularly the Highlanders, and the right of General Stuart's brigade, who were exposed to its full effect, being posted on a level piece of ground over which the cannon-shot rolled after striking the ground, and carried off a file of men at every successive rebound. Yet notwithstanding this havoc no man moved from his position except to close up the gap made by the shot, when his right or left hand man was struck down.

At this stage of the battle the proceedings of the centre may be shortly detailed. The enemy pushed forward a heavy column of infantry, before the dawn of day, towards the position occupied by the Guards. After allowing them to approach very close to his front, General Ludlow ordered his fire to be opened, and his orders were executed with such effect, that the enemy retired with precipitation. Foiled in this attempt, they next endeavoured to turn the left of the position; but they were received and driven back with such spirit by the Royals and the right wing of the 54th, that they desisted from all further attempts to carry it. They, however, kept up an irregular fire from their cannon and sharp-shooters, which did some execution. As General Regnier, who commanded the right of the French line, did not advance, the left of the British was never engaged. He made up for this forbearance by keeping up a heavy cannonade, which did considerable injury.

Emboldened by the temporary cessation of the British fire on the right, the French sharpshooters came close to the redoubt; but they were thwarted in their designs by the opportune arrival of ammunition. A fire was immediately opened from the redoubt, which made them retreat with expedition. The whole line followed, and by ten o'clock the enemy had resumed their original position in front of Alexandria. After this, the enemy despairing

of success, gave up all idea of renewing the attack, and the loss of the commander-in-chief, among other considerations, made the British desist from any attempt to force the enemy to engage again.

Sir Ralph Abercomby, who had taken his station in front early in the day between the right of the Highlanders and the left of the redoubt, having detached the whole of his staff, was left alone. In this situation two of



Sir Ralph Abercromby in Egypt. From Kay's *Edinburgh Portraits*.

the enemy's dragoons dashed forward, and drawing up on each side, attempted to lead him away prisoner. In a struggle which ensued, he received a blow on the breast; but with the vigour and strength of arm for which he was distinguished, he seized the sabre of one of his assailants, and forced it out of his hand. A corporal (Barker) of the 42d coming up to his support at this instant, for lack of other ammunition, charged his piece with powder and his ramrod, shot one of the

dragoons, and the other retired. The general afterwards dismounted from his horse though with difficulty; but no person knew that he was wounded, till some of the staff who joined him observed the blood trickling down his thigh. A musket-ball had entered his groin, and lodged deep in the hip-joint. Notwithstanding the acute pain which a wound in such a place must have occasioned, he had, during the interval between the time he had been wounded and the last charge of cavalry,

walked with a firm and steady step along the line of the Highlanders and General Stuart's brigade, to the position of the Guards in the centre of the line, where, from its elevated position, he had a full view of the whole field of battle, and from which place he gave his orders as if nothing had happened to him. In his anxiety about the result of the battle, he seemed to forget that he had been hurt; but after victory had declared in favour of the British army, he became alive to the danger of his situation, and in a state of exhaustion, lay down on a little sand-hill near the battery.

In this situation he was surrounded by the generals and a number of officers. The soldiers were to be seen crowding round this melancholy group at a respectful distance, pouring out blessings on his head, and prayers for his recovery. His wound was now examined, and a large incision was made to extract the ball; but it could not be found. After this operation he was put upon a litter, and carried on board the *Foudroyant*, Lord Keith's ship, where he died on the morning of the 28th of March. "As his life was honourable, so his death was glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country, will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the memory of a grateful posterity."⁸

The loss of the British, of whom scarcely 6000 were actually engaged, was not so great as might have been expected. Besides the commander-in-chief, there were killed 10 officers, 9 sergeants, and 224 rank and file; and 60 officers, 48 sergeants, 3 drummers, and 1082 rank and file, were wounded. Of the Royal Highlanders, Brevet-Major Robert Bisset, Lieutenants Colin Campbell, Robert Anderson, Alexander Stewart, Alexander Donaldson, and Archibald M'Nicol, and 48 rank and file, were killed; and Major James Stirling, Captain David Stewart, Lieutenant Hamilton Rose, J. Millford Sutherland, A. M. Cunningham, Frederick Campbell, Maxwell Grant, Ensign William Mackenzie, 6 sergeants, and 247 rank and file wounded. As the 42d was more exposed than any of the other regiments engaged, and sustained the brunt of the battle, their loss was nearly three times the

aggregate amount of the loss of all the other regiments of the reserve. The total loss of the French was about 4000 men.

General Hutchinson, on whom the command of the British army now devolved, remained in the position before Alexandria for some time, during which a detachment under Colonel Spencer took possession of Rosetta. Having strengthened his position between Alexandria and Aboukir, General Hutchinson transferred his headquarters to Rosetta, with a view to proceed against Rhamanieh, an important post, commanding the passage of the Nile, and preserving the communication between Alexandria and Cairo. The general left his camp on the 5th of May to attack Rhamanieh; but although defended by 4000 infantry, 800 cavalry, and 32 pieces of cannon, the place was evacuated by the enemy on his approach.

The commander-in-chief proceeded to Cairo, and took up a position four miles from that city on the 16th of June. Belliard, the French general, had made up his mind to capitulate whenever he could do so with honour; and accordingly, on the 22d of June, when the British had nearly completed their approaches, he offered to surrender, on condition of his army being sent to France with their arms, baggage, and effects.

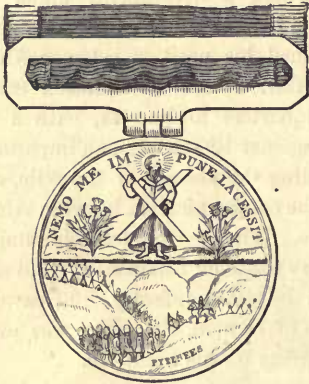
Nothing now remained to render the conquest of Egypt complete but the reduction of Alexandria. Returning from Cairo, General Hutchinson proceeded to invest that city. Whilst General Coote, with nearly half the army, approached to the westward of the town, the general himself advanced from the eastward. General Menou, anxious for the honour of the French arms, at first disputed the advances made towards his lines; but finding himself surrounded on two sides by an army of 14,500 men, by the sea on the north, and cut off from the country on the south by a lake which had been formed by breaking down the dike between the Nile and Alexandria, he applied for, and obtained, on the evening of the 26th of August, an armistice of three days. On the 2d of September the capitulation was signed, the terms agreed upon being much the same with those granted to General Belliard.

After the French were embarked, immediate arrangements were made for settling in

⁸ General Hutchinson's *Official Despatches*.

quarters the troops that were to remain in the country, and to embark those destined for other stations. Among these last were the three Highland regiments. The 42d landed at Southampton, and marched to Win-

chester. With the exception of those who were affected with ophthalmia, all the men were healthy. At Winchester, however, the men caught a contagious fever, of which Captain Lamont and several privates died.



Medal of 42d Royal Highland Regiment for services in Egypt. From the collection of Surgeon-Major Fleming, late 4th Dragoon Guards.



"At this period," says General Stewart, "a circumstance occurred which caused some conversation on the French standard taken at Alexandria. The Highland Society of London, much gratified with the accounts given of the conduct of their countrymen in Egypt, resolved to bestow on them some mark of their esteem and approbation. The Society being composed of men of the first rank and character in Scotland, and including several of the royal family as members, it was considered that such an act would be honourable to the corps and agreeable to all. It was proposed to commence with the 42d as the oldest of the Highland regiments, and with the



Medal to Sir Ralph Abercromby for services in Egypt. From the same collection.

others in succession, as their service offered an opportunity of distinguishing themselves. Fifteen hundred pounds were immediately subscribed for this purpose. Medals were struck with a head of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and some emblematical figures on the obverse. A superb

piece of plate was likewise ordered. While these were in preparation, the Society held a meeting, when Sir John Sinclair, with the warmth of a clansman, mentioned his namesake, Sergeant Sinclair, as having taken or having got possession of the French standard, which had been brought home. Sir John being at that time ignorant of the circumstances, made no mention of the loss of the ensign which the sergeant had gotten in charge. This called forth the claim of Lutz,⁹ already referred to, accompanied with some strong remarks by Cobbett, the editor of the work in which the claim appeared. The Society then asked an explanation from the officers of the 42d. To

this very proper request a reply was given by the officers who were then present with the regiment. The majority of these happened to be young men, who expressed, in warm terms, their

⁹ See note, pp. 370, 71.

surprise that the Society should imagine them capable of countenancing any statement implying that they had laid claim to a trophy to which they had no right. This misapprehension of the Society's meaning brought on a correspondence, which ended in an interruption of farther communication for many years."¹

In May 1802 the regiment marched to Ashford, where they were reviewed by George III., who expressed himself satisfied with its appearance; but although the men had a martial air, they had a diminutive look, and were by no means equal to their predecessors, either in bodily appearance or in complexion.

Shortly after this review the regiment was ordered to Edinburgh. During their march to the north the men were everywhere received with kindness; and, on approaching the northern metropolis, thousands of its inhabitants met them at a distance from the city, and, welcoming them with acclamations, accompanied them to the castle. They remained in their new quarters, giving way too freely to the temptations to which they were exposed, by the hospitality of the inhabitants, till the spring of 1803, when, in consequence of the interruption of peace, they were embarked at Leith for the camp then forming at Weeley, in Essex. The regiment at this time did not exceed 400 men, in consequence chiefly of the discharge of 475 men the preceding year. While in Edinburgh (December 1, 1803) new colours, bearing the distinctions granted for its services in Egypt, were formally presented to the regiment.

As a means at once of providing for the internal defence of the kingdom, and recruiting the regular army, an act was passed to raise a body of men by ballot, to be called "The Army of Reserve." Their services were to be confined to Great Britain and Ireland, with liberty to volunteer into the regular army, on a certain bounty. In the first instance, the men thus raised in Scotland were formed into second battalions to regiments of the line. The quota raised in the counties of Perth, Elgin, Nairn, Cromarty, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness,

Argyle, and Bute, which was to form the second battalion of the 42d, amounted to 1343 men. These embarked in November at Fort George, to join the first battalion in Weeley barracks, about which time upwards of 500 had volunteered into the regular army. In April of this year Captain David Stewart, Garth, was appointed major, and Lieutenants Robert Henry Dick and Charles McLean, captains to the second battalion of the 78th regiment. In September following, Colonel Dickson was appointed brigadier-general; and Lieutenant-Colonels James Stewart and Alexander Stewart having retired, they were succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonels Stirling and Lord Blantyre. Captains McQuarrie and James Grant became majors; Lieutenants Stewart Campbell, Donald Williamson, John McDiarmid, John Dick, and James Walker, captains; and Captain Lord Saltoun was promoted to the Foot Guards.

In consequence of the removal of a part of the garrison of Gibraltar, the first battalion of the 42d, and the second battalion of the 78th, or Seaforth Highlanders, were marched to Plymouth, where they embarked early in October for Gibraltar, which they reached in November. Nothing worthy of notice occurred during their stay in Gibraltar. Since their former visit, the moral habits of the 42d had improved, and they did not fall into those excesses in drinking in which they had previously indulged. The mortality consequently was not so great as before—31 only out of 850 men having died during the three years they remained at this station.

In 1806 Sir Hector Munro, the colonel of the regiment, died, and was succeeded by Major-General the Marquis of Huntly, afterwards Duke of Gordon.

After the battle of Vimiera, which was fought on the 21st of August 1808, the British army was joined by the 42d from Gibraltar, then 624 men strong,² and by the Gordon and Cameron Highlanders from England. Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had gained the battle, was superseded the same day by two senior generals, Sir Harry Burrard and Sir John Moore, who were, strange to tell, again superseded by General

¹ Further details concerning this unfortunate misunderstanding will be given when we come to speak of the presentation of the vase in 1817.

² Of these 231 were Lowlanders, 7 English, and 3 Irish.

Sir Hew Dalrymple the following morning. Generals Burrard and Dalrymple having been recalled in consequence of the convention of Cintra, the command of the army devolved on Sir John Moore, who, on the 6th of October, received an order to march into Spain. Having made no previous preparations for marching, the advance of the army from Lisbon was retarded; and as he could obtain little assistance from the Portuguese Government, and no correct information of the state of the country, or of the proper route he ought to take, he was obliged to act almost entirely upon conjecture. Conceiving it impossible to convey artillery by the road through the mountains, he resolved to divide his army, and to march into Spain by different routes.

One of these divisions, consisting of the brigade of artillery and four regiments of infantry, of which the 42d was one, under the Hon. Lieutenant-General Hope, marched upon Madrid and Espinar; another, under General Paget, moved by Elvas and Alcantara; a third by Coimbra and Almeida, under General Beresford; and a fourth, under General Mackenzie Fraser, by Abrantes and Almeida. These divisions, amounting together to 18,000 infantry and 900 cavalry, were to form a junction at Salamanca. General Moore reached Salamanca on the 13th of November, without seeing a single Spanish soldier. Whilst on the march, Lieutenant-General Sir David Baird arrived off Corunna with a body of troops from England, for the purpose of forming a junction with General Moore; but his troops were kept on board from the 13th to the 31st of October, and, when allowed to disembark, no exertions were made by the Spaniards to forward his march.

Whilst waiting the junction of General Baird and the division of General Hope, which, from its circuitous route, was the last of the four in reaching Salamanca, General Moore received intelligence of the defeat and total dispersion of General Blake's army on the 10th of November, at Espenora de los Monteros, as well as of a similar fate which subsequently befell the army of General Castanos at Tudela. No Spanish army now remained in the field except the corps under the Marquis of Romana, but acting independ-

ently, it tended rather to obstruct than forward the plans of the British commander.

It was now the 1st of December. General Baird had reached Astorga, and General Hope's division was still four day's march from Salamanca. Beset by accumulated difficulties, and threatened with an army already amounting to 100,000 men, and about to be increased by additional reinforcements, General Moore resolved on a retreat, though such a measure was opposed to the opinion of many officers of rank. Whilst he himself was to fall back upon Lisbon, he ordered Sir David Baird to retire to Corunna, and embark for the Tagus. He afterwards countermanded the order for retreat, on receiving some favourable accounts from the interior, but having soon ascertained that these were not to be relied on, he resumed his original intention of retiring. Instead of proceeding, however, towards Lisbon, he determined to retreat to the north of Spain, with the view of joining General Baird. This junction he effected at Toro, on the 21st of December. Their united forces amounted to 26,311 infantry, and 2450 cavalry, besides artillery.

The general resolved to attack Marshal Soult at Saldanha; but, after making his dispositions, he gave up his determination, in consequence of information that Soult had received considerable reinforcements; that Buonaparte had marched from Madrid with 40,000 infantry and cavalry; and that Marshals Junot, Mortier, and Leferbe, with their different divisions, were also on their march towards the north of Spain. The retreat was begun on the 24th of December, on which day the advance guard of Buonaparte's division passed through Tordesillas.

When ordered again to retreat, the greatest disappointment was manifested by the troops, who, enraged at the apathy shown by the people, gratified their feelings of revenge by acts of insubordination and plunder hitherto unheard of in a British army. To such an extent did they carry their ravages, that they obtained the name of "malditos ladrones," or cursed robbers, from the unfortunate inhabitants. The following extract of general orders, issued at Benevente, on the 27th of December, shows how acutely the gallant Moore felt the

disgrace which the conduct of his British troops brought on the British name:—"The Commander of the Forces has observed, with concern, the extreme bad conduct of the troops, at a moment when they are about to come into contact with the enemy, and when the greatest regularity and the best conduct are most requisite. The misbehaviour of the troops in the column which marched from Valdarras to this place, exceeds what he could have believed of British soldiers. It is disgraceful to the officers, as it strongly marks their negligence and inattention. The Commander of the Forces refers to the general orders of the 15th of October and the 11th of November. He desires that they may be again read at the head of every company in the army. He can add nothing but his determination to execute them to the fullest extent. He can feel no mercy towards officers who neglect, in times like these, essential duties, or towards soldiers who injure the country they are sent to protect. It is impossible for the General to explain to his army his motive for the movements he directs. When it is proper to fight a battle he will do it, and he will choose the time and place he thinks most fit. In the mean time, he begs the officers and soldiers of the army to attend diligently to discharge their part, and leave to him and to the general officers the decision of measures which belong to them alone."

It is quite unnecessary, in a work of this nature, to give the details of this memorable retreat. Suffice it to say, that after a series of brilliant and successful encounters with the enemy, and after enduring the most extraordinary privations, the British army arrived in the neighbourhood of Corunna on the 11th of January 1809. Had the transports been at Corunna, the troops might have embarked without molestation, as the French general did not push forward with vigour from Lago; but, as they had to wait the arrival of transports from Vigo, the enemy had full time to come up. The inhabitants showed the greatest kindness to the troops, and, in conjunction with them, exerted themselves with much assiduity to put the town in a proper state of defence.

On the land side Corunna is surrounded by a double range of hills, a higher and a

lower. As the outward or higher range was too extensive, the British were formed on the inner or lower range. The French on their arrival took post on the higher range.

Several of the transports having arrived on the 14th, the sick, the cavalry, and part of the artillery were embarked. Next day was spent in skirmishing, with little loss on either side; but on the 16th, affairs assumed a more serious aspect. After mid-day, the enemy were seen getting under arms. The British drew up immediately in line of battle. General Hope's division occupied the left. It consisted of Major-General Hill's brigade of the Queen's, 14th, 32d; and Colonel Crawford's brigade of the 36th, 71st, and 92d or Gordon Highlanders. On the right of the line was the division of General Baird, consisting of Lord William Bentinck's brigade of the 4th, 42d or Royal Highlanders, and 50th regiment; and Major-General Manningham's brigade of the third battalion of the Royals, 26th or Cameronians, and second battalion of the 81st; and Major-General Ward with the first and second battalions of the Foot Guards. The other battalions of Guards were in reserve, in rear of Lord William Bentinck's brigade. The Rifle corps formed a chain across a valley on the right of Sir David Baird, communicating with Lieutenant-General Fraser's division, which was drawn up in the rear at a short distance from Corunna. This division was composed of the 6th, 9th, 23d or Welsh Fusileers, and second battalion of the 43d, under Major-General Beresford; and the 36th, 79th or Cameron Highlanders, and 82d, under Brigadier-General Fane. General Paget's brigade of reserve formed in rear of the left. It consisted of the 20th, 28th, 52d, 91st, and Rifle corps. The whole force under arms amounted to nearly 16,000 men.

The battle was begun by the enemy, who, after a discharge of artillery, advanced upon the British in four columns. Two of these moved towards General Baird's wing, a third advanced upon the centre, and a fourth against the left. The enemy kept a fifth column as a reserve in the rear. On the approach of the French the British advanced to meet them. The 50th regiment, under Majors Napier and Stanhope, two young officers who had been

trained up under the general's own eye, passing over an enclosure in front, charged and drove the enemy out of the village of Elvina, with great loss. General Moore, who was at the post occupied by Lord William Bentinck's brigade, directing every movement, on observing the brave conduct of the regiment, exclaimed, "Well done the 50th—well done my majors!" Then proceeding to the 42d, he cried out, "Highlanders, remember Egypt." They thereupon rushed forward, accompanied by the general, and drove back the enemy in all directions. He now ordered up a battalion of the Guards to the left flank of the Highlanders. The light company, conceiving, as their ammunition was spent, that the Guards were to relieve them, began to fall back; but Sir John discovering their mistake, said to them, "My brave 42d, join your comrades,—ammunition is coming,—you have your bayonets." This was enough.

Sir David Baird about this time was forced to leave the field, in consequence of his arm being shattered by a musket ball, and immediately thereafter a cannon ball struck Sir John Moore in the left shoulder and beat him to the ground. "He raised himself and sat up with an unaltered countenance, looking intensely at the Highlanders, who were warmly engaged. Captain Hardinge threw himself from his horse and took him by the hand; then observing his anxiety, he told him the 42d were advancing, upon which his countenance immediately brightened up."

After the general and Sir David Baird had been carried off the field, the command of the army devolved upon Lieutenant-General Hope, who, at the close of the battle, addressed a letter to Sir David, from which the following is an extract:—"The first effort of the enemy was met by the commander of the forces and by yourself, at the head of the 42d regiment, and the brigade under Lord William Bentinck. The village on your right became an object of obstinate contest. I lament to say, that, after the severe wound which deprived the army of your services, Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, who had just directed the most able disposition, fell by a cannon-shot. The troops, though not unacquainted with the irreparable loss they had sustained, were not dis-

mayed, but, by the most determined bravery, not only repelled every attempt of the enemy to gain ground, but actually forced him to retire, although he had brought up fresh troops in support of those originally engaged. The enemy finding himself foiled in every attempt to force the right of the position, endeavoured by numbers to turn it. A judicious and well-timed movement which was made by Major-General Paget with the reserve, which corps had moved out of its cantonments to support the right of the army, by a vigorous attack defeated this intention. The major-general having pushed forward the 95th (Rifle corps) and the first battalion of the 52d regiment, drove the enemy before him, and in his rapid and judicious advance threatened the left of the enemy's position. This circumstance, with the position of Lieutenant-General Fraser's division (calculated to give still farther security to the right of the line), induced the enemy to relax his efforts in that quarter. They were, however, more forcibly directed towards the centre, when they were again successfully resisted by the brigade under Major-General Manningham, forming the left of your division, and a part of that under Major-General Leith, forming the right of that under my orders. Upon the left the enemy at first contented himself with an attack upon our picquets, which, however, in general maintained their ground. Finding, however, his efforts unavailing on the right and centre, he seemed determined to render the attack upon the left more serious, and had succeeded in obtaining possession of the village through which the great road to Madrid passes, and which was situated in front of that part of the line. From this post, however, he was soon expelled, with a considerable loss, by a gallant attack of some companies of the second battalion of the 14th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholls. Before five in the evening, we had not only successfully repelled every attack made upon the position, but had gained ground, in almost all points, and occupied a more forward line than at the commencement of the action; whilst the enemy confined his operations to a cannonade, and the fire of his light troops, with a view to draw off his other corps. At six the firing ceased."

The loss of the British was 800 men killed and wounded. The 42d had 1 sergeant and 36 rank and file killed; and 6 officers, viz., Captains Duncan Campbell, John Fraser, and Maxwell Grant, and Lieutenants Alexander Anderson, William Middleton, and Thomas MacInnes, 1 sergeant, and 104 rank and file wounded. The enemy lost upwards of 3000 men,—a remarkable disproportion, when it is considered that the British troops fought under many disadvantages.

In general orders issued on the 18th of January, Lieutenant-General Hope congratulated the army on the victory, and added,—“On no occasion has the undaunted valour of British troops been more manifest. At the termination of a severe and harassing march, rendered necessary by the superiority which the enemy had acquired, and which had materially impaired the efficiency of the troops, many disadvantages were to be encountered.

“These have all been surmounted by the conduct of the troops themselves; and the enemy has been taught, that whatever advantages of position or numbers he may employ, there is inherent, in British officers and soldiers, a bravery that knows not how to yield,—that no circumstances can appal,—and that will ensure victory when it is to be obtained by the exertion of any human means.

“The lieutenant-general has the greatest satisfaction in distinguishing such meritorious services as came within his observation, or have been brought to his knowledge.

“His acknowledgments are in a peculiar manner due to Lieutenant-General Lord William Bentinck, and *the brigade under his command, consisting of the Fourth, FORTY-SECOND, and Fiftieth Regiments, which sustained the weight of the attack.*”

Though the victory was gained, General Hope did not consider it advisable, under existing circumstances, to risk another battle, and therefore issued orders for the immediate embarkation of the army. By the great exertions of the naval officers and seamen, the whole, with the exception of the rear guard, were on board before the morning; and the rear guard, with the sick and wounded, were all embarked the following day.

General Moore did not long survive the

action. When he fell he was removed, with the assistance of a soldier of the 42d, a few yards behind the shelter of a wall. He was afterwards carried to the rear in a blanket by six soldiers of the 42d and Guards. When borne off the field his aid-de-camp, Captain Hardinge, observing the resolution and composure of his features, expressed his hopes that the wound was not mortal, and that he would still be spared to the army. Turning his head round, and looking steadfastly at the wound for a few seconds, the dying commander said, “No, Hardinge; I feel that to be impossible.” A sergeant of the 42d and two spare files, in case of accident, were ordered to conduct their brave general to Corunna. Whilst being carried along slowly, he made the soldiers turn frequently round, that he might view the field of battle and listen to the firing. As the sound grew fainter, an indication that the enemy were retiring, his countenance evinced the satisfaction he felt. In a few hours he was numbered with the dead.

Thus died, in the prime of life, one of the most accomplished and bravest soldiers that ever adorned the British army. From his youth he embraced the profession with the sentiments and feelings of a soldier. He felt that a perfect knowledge and an exact performance of the humble but important duties of a subaltern officer are the best foundation for subsequent military fame. In the school of regimental duty, he obtained that correct knowledge of his profession, so essential to the proper direction of the gallant spirit of the soldier; and was enabled to establish a characteristic order and regularity of conduct, because the troops found in their leader a striking example of the discipline which he enforced on others. In a military character, obtained amidst the dangers of climate, the privations incident to service, and the sufferings of repeated wounds, it is difficult to select any point as a preferable subject for praise. The life of Sir John Moore was spent among his troops. During the season of repose, his time was devoted to the care and instruction of the officer and soldier; in war, he courted service in every quarter of the globe. Regardless of personal considerations, he esteemed that to which his country called him, the post

of honour; and, by his undaunted spirit and unconquerable perseverance, he pointed the way to victory.³

General Moore had been often heard to express a wish that he might die in battle like a soldier; and, like a soldier, he was interred in his full uniform in a bastion in the garrison of Corunna.⁴

When the embarkation of the army was completed it sailed for England. One division, in which the 42d was, landed at Portsmouth; another disembarked at Plymouth.

The regiment was now brigaded at Shorncliffe with the rifle corps, under the command of Major-General Sir Thomas Graham. As the second battalion, which had been in Ireland since 1805, was about to embark for Portugal, they could obtain no draughts from it to supply the casualties which they had

suffered in the late retreat and loss at Corunna, but these were speedily made up otherwise.

The 42d was next employed in the disastrous expedition to Walcheren, and returned to Dover in September 1809, having only 204 men fit for duty out of 758, who, about six weeks before, had left the shores of England. The regiment marched to Canterbury on the 11th of September, where it remained till July 1810, when it was removed to Scotland, and quartered in Musselburgh. The men had recovered very slowly from the Walcheren fever, and many of them still suffered under its influence. During their stay at Musselburgh, the men unfortunately indulged themselves to excess in the use of ardent spirits, a practice which would have destroyed their health, had not a change of duty put an end to this baneful practice.

³ General Orders, Horse Guards, 1st February 1809.

⁴ "It was not without cause that the Highland soldiers shed tears for the sufferings of the kind and partial friend whom they were now about to lose. He always reposed the most entire confidence in them; placing them in the post of danger and honour, and wherever it was expected that the greatest firmness and courage would be required; gazing at them with earnestness in his last moments, and in this extremity taking pleasure in their successful advance; gratified at being carried by them, and talking familiarly to them when he had only a few hours to live; and, like a perfect soldier, as he was, dying with his sword by his side. Speaking to me, on one occasion, of the character of the Highland soldiers, "I consider," said he, "the Highlanders, under proper management, and under an officer who understands and values their character, and works on it, among the best of our military materials. Under such an officer, they will conquer or die on the spot, while their action, their hardihood, and abstinence, enable them to bear up against a severity of fatigue under which larger, and apparently stronger, men would sink. But it is the principles of integrity and moral correctness that I admire most in Highland soldiers, and this was the trait that first caught my attention. It is this that makes them trustworthy, and makes their courage sure, and not that kind of flash in the pan, which would scale a bastion to-day, and to-morrow be alarmed at the fire of a piquet. You Highland officers may sleep sound at night, and rise in the morning with the assurance that, with your men, your professional character and honour are safe, unless *you yourselves destroy the willing and excellent material entrusted to your direction.*" Such was the opinion particularly addressed to me; as a kind of farewell advice in 1805, when my regiment left his brigade to embark for the Mediterranean. It was accompanied by many excellent observations on the character of the Highland soldier, and the duties of Highland officers, especially what regards their management of, and behaviour towards their soldiers, and the necessity of paying attention to their feelings. The correctness of his views on this important subject I have seen fully confirmed by many years' experience."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

IV.

1811—1816.

Return of the 42d to England—Embarks a second time for Portugal in 1812—Consolidation of the first and second battalions—Spain—Battle of Salamanca—Madrid—Siege of Burgos—Retreat into Portugal—Campaign of 1813—Battle of Vittoria—Siege of St Sebastian—Pyrenees—Succession of battles—Fall of St Sebastian—Allied army enters France—Crosses the Nivelle—Passage of the Nive—Series of actions—Bayonne—Battles of Orthés and Ayre—Bordeaux—Tarbes—Battle of Toulouse—Peace of 1814—War of 1815—Quatre Bras—Waterloo—Return of the 42d to Scotland—Edinburgh.

IN August 1811 the regiment sailed for England, and after remaining some time in Lewis barracks, embarked in April of the following year for Portugal. The ardour for recruiting had now ceased, and the consequence was that the regiment obtained few recruits while in Scotland. Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Blantyre, the commander of the second battalion, had experienced the growing indifference of the Highlanders for the army, having been obliged, before his departure for Portugal, to enlist 150 men from the Irish militia. The first battalion joined the army, under Lord Wellington, after the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, and meeting with the second battalion, they were both consolidated.

"The second battalion had continued with the allied army in Portugal, and was engaged in the operations by which the English commander endeavoured to retard the advance of the superior numbers of the enemy, under Marshal Massena, who boasted he would drive the British into the sea, and plant the eagles of France on the towers of Lisbon. As the French army advanced in full confidence of success, suddenly the rocks of Busaco were seen bristling with bayonets and streaming with British colours. The Royal Highlanders were in position on the mountains when that formidable post was attacked by the enemy on the 27th of September, and when the valour of the British troops repulsed the furious onsets of the French veterans, who were driven back with severe loss. The loss of the Forty-Second was limited to 2 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 3 rank and file wounded. Major Robert Henry Dick received a medal for this battle.

"Being unable to force the position, the French commander turned it by a flank movement; and the allied army fell back to the lines of Torres Vedras, where a series of works of vast extent, connected with ranges of rocks and mountains, covered the approach to Lisbon, and formed a barrier to the progress of the enemy, which could not be overcome. The Forty-Second were posted in the lines.

"The French commander, despairing to accomplish his threat against the English, fell back to Santarem.

"For three months the opposing armies confronted each other a few stages from Lisbon; the enemy's numbers became seriously reduced by sickness, and other causes, his resources were exhausted, and during the night of the 5th of March 1811 he commenced his retreat towards the frontiers. The British moved forward in pursuit, and in numerous encounters with the enemy's rearguard gained signal advantages.

"The French army crossed the confines of Portugal; the British took up a position near the frontiers, and blockaded Almeida. The French advanced to relieve the blockaded fortress; and on the 3d of May they attacked the post of Fuentes d'Onor. The Royal Highlanders had 2 soldiers killed on this occasion; Captain M'Donald, 1 sergeant, and 5 rank and

file wounded. On the 5th of May the enemy made another attack on the British position, but was repulsed. On this occasion the Forty-Second, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Blantyre, were charged by a body of French cavalry, which they defeated with signal gallantry. Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Blantyre received a gold medal; and the word 'Fuentes d'Onor,' displayed, by royal authority, on the regimental colour, commemorates the steady valour of the second battalion on this occasion. Its loss was 1 sergeant and 1 private soldier killed; 1 sergeant and 22 rank and file wounded. Major R. H. Dick received a medal for the battle of Fuentes d'Onor, where he commanded a flank battalion.

"In the subsequent operations of this campaign, the second battalion took an active part; but was not brought into close contact with the enemy."¹

On the consolidation of the two battalions, the officers and staff of the second were ordered to England, leaving the first upwards of 1160 rank and file fit for service. These were placed in the division under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham. The allied army now amounted to 58,000 men, being larger than any single division of the enemy, whose whole force exceeded 160,000 men.

After a successful attack on Almaraz by a division of the army under General Hill, Lord Wellington moved forward and occupied Salamanca, which the French evacuated on his approach, leaving 800 men behind to garrison the fort, and retain possession of two redoubts formed from the walls and ruins of some convents and colleges. After a gallant defence of some days, the fort and redoubts surrendered on the 27th of June 1812.

Whilst the siege was proceeding, Marshal Marmont manœuvred in the neighbourhood, but not being yet prepared for a general action, he retired across the Douro, and took up a position on the 22d from La Seca to Pollos. By the accession of a reinforcement from the Asturias, and another from the army of the centre, the marshal's force was increased to nearly 60,000 men. Judging himself now able to cope with the allied army, he resolved either

¹ Cannon's *Historical Record of the 42d.*

to bring Lord Wellington to action, or force him to retire towards Portugal, by threatening his communication with that country. By combining with Marshal Soult from the south, he expected to be able to intercept his retreat and cut him off. Marmont did not, however, venture to recross the Douro, but commenced a series of masterly manœuvres, with the view of ensnaring his adversary. Alluding to this display of tactics, the *Moniteur* remarked that "there were seen those grand French military combinations which command victory, and decide the fate of empires; that noble audacity which no reverse can shake, and which commands events." These movements were met with corresponding skill on the part of the British general, who baffled all the designs of his skilful opponent. Several accidental encounters took place in the various changes of positions, in which both sides suffered considerably.

Tired of these evolutions, Lord Wellington crossed the Guarena on the night of the 19th of July, and on the morning of the 20th drew up his army in order of battle on the plains of Valise; but Marmont declined the challenge, and crossing the river, encamped with his left at Babila Fuentes, and his right at Villamedia. This manœuvre was met by a corresponding movement on the part of the allies, who marched to their right in columns along the plain, in a direction parallel to the enemy, who were on the heights of Cabeça Vilhosa. In this and the other movements of the British, the sagacity of the commander-in-chief appeared so strange to a plain Highlander, who had paid particular attention to them, that he swore Lord Wellington must be gifted with the second sight, as he saw and was prepared to meet Marmont's intended changes of position before he commenced his movements.

The allied army were now on the same ground they had occupied near Salamanca when reducing the forts the preceding month; but in consequence of the enemy crossing the Tormes at Alba de Tormes, and appearing to threaten Ciudad Rodrigo, Lord Wellington made a corresponding movement, and on the 21st of July halted his army on the heights on the left bank. During the night the enemy possessed themselves of the village of Calvarasa

de Ariba, and the heights of Nuestra Señora de la Peña. In the course of this night Lord Wellington received intelligence that General Clausel had reached Pollos with a large body of cavalry, and would certainly join Marmont on the 23d or 24th.

The morning of the 22d, a day memorable in the annals of the Peninsular war, was ushered in with a violent tempest, and a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning. The operations of the day commenced soon after seven o'clock, when the outposts of both armies attempted to get possession of two hills, Los Arapiles, on the right of the allies. The enemy, by his numerical superiority, succeeded in possessing himself of the most distant of these hills, and thus greatly strengthened his position. With his accustomed skill, Marmont manœuvred until two o'clock, when imagining that he had succeeded in drawing the allies into a snare, he opened a general fire from his artillery along his whole line, and threw out numerous bodies of sharpshooters, both in front and flank, as a feint to cover an attempt he meditated to turn the position of the British. This *ruse* was thrown away on Lord Wellington, who, acting on the defensive only, to become, in his turn the assailant with the more effect, and perceiving at once the grand error of his antagonist in extending his line to the left, without strengthening his centre, which had now no second line to support it, made immediate preparations for a general attack; and with his characteristic determination of purpose, took advantage of that unfortunate moment, which, as the French commander observed, "destroyed the result of six weeks of wise combinations of methodical movements, the issue of which had hitherto appeared certain, and which everything appeared to presage to us that we should enjoy the fruit of."²

The arrangements were these. Major-General Pakenham, with the third division, was ordered to turn the left of the enemy, whilst he was to be attacked in front by the divisions of Generals Leith, Cole, Bradford, and Cotton,—those of Generals Clinton, Hope, and Don Carlos de Espana, acting as a reserve. The divisions under Generals Alexander Campbell

² Marmont's *Despatch*.

and Alten were to form the left of the line. Whilst this formation was in progress, the enemy did not alter his previous position, but made an unsuccessful attempt to get possession of the village of Arapiles, held by a detachment of the guards.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, the attack commenced. General Pakenham, supported by the Portuguese cavalry, and some squadrons of the 14th Dragoons under Colonel Harvey, carried all their respective points of attack. The divisions in the centre were equally successful, driving the enemy from one height to another. They, however, received a momentary check from a body of troops from the heights of Arapiles. A most obstinate struggle took place at this post. Having descended from the heights which they occupied, the British dashed across the intervening valley and ascended a hill, on which they found the enemy most advantageously posted, formed in solid squares, the front ranks kneeling, and supported by twenty pieces of cannon. On the approach of the British, the enemy opened a fire from their cannon and musketry, but this, instead of retarding, seemed to accelerate the progress of the assailants. Gaining the brow of the hill, they instantly charged, and drove the enemy before them; a body of them attempting to rally, were thrown into utter confusion by a second charge with the bayonet. A general rout now took place, and night alone saved the French army from utter annihilation.

There fell into the hands of the victors 7000 prisoners and 11 pieces of cannon, but the loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was not ascertained. General Marmont himself was wounded, and many of his officers were killed or disabled. The loss of the allies was 624 killed, and about 4000 wounded.

Among other important results to which this victory led, not the least was the appointment of Lord Wellington as generalissimo of the Spanish armies, by which he was enabled to direct and control the operations of the whole Spanish forces, which had hitherto acted as independent corps.

The allied army pushed forward to Madrid, and, after various movements and skirmishes, entered that city on the 12th of August amid

the acclamations of the inhabitants. Learning that General Clausel, who had succeeded Marshal Marmont in the command, had organised an army, and threatened some of the British positions on the Douro, Lord Wellington left Madrid on the 1st of September, and marching northward, entered Valladolid on the 7th, the enemy retiring as he advanced. Being joined by Castanos, the Spanish general, with an army of 12,000 foot, he took up a position close to Burgos, in which the enemy had left a garrison of 2500 men. The castle was in ruins, but the strong thick wall of the ancient keep was equal to the best casemates, and it was strengthened by a horn-work which had been erected on Mount St Michael. A church had also been converted into a fort, and the whole enclosed within three lines, so connected that each could defend the other. Preliminary to an attack on the castle, the possession of the horn-work was necessary. Accordingly, on the evening of the 19th of September, the light infantry of General Stirling's brigade having driven in the out-posts, took possession of the out-works close to the mount. When dark it was attacked by the same troops, supported by the 42d, and carried by assault.

On the 29th an unsuccessful attempt was made to spring a mine under the enemy's works, but on the 4th of October another mine was exploded with better effect. The second battalion of the 24th regiment established themselves within the exterior line of the castle, but were soon obliged to retire. The enemy made two vigorous sorties on the 8th, drove back the covering parties, and damaged the works of the besiegers, who sustained considerable loss. A third mine was exploded on the 13th, when the troops attempted an assault, but without success. The last attack, a most desperate one, was made on the 19th, but with as little success; two days after which, Lord Wellington, on the 21st, to the great disappointment of the besiegers, ordered the siege, which had lasted thirty days, to be raised, in consequence of the expected advance of a French army of 80,000 men. The loss sustained by the 42d in this siege was 3 officers, 2 sergeants, and 44 rank and file killed and 6 officers, 11 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 230 rank and file wounded. The officers

killed; were Lieutenants R. Ferguson and P. Milne, and Ensign David Cullen; those wounded were Captains Donald Williamson (who died of his wounds), Archibald Menzies, and George Davidson, Lieutenants Hugh Angus Fraser, James Stewart, and Robert Mackinnon.³

Whilst Lord Wellington was besieging Burgos, the enemy had been concentrating their forces, and on the 20th of October his lordship received intelligence of the advance of the French army. Joseph Buonaparte, newly raised by his brother to the throne of Spain, was, with one division, to cut off Lord Wellington's communication with General Hill's division between Aranjuez and Toledo, and another, commanded by General Souham, was to raise the siege of Burgos. After the abandonment of the siege, on the 21st of October, the allied army retired after night-fall, unperceived by General Souham, who followed with a superior force, but did not overtake them till the evening of the twenty-third.

During the retrograde movement, the troops suffered greatly from the inclemency of the weather, from bad roads, but still more from the want of a regular supply of provisions; and the same irregularities and disorganisation prevailed among them as in the retreat to Corunna.

The allied army retired upon Salamanca, and afterwards to Frenada and Coreia, on the frontier of Portugal, where they took up their winter quarters. The enemy apparently unable to advance, unwilling to retire, and renouncing the hope of victory, followed the example thus set. Subsequent events proved that this opinion, expressed at the time was correct, "for every movement of the enemy after the campaign of 1812 was retrograde, every battle a defeat."

Having obtained a reinforcement of troops and abundant military supplies from England, Lord Wellington opened the campaign of 1813 by moving on Salamanca, of which, for the third time, the British troops took possession on the 24th of May. The division of Sir R. Hill was stationed between Tornes and the Douro, and the left wing, under Sir Thomas Graham, took

post at Miranda de Douro. The enemy, who gave way as the allies advanced, evacuated Valladolid on the 4th of June, and General Hill having, on the 12th attacked and defeated a division of the French army under General Reille, the enemy hastened their retreat, and blew up the works of the castle of Burgos, on which they had expended much labour the preceding year.

The enemy fell back on Vittoria, followed by Lord Wellington, who drew up his army on the river Bayas, separated by some high grounds from Vittoria. His men were in the highest spirits, and the cheerfulness and alacrity with which they performed this long march, more than 250 miles, formed a favourable contrast with their conduct when retreating the previous year. The French army, under the command of Joseph Buonaparte and Marshal Jourdan, made a stand near Vittoria, for the purpose of defending the passage of the river Zadorra, having that town on their right, the centre on a height, commanding the valley of that stream, and the left resting on the heights between Arunetz and Puebla de Arlanzon. The hostile armies were about 70,000 men each.

On the morning of the 21st of June, the allied army moved forward in three columns to take possession of the heights in the front of Vittoria. The right wing was commanded by General Hill, the centre by General Cole, and the left wing by General Graham. The operations of the day commenced by General Hill attacking and carrying the heights of Puebla, on which the enemy's left rested. They made a violent attempt to regain possession, but they were driven back at all points, and pursued across the Zadorra. Sir Rowland Hill passing over the bridge of La Puebla, attacked and carried the village of Sabijana de Alava, of which he kept possession, notwithstanding repeated attempts of the enemy to regain it. The fourth and light divisions now crossed the Zadorra at different points, while almost at the same instant of time, the column under Lord Dalhousie reached Mendoza; and the third, under Sir T. Picton, followed by the seventh division, crossed a bridge higher up. These four divisions, forming the centre of the army, were destined to attack the right of the enemy's centre on the heights, whilst General

³ The loss of the 79th will be found stated in the memoirs of that regiment.

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